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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1819.

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7. *Cursory Observations upon the Lectures, &c.* By one of the People called Christians. 1819.

8. *A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Rennell.* From a Graduate in Medicine. 1819.

WE find our attention called by the pamphlets before us to a subject of no ordinary importance, the discussion of the doctrine of materialism: an open avowal of which has been made in the metropolis of the British empire, in lectures delivered under public authority, by Mr. Lawrence, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, in the Royal College of Surgeons.

In the year 1814, Mr. Abernethy, who has long been known as a medical gentleman of the highest eminence, and one of the professors of that college, delivered two lectures on the Probability and Rationality of Mr. Hunter's Theory of Life. It can scarcely be necessary to remind our readers, *in limine*, that the nature of the living principle is among the subjects which are manifestly beyond the reach of human investigation. The effects

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and the properties of life are indeed obvious to our senses, through the whole range of organized creation; but, on what they depend, and how they are produced, never has been discovered, and, probably, never will. Mr. Abernethy, however, following the steps of the celebrated J. Hunter, elucidates his views on the subject, which have the high merit of attempting to explain but little, but which seem fairly derived from the most probable conclusions to which our reason can carry us; viz. that life, in general, is *some* principle of activity added by the will of Omnipotence to organized structure,—and that, in man, who is endowed with an intelligent faculty in addition to this vital principle possessed by other organized beings, to life and structure an immaterial soul is superadded.

'We perceive,' he says, 'an exact correspondence between those opinions which result from physiological researches, and those which so naturally arise from the suggestions of reason that some have considered them as intuitive. For most reflecting persons in all ages have believed, and indeed it seems natural to believe, what modern physiology also appears to teach, that in the human body there exists an assemblage of organs, formed of common inert matter, such as we see after death, a principle of life and action, and a sentient and rational faculty, all intimately connected, yet each apparently distinct from the other.

'So intimate, indeed, is the connection as to impose on us the opinion of their identity. The body springs and bounds as though its inert fabric were alive; yet we have good reasons for believing that life is distinct from organization. The mind and the actions of life affect each other. Failure or disturbance of the actions of life prevent or disturb our feelings, and enfeeble, perplex, or distract our intellectual operations. The mind equally affects the actions of life, and thus influences the whole body. Terror seems to palsy all its parts, whilst contrary emotions cause the limbs to struggle, and become contracted from energy. Now though these facts may countenance the idea of the identity of mind and life, yet we have good reasons for believing that they are perfectly distinct. Whilst, therefore, on the one hand I feel interested in oppugning those physiological opinions which tend to confound life with organization; I would, on the other, equally oppose those which confound perception and intelligence with mere vitality.'—*Enquiry*, p. 77—79.

He thus concludes.

'Thus my mind rests at peace in thinking on the subject of life, as it has been taught by Mr. Hunter; and I am visionary enough to imagine, that if these opinions should become so established as to be generally admitted by philosophers, that if they once saw reason to believe that life was something of an invisible and active nature superadded to organization; they would then see equal reason to believe that mind might be superadded to life, as life is to structure. They would then indeed

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indeed still farther perceive how mind and matter might reciprocally operate on each other by means of an intervening substance. Thus even would physiological researches enforce the belief which I may say is natural to man; that in addition to his bodily frame, he possesses a sensitive, intelligent, and independent mind: an opinion which tends in an eminent degree to produce virtuous, honorable, and useful actions.'—p. 94, 95.

Two years after the appearance of these lectures, Mr. Lawrence, who had recently been elected to the situation of colleague to Mr. Abernethy, delivered at the college his two introductory lectures on Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. Mr. Lawrence is, we understand, a young surgeon, who has acquired considerable reputation in his profession, and particularly by a diligent study of comparative anatomy, through the medium of foreign, for the most part German, writers and professors. He had been the pupil of Mr. Abernethy, and had lived for many years under his roof; and he speaks, in the warmest terms, of the invariable kindness and disinterested friendship with which that gentleman directed his early studies.

After giving, in his first lecture, an excellent sketch of the objects and the history of comparative anatomy, he proceeds, in the second, to develope his ideas concerning the principle of life. Here he assumes a very different character. Forgetting the encomiums which he had just passed on his benefactor and instructor, the respect which he owed to his professional situation and character, and, we hesitate not to add, the direct object of the professional station he was then filling, (a station expressly founded for displaying Mr. Hunter's noble Museum, purchased by Parliament for the use of the College, and of illustrating his physiological investigations,) he indulges in taunts and sarcasms, not of the most modest, or mild description, against Mr. Hunter's theory as maintained by Mr. Abernethy in the former year, and the manner in which he illustrated and supported it. In explaining his own opinions, Mr. Lawrence involves himself in much perplexity and confusion; but still he inculcates, in terms too plain to be misunderstood, the portentous doctrine that the principle of life, whether sentient or intelligent, is in all organized beings the same; that, whether we look to man, the highest of the animal creation, with all his faculties of invention, memory, imagination, or to an oyster or a cabbage, the vital properties are all derived from their organic structure, and that the difference of this structure constitutes the only difference in their faculties and powers. He mentions, p. 144, as if it were a known and acknowledged truth, that '*medullary substance* is capable of sensation and of

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thought.' And at p. 155, favours us with the following notable passage.

'The *cerebral functions*, which are much more numerous and diversified in the higher orders of the mammalia, than in any of the preceding divisions of the animal kingdom, receive their last development in man; where they produce all the phenomena of intellect, all those wonderful processes of thought, known under the names of memory, reflection, association, judgment, reasoning, imagination, which so far transcend any analogous appearance in animals, that we *almost* feel a repugnance to refer them to the same principle.—If therefore we were to follow strictly the great series of living bodies through its whole extent, we should see the vital properties gradually encreased in number and energy from the last of plants, the mosses or the algæ, to the first of animals, man!'

Mr. Lawrence, it will be instantly recollected by every reader, whatever other merit may belong to him, has not that of being the inventor of these doctrines. They are as old as any on record, and have been advanced and confuted, and revived and driven into obscurity again and again. In the present instance, Mr. Lawrence has copied them, and even the terms in which he has expressed them, from the school of modern French philosophy. Indeed, this is not the first occasion on which he has consented to become a mere copyist, and for the purpose of propagating these worn-out but mischievous opinions: he is understood to be the writer of several articles on life, and other subjects connected with it, in the interminable Encyclopædia of Dr. Rees, in which the same principles are maintained, and in which Mr. Rennell has discovered, that he has translated whole sections from M. Bichat, without the slightest acknowledgment; and we have traced him, in like manner, still more frequently transcribing into his own pages materials of the same description from the free-thinking physiologists of Germany.

In 1817, Mr. Abernethy delivered another course of 'Physiological Lectures, exhibiting a general view of Mr. Hunter's physiology, and of his researches into comparative anatomy,' in which he affords an interesting detail of the course of study of that distinguished naturalist, of the additions which he made to our stock of useful knowledge in these departments, and of the valuable ends to which he directed his pursuits. At the same time, he took occasion to defend the theory which he had previously explained, from the miserable ribaldry with which it had been assailed, and to guard his hearers from the mischief of the sceptical principles promulgated in that lecture-room in the preceding year. With that view, he made some very just observations on the general tone and method of proceeding of persons professing

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professing these principles, on the evil consequences arising to society from the unguarded adoption of them, and on the imputations which must attach to the medical profession, if a firm stand were not made against the conversion of the lecture-room of students in surgery into a school of infidelity. Exhibiting too the pious feeling of a well principled mind, he strove to elevate, as Hunter had ever done, the thoughts of the student from the contemplation of nature, to nature's God.

'It has been said that "an undevout astronomer is mad;" yet he only contemplates the immensity and order of the works of Nature, and the causes of the varieties of light and seasons, so serviceable to the living beings which inhabit this planet, and, as he infers, to those of others. But what shall we say of the anatomist who observes the structure and functions of those beings, who examines their extreme variety, and regular gradation and connexion, without any feeling or perception that Intelligence has operated in ordaining the laws of nature? We judge of others by ourselves, and assuredly, such a character must, by the bulk of mankind, be considered as possessing either a deficient or perverse intellect.

'The opinion that Intelligence must have ordained the order of Nature, is not only impressed by her decrees upon the bulk of mankind, but is confirmed by the observations and reflections of the most observant and intellectual individuals of the human race. Those who think that intelligence may exist distinct from organization, are disposed to admit that the intelligence with which they are endowed may have a separate existence. Those who think that perception is not essential to life, but is an attribute of something different, are also disposed to admit the separate existence of perception and intelligence, and thus do these two opinions produce and support each other. Both opinions are natural to most men, and confirmed by the observations and consideration of the most intellectual of the human race.'—*Physiological Lectures*, p. 331, 332.

Mr. Lawrence sufficiently understood that these observations, though delivered in general terms, applied directly to himself; but, instead of taking the reproof in good part, expressed as it was without harshness or severity, he was unfortunately excited by it to a high pitch of angry feeling, and to a determination to shew his contempt for it by redoubling the offence. Accordingly, in his lectures, delivered in the ensuing year, (1818) under the pretence of defending himself, he indulges in the most coarse and virulent invective against his former patron. He talks, among other things, of being attacked with the *odium theologicum*, which he describes as 'the most concentrated essence of animosity, and rancour.' p. 10. However this be, Mr. Lawrence evinces, by his own example, that the *odium anti-theologicum* is of a far more dark and deadly character:—and if we are ever

called upon to say where we should expect to find 'the most concentrated essence of animosity and rancour,' we shall answer without hesitation, in a sceptic, who found himself thwarted and exposed by one who felt the full force and value of sound religious principles, especially if such a person had once been his especial friend and benefactor. Mr. Lawrence, as if determined to endure no longer the imputation of delivering his opinions with some degree of mysticism and obscurity, now affirms, in language which none can misunderstand, that all the phenomena of life and of mind result entirely from the bodily structure, and consequently that death, which destroys the bodily structure, destroys the whole of man! Nor is he content merely to announce these opinions, and to leave them to their natural effect on the reader's mind, but he recurs to them again and again with an earnestness which seems to result more from passion and irritation, than from any motive intelligible even to himself; or, if he have such a motive, it must arise from conceiving that the maintenance of every thing valuable to the happiness of man depends on his success in establishing and propagating the belief of such opinions.

Unsatisfied with converting the lecture-room of the College into a school of materialism, Mr. Lawrence travels out of his course whenever it suits his purpose, and indulges his hearers with his opinions on various subjects of politics, religion, education, &c. In one place, he introduces a long diatribe on the controversies which have taken place among Christians, and facetiously compares religious discussions with the quarrels of the fair sex; in another, he rails at what he calls the vain attempts of persons in power to make men act or think alike. We find him, at one time, venting his mawkish lamentations over the human propensities to war, and passing high encomiums on the Quakers for the *rationality* of their creed; and, at another, bursting forth with all the fury of a disappointed sportsman, against 'the *oppressive cruelty* and *intolerable abuses* of that iniquitous and execrable code, the game laws.' p. 40. Nor does he conceal his political prepossessions. The governments of the old world he is pleased to inform us, in one line, are 'worn out despotisms;' and in the next, that Europe is likely to be converted, by 'the conspiracies of the mighty,' (those *worn out* despots) into 'one great state prison.' p. 37. But it is in America that all which is great and good is to be found; there, exclaims this enraptured seer, there is 'the animating spectacle of a country sacred to civil liberty,'—a country which has 'established itself out of the prejudices of the old world—where *religion is in all its fervour* without needing an alliance with the state to maintain it—where the law commands by the respect which it inspires, without being enforced by any military

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tary power.' Whether this eulogium on America be poured forth in the design of transferring at some future time to that land of 'liberty and religious fervour' his own acquirements, and opinions, in case they should not be sufficiently appreciated in this country, we venture not to conjecture. Certain we are, that, if such an event should take place, he would meet with persons there, whose *fervour* in religion is nearly on a par with his own.

While doctrines of such a fearful nature were maintained by a professor acting under public authority, and, what is not a little singular, without discountenance by the Collegiate body by which he was appointed, it could not be supposed that they would be suffered to pass without any animadversion whatever; or that no stand would be made against the diffusion of principles so revolting to the feelings of mankind, and so destructive of all that tends to advance their happiness and to ennoble their nature. Our readers will hear with great pleasure that many of the most eminent members of the Lecturer's profession are anxious to rescue their community from the disgrace which would deservedly attach to it, if the taint of such principles should be supposed to be deep or extensive. Two pamphlets on the subject have also appeared from other quarters, the one by the Rev. Thomas Rennell, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge; the other, entitled Cursory Observations on Mr. Lawrence's Lectures by one of the people called Christians; to which we must now turn our attention.

It may not be generally known, that the person holding the office of Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge is required by the founder to answer any cavils or objections which may be brought against rational or revealed religion. Mr. Rennell, therefore, was peculiarly called upon to come forward on the occasion. His pamphlet was published before Mr. Lawrence's second work had issued from the press, and when it was only known from the evidence of his two introductory lectures, and from general rumour, in how determined and persevering a manner he was endeavouring to subvert the principles of the medical students. Mr. Rennell has performed his task with equal spirit and ability. By applying the touchstone of close examination to the notions of Mr. Lawrence and some others who agree with him, he has shewn, to the satisfaction we apprehend of every reader, the endless perplexity and confusion of their ideas, the miserable inconsistencies with which their writings abound, and the gross improbability or positive falsehood of many of their assertions. He has entered into an investigation of the doctrine of vitality, and shewn, by clear and powerful reasoning, and aptness of illustration, how much more consonant it is with

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the best conclusions of our reason, to believe that life, through the whole range of organized beings, consists in some principle of inherent activity superadded to the material structure, while in man, who lives in a state of reflection as well as sensation, an immaterial and immortal soul is added to the living principle which he possesses in common with other animals. Mr. Rennell concludes with some excellent remarks on the general character of modern scepticism, a severe and solemn reproof of those who are guilty of endeavouring to pervert the religious tenets of the young and inexperienced; and a suitable and impressive caution to those who are likely to be exposed to such seductions. The anonymous author of the 'Cursory Observations' has exclusively directed his attention to Mr. Lawrence's second work, his Lectures on Physiology, &c. He has remonstrated with him in terms of well-deserved severity on their general tone and character, and pointed out with great success the errors and inconsistencies into which he has been betrayed, errors which are truly astonishing in a man of his abilities, but still are naturally to be expected in one who undertakes to maintain a cause so radically unsound.

There remain to be mentioned two other works which stand at the head of this article. The one, 'A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Rennell concerning his remarks on scepticism,' by a Graduate of Medicine. The other 'Sketches on (of) the Philosophy of Life,' by a fit auxiliary to Mr. Lawrence in the cause of scepticism and materialism, Sir T. C. Morgan. The Graduate professes himself friendly to the cause which Mr. Rennell supports, but objects to several parts of his reasoning. We confess that, amidst the obscurity which pervades this pamphlet, we can neither discover the author's meaning in many parts, nor his object in writing at all. He professes to detect errors in Mr. Rennell's work, and to point them out as a friend, lest others should point them out in a hostile manner. We can easily understand that, when a *friend* busies himself solely in tracing out errors in a work, he puts arms into the hands of those who are disposed to run it down; but we cannot quite so well comprehend how the fact of errors being noticed in a friendly manner can tend to prevent their being made the subject of hostile animadversion. The Knight is a prodigious quoter of Greek and other outlandish tongues, of which he understands nothing, and trusts to his reader's understanding as little. He appears to be a true disciple of the French physiologico-sceptical school; and has a number of favourite terms, taken from it, such as, functions, tissues, reaction, &c. on which he rings perpetual changes, to the utter confusion of all sense. The following is a specimen (casually taken) of his jargon;—language it is not.

'Essentially

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'Essentially linked with the power of loco-motion, relative sensibility is distributed to the different animals in an exact proportion to the wants of their organization, being resident in a tissue, whose development is regulated in the various species, by the sphere of activity necessary to their preservation.'—p. 276.

According to this great philosopher, 'there is in all individuals a preponderance of some viscus (in the brain) which gives it a lead in the organization.' p. 365. In another place he informs us, that 'the distinction between material and spiritual beings is made a watch-word for fanaticism and persecution:' and that 'the proposition of a Deity without parts or dimensions approaches to absolute atheism.' *ib.* But it is needless to multiply quotations from a work, of which the mischievous tendency is wholly blunted by the unutterable dullness and puzzle-headedness of the writer.

We now return to Mr. Lawrence.

'In accepting,' says the author of the "Cursory Observations," the office of a Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons, you were not indeed bound to accede to the creed of the Established Church, nor compelled to express your admiration of the civil institutions of the English nation. You were still at liberty to enjoy your opinions in private, nay, to publish them to the world in any separate and independent form. But, I appeal to your sense of decorum and propriety, whether it be fair or expedient to transform the professor's chair into the seat of the scorner and the sceptic? Suppose, Sir, that I had sent my son to attend upon your Lectures, that your fame and reputation as Anatomical and Surgical Professor had determined him to give you the preference above all your brethren; should not I be shocked, on his return, to find that his religious principles were destroyed, and his moral principles corrupted; that he had ceased to admire the constitution of his country; and that he had gained his professional knowledge at the expense of all dignified and elevated moral sentiment?

'It would be a poor satisfaction for me to learn, that you had no such nefarious design; that all you wished was, to divest him of preconceived prejudices, and to free him from national partialities. I had sent him to perfect himself in anatomical and surgical acquirements, not to be made the disciple of Hume or Volney, of Voltaire or Gibbon. Indeed, Sir, you have completely travelled out of your record, by endeavouring to influence the moral and political sentiments of your pupils. Instead of contemplating physiology, in its reference to surgery and medicine, you have exhibited it as the road to materialism in metaphysics, to faction in politics, and to infidelity in religion. These are grave and serious charges; and if I cannot substantiate them, I shall be content to rank as a bigot and calumniator. But if, in the following Letters, it shall be proved that these are the natural consequences of your speculations, then, as a man of honour, you will feel yourself

yourself driven to the following dilemma: either you will, for the future, refrain from expressing such opinions in your character as Royal Professor, or, you will renounce a situation so totally incompatible with the display of these sentiments in politics and religion.'—p. 8.

Nothing can be more just than the language of this remonstrance. Mr. Lawrence, at the close of his lectures, (p. 573) says, 'I have now performed the task assigned to me by the Board of Curators.' We beg leave to ask *what* was the task assigned to him by that Board? Was it to give a course of lectures for the improvement of the students in the knowledge and practice of surgery? or to seek to pervert their moral and religious principles, to teach them to doubt the records of Revelation, and to indispose them to the institutions of their country? He talks (p. 575) of the liberality of the legislature in voting a large sum of public money for the purchase of Mr. Hunter's valuable collection; and of the pecuniary exertions of the College of Surgeons in making arrangements connected with the gift, and instituting professorships. We ask again, with *what* view was the liberality of the legislature and of the College exerted? Can any one doubt that its sole object was to improve the means of education for students and practitioners in surgery and medicine?—not to form a nursery for scepticism in religion, or republicanism in politics.

But, if Mr. Lawrence is deserving of severe reproof for perverting his professional lectures to the purpose of spreading his peculiar opinions on subjects altogether foreign to that before him, the impropriety is greatly enhanced by the consideration of the sort of audiences to whom his lectures are immediately addressed. They consist of young men, many of whom are obliged to enter on the peculiar studies of their profession with little or no general education; and are, consequently, not likely to have any principles of morality or religion steadily fixed on their minds; whence they must be unable to decide deliberately and calmly on those which are presented to their choice. Under these circumstances, a man like Mr. Lawrence, eminent in his profession, and therefore possessing full command over their attention, must be able, so far as his influence as a Lecturer extends, to mould them to whatever opinions he pleases; more especially when he assumes an air of peculiar freedom of thought, pretends to soar above all vulgar prejudices, and to teach in religion and politics a sounder creed than is received by the mass of mankind. But, if those whom Mr. Lawrence addressed were so liable to be seduced, what excuse can be formed for the seducer?

'If there be a thought, which in the hour of impending dissolution must agonize and distract even the most hardened infidel, it is the remembrance

membrance of having been the instrument of perplexing the understandings, destroying the hopes, and corrupting the morals of the young men committed to his charge. At that very age, when every motive which religion can supply, is so imperiously called for, to check the rising passions, and to subdue them into a state of rational and permament restraint, it is an offence no less against social, than individual happiness, to inculcate those principles, which set all conscience and morality at defiance. The man who will coldly and laboriously teach the lessons of infidelity, will not scruple to excuse, if not to inculcate the practice of immorality; and he who will confound the distinctions between truth and falsehood in speculation, will annihilate the boundaries between virtue and vice in practice. Nor will the mischief stop here, nor confine itself to those, who have been the more immediate victims of his delusion. Infidelity, like every other pestilence, is propagated by contagion. In whatever provincial town these young men may settle, they will find but too many of their own rank and age, who will become ready converts to a principle, which, while it flatters their understanding, corrupts and indulges their heart.

'I am at a loss to imagine, what worthy end, or even what plausible excuse, a teacher can propose to himself, for the propagation of opinions, which unsettle and distract the mind, destroy every good and moral feeling, and deprive their victims of all comfort in the day of affliction, of all hope on the bed of death. Will either the principles, or the practices of the Gospel, render the student less ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, or less active in the duties of his profession? Will it exclude any one light of philosophy, any one ray of science from his mind? Will it make him less tender in his manners, less kind in his actions, especially to the poor and the friendless? Will it not rather give him a power over the mind as well as over the body of his patient; so that while he relieves the sufferings of the outward frame, he may speak in the language of peace and of comfort to the soul?

'What are the motives of those, who would take advantage, both of the ignorance and of the passions of those whom they address, and teach them through the medium of the most paltry sophistry, to trample upon all religious and moral restraint, I leave for themselves to determine. It is not to the motives of the teachers, but to the consequences of the doctrines, that I would draw the attention of the public.'—*Remarks on Scepticism*, p. 51—53.

After these general remarks on the mode and consequences of Mr. Lawrence's proceedings, we must descend to a distinct consideration of some of his opinions. And here, we cannot but observe the notable inconsistency which he betrays, in loudly exclaiming against all attempts to bring men to uniformity of opinion on important points of faith and practice, at the very moment when he himself is straining every nerve to compel them to adopt implicitly those which he promulgates. He burlesques the practice of inculcating those principles which are held useful to society; and hails with anticipations of delight the

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the day, which will soon arrive, ' when the attempts at enforcing uniformity of opinion will be deemed as irrational and as little desirable, as to endeavour at producing sameness of face and nature.' He does not explain to what extent he objects to the plan of endeavouring to make men act and think alike; and thus we are left to conjecture whether he would have human beings brought up without any notions of the distinction between right and wrong. We take it for granted that he would not think of teaching them to believe in the existence or the providence of a God, or to consider themselves accountable for their present conduct, in a future state; for this would be ' to interfere with the sacred right of private judgment:' but we should still be glad to learn whether he would consent to have them taught to act and think alike on the subject of murder and robbery being atrocious crimes; of honesty, gratitude, benevolence being social duties; of the institution of marriage being conducive to the good of society and to individual happiness. Our private opinion is, that he would have no objection to make men act and think alike, and would check at no means to effect this purpose, if they would only consent to adopt those opinions which he embraces. If he could see a chance of making all mankind sceptics in religion, and republicans in politics, we should find him, we suspect, amongst the most active to recommend those ' attempts at uniformity' which he now reprobates with such flaming indignation.

Amongst the subjects to which Mr. Lawrence directs the attention of his pupils in lectures founded expressly for their improvement in the science and practice of surgery, is (strange as it may appear) the Mosaic account of the creation and of the early history of the world! He seems very properly to conclude that his work would be imperfect, if he were not to level a blow at the records of Revelation, at the same time that he proves from physiological principles that men have no souls; accordingly he devotes several pages to an ' attempt' to shake the confidence of his hearers in the truths of them. ' The entire or even partial inspiration of these writings (he says) has been and is doubted by many persons, including learned divines, and distinguished oriental and biblical scholars;' (p. 248.) and he kindly proceeds to inform us, that ' the account of the creation and subsequent events has the allegorical figurative character common to eastern compositions.' To what ' distinguished biblical scholars' he alludes, he does not condescend to explain, and we are unable to conjecture. In vain have we taxed our memory; two only (notwithstand the *many* of which he boasts) occur to us, of sufficient eminence to deserve to be quoted as authorities: these are Sir William

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William Drummond and Mr. John Bellamy, persons known to all the world for their boundless proficiency in oriental literature, and their matchless judgment in applying it; and who, though they certainly differ in their views of the sense of Scripture from a large body of divines, still, as far as their opinions of their own talents and attainments go, are highly deserving of the entire confidence of Mr. Lawrence.

In considering the evidence of Scripture as to the derivation of the human race from one common stock, Mr. Lawrence stumbles on a discovery (as he would have us believe) of peculiar originality!* viz. that 'the Mosaic account does not make it quite clear that the inhabitants of all the world descended from Adam and Eve:'—p. 248. In this he outdoes Mr. Bellamy himself; for, if it be 'clear' that the sun is above the horizon at noonday, we conceive it to be equally so that, when it is said Eve was 'the mother of all living,' it is said that all mankind are descended from her. 'But,' cries Mr. Lawrence, 'we read in the first chapter that "God created man male and female," and this *seems to have been* previously to the formation of Eve.' It *seems to be* no such thing; the account of the formation of Eve is manifestly a detailed account of what had been before briefly told. Adam and Eve were created on the same day, but a more particular statement of the manner in which Eve was formed is given in a later period of the narrative. This sagacious commentator on Scripture 'discovers' another proof of his assertion. 'We find,' he says, 'that Cain, after slaying his brother, was married, although no daughters of Eve are mentioned before this time.' None *mentioned!* but what proof does this afford that none *existed?* It must have happened in the nature of things, it is certain from the narrative itself, that Adam and Eve had many other sons and daughters, although those only are specifically noticed whose names were important to the history.

But Mr. Lawrence's most formidable objections are to the scriptural account of the various animals being brought to Adam to receive their names, and to their being collected in the ark at the time of the deluge. 'I have only to add,' he says, 'that the representations of all the animals being brought before Adam in the first instance, and, subsequently, of their being all collected in the ark, if we are to understand them as applied to the living inhabitants of the whole world, is *zoologically impossible.*' He goes on to state that we have abundant

* In fact, this discovery is as stale and hacknied as most of his other opinions. It may be found in Blount's 'Oracles of Reason,' and Peyrerius's 'Præadamite,' iii. 4. and has been refuted to satiety, though urged with far stronger arguments than any of Mr. Lawrence's.

proofs

proofs of animals being so completely adapted by their structure, functions and habits to the local peculiarities of temperature, soil and food, that they cannot subsist where these are no longer found. How, then, he shrewdly asks, could all the living beings have been assembled in one climate, while some are adapted to hot climates, others to cold? how could the polar bear have traversed the torrid zone, &c.? To all these questions (and a thousand might be put, involving equal '*zoological impossibilities*') the answer is very short and very simple. The narrative implies that these transactions took place under the control of an extraordinary Providence; which was, no doubt, extended to the subduing of the natural habits of the animals, and to the sustentation of their lives, in circumstances not adapted to their natures, as far as was necessary for the end proposed. This is the clear sense of Scripture, and in this sense it has ever been understood by all who have not been desirous of casting ridicule upon it. As to animals adapted to cold climates, *polar* bears, &c. how does he know that there existed, at that time, any animals adapted to cold climates? or any such animal as the 'polar' bear? It is sufficient for the reasonable view of the subject that some of every species should then have existed; the distinction into varieties being for the most part the result, subsequently to their dispersion, of their adaptation to particular soils, climates and modes of life.

We must now enter a little more particularly into Mr. Lawrence's notions of life and organization. Before we proceed, however, we entreat the reader to call to mind, what it is that the materialist, who is generally in the habit of smiling at the credulity of the world at large, modestly requires him to believe? It is, that there is no other difference between a man and an oyster, than that the one possesses bodily organs more fully developed than the other; that all the eminent powers which we know to exist in man, the powers of reason, reflexion, imagination, memory, the powers which distinguished a Milton, a Newton, and a Locke, are merely the functions of a few ounces of organized matter called the brain; and that, as soon as this is dissolved, the being which possessed those powers, perishes altogether! Even in this view of the subject, there is nothing new—nothing but the stale repetition of older sceptics, which has been discussed and disproved a thousand times. Dr. Darwin, indeed, carried the hypothesis still farther—for it was a favourite part of his creed that man, when he first sprang by chance into being, *was* an *oyster*, and nothing more; and that by time alone, (a lapse of some chiliads or myriads of ages, for he has not given his chronology very particularly,) and the perfectibility of his ostraceous nature, he became first an amphibious, and then a terrestrial animal!

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But leaving this—we know that the belief of a spiritual intelligent soul in man has been so universal, as to be deemed the natural conclusion of his reason; that there is implanted in him a strong desire of immortality, a consciousness that some part of himself will not perish together with the body. Is it possible that all these feelings and anticipations, in which so large a portion of mankind have agreed, and which have been more strong and vivid in proportion as the human faculties have been improved by cultivation, are mere delusion? and, that man, in reality, possesses nothing which *can* survive the grave? Is it on slender proofs, that we should imbibe opinions so opposed to our natural feelings! so contrary to the general conviction of mankind!

Again, we would entreat the reader to consider the unavoidable consequence of this doctrine on the happiness and conduct of mankind. According to the materialist, when the body is dissolved, all that is conscious in the human being, all that is capable of feeling and enjoyment, sinks into nothing. Where then are those powerful considerations, which animate him to virtue, which console him under affliction? All the pleasing anticipations of recompense beyond the grave are at once dashed to the ground,—all those high and holy hopes which have produced the noblest instances of heroic virtue,—which supply the sweetest and most availing antidote to the sorrows of the world,—and which have so often illuminated with a ray from heaven the couch of him who feels that every worldly stay is fast dropping from beneath him!—If again, there be no responsible *hereafter* for the conduct *here*, what rule is there for the guidance of human actions? What is there to stir to the performance of those duties from which no personal advantage is to be obtained? What, to restrain from those crimes by which the individual sees, or fancies he sees, that he will be a gainer in this world? 'Take away,' says Mr. Lawrence, 'from the minds of men the operations of the five senses, and the functions of the brain, and what will be left behind?' 'What,' answers the author of Cursory Observations, 'but the jail and the gallows, neither of which will long restrain from crimes and atrocities.'

Mr. Lawrence, we readily acknowledge, is sometimes a perspicuous writer, and a solid reasoner on the topics which fall within the range of his professional studies. If then it shall appear, that his arguments on this peculiar subject are involved in inextricable confusion, we must in justice attribute it to his utter incompetence to such discussions, and to the radical unsoundness of the cause which he maintains.

In his Introductory Lecture (p. 118,) Mr. Lawrence exhorts his audience to be particularly on their guard against *loose* and *indefinite*

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indefinite expressions; they are (he says) *the bane of all science,* and have been remarkably injurious in the different departments of our own.' After this exordium, we were scarcely prepared for the following passage, which occurs in the next page, and which is intended, in charity, we presume, to guard his medical pupils against his own expressions. He could not have produced, from any quarter, a more striking or more curious specimen of that very description of writing which he justly calls 'the bane of all science,' and against which he deems it so necessary to caution his hearers.

'Organization means the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies; in this point of view they are contrasted with inorganic, inert or dead bodies. Vital properties, such as sensibility and irritability, are the means by which organization is capable of executing its purposes; the vital properties of living bodies correspond to the physical properties of inorganic bodies; such as cohesion, elasticity, &c. Functions are the purposes which any organ or system of organs executes in the animal frame; there is, of course, nothing corresponding to them in inorganic matter. Life is the assemblage of all the functions, and the general result of their exercise. Thus organization, vital properties, functions, and life, are expressions related to each other, in which organization is the instrument, vital properties the acting power, function the mode of action, and life the result.'—*Intr. Lect.* p. 120.

We say nothing of the *looseness* of expression in the first sentence, where he contrasts organized bodies with inorganic, *inert* or *dead* bodies, as if all bodies, whether organized or unorganized, were not inert, and as if organized bodies were never dead; nor of a similar *looseness* in that which follows, where he affirms that the vital properties of living bodies correspond to the physical properties of inorganic bodies; as if living bodies did not possess the same physical properties of cohesion, &c. as inorganic bodies. We hasten to call the reader's attention to the accurate and philosophical notions exhibited in the latter part; and this we cannot do better than in the words of Mr. Rennell.

'So then' (in the preceding passage of Mr. Lawrence,) 'we have an instrument, an acting power, a mode of action, and a result. All this is very intelligible. Organization then is the instrument which produces life as its result. But in the first sentence Mr. Lawrence informs us, that organization "is the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies, as contrasted with inorganic or dead bodies." Here then it appears, that life so far from being the "result," is in fact "a component part" of the said instrument, and that so far from life being the consequence or result of organization, that no organization can exist without it. So according to Mr. Lawrence, "life is the result of the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies," or in other words, we first take for granted the existence of life, and then we prove

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prove it to result from its own existence. This is a sort of logic which cannot surely be allowed. " Life," again says Mr. Lawrence, " is the *assemblage* of all the functions, and general *result* of their exercise." Just now he made the result co-existing with the instrument of its production, and now he makes it the same with the mode of action, or in other words, with the mode of producing it.

' Let us take Mr. Lawrence upon his own ground—a scalpel is the instrument, a hand the acting power, cutting the mode of action, and a wound the result. What would Mr. Lawrence say to the man who should assert, that the wound was co-existent with the scalpel, or again that the act of cutting was a wound ?

' After all this, in the very next page Mr. Lawrence informs us, that *the vital properties or forces animate living matter, so long as it continues alive.* Or in other words, that they animate (or give life) to matter which has life, so long as it continues to have life.

' First then we were told that organization was the instrument, and life the result ; we were then told, the organization and life were co-existent ; and now we are told,

' " The result of all these enquiries I have no hesitation in affirming to be, that no connection has been established in any one case between the organic texture and its vital power." p. 143.'—p. 66, 67.

Amidst all this confusion and inaccuracy, to which no parallel will be found, except in the writings of Sir T. C. Morgan, and some of his brother materialists, let us inquire what direct proof Mr. Lawrence's work affords, that the material brain is the source of thought and of all other faculties. He deals mainly in hardy asseverations, which seem intended to supply the want of regular reasoning; and scatters his opinions, without pointing out the grounds on which they rest: we find him, however, insisting on the close connexion between the mind and body as evincing in his judgment that there is no immaterial principle in man.

' Where (he says) shall we find proofs of the mind's *independence* on the bodily structure, of that mind, which, like the corporeal frame, is infantile in the child, manly in the adult, sick and debilitated in disease, phrenzied or melancholy in the madman, enfeebled in the decline of life, doting in decrepitude, and *annihilated by death?*'—*Phys. Lect.* p. 7. Again, ' Where is the mind of the fetus, where that of the child just born ? Do we not see it *built* up before our eyes by the actions of the five external senses, and of the gradually developed internal faculties ?'

The reader will at once perceive that most of this is gratuitous. Mr. Lawrence assumes that the mind is *built up* by the external senses, by which, we suppose, he means that no mind exists at first, and that all which we call mind is formed by the action of the external senses. Now whether it be harder to believe this, or that an immaterial mind is an original part of the human being, and—not that it is built up by, but—that it derives its ideas

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through the external senses, let the reader judge.—But what proof is afforded of the non-existence of an immaterial soul distinct from the material body, from the fact of the mental and corporeal faculties beginning to act together, of their growing together to maturity, of their being (often) strengthened and enfeebled together, and (generally) decaying together in the decline of life?

That the closest union subsists between the soul and body, and that the soul, during this union, carries on its functions and operations through the instrumentality of the bodily structure, is a fact too clear to be doubted; however, ignorant we are, and must ever be, of the precise nature of this union, and of the mode by which the one acts by the assistance of the other. This once allowed, it follows, as a natural consequence, that the soul and body should mutually affect each other in the strongest and most immediate manner; that when the bodily organs are deranged, the functions of the mind, the exercise of which is carried on by means of those organs, should, in a correspondent degree, be impeded and obstructed. Now if we were only acquainted with instances in which body acts upon mind, there would still, as far as this view of the subject is concerned, be no reason for concluding that the mental faculties are derived from the bodily organs, but only that their exercise depends on those organs. But how stands the fact? It is matter of every day's experience that intense reflection, excessive grief or joy, the excitement of vehement anger and other passions, affect the bodily frame in various manners and degrees, promote or impede the circulation of the blood, assist or obstruct the digestive organs, provoke the action of particular glands, produce relaxation or tension in the nerves, and materially change the general state of the health. A sudden affection of the mind often produces a temporary suspension of all the active powers of the body, and has even been known to deprive it altogether of life.

'A letter is brought to a man,' (as Mr. Rennell well illustrates the action of thought upon the bodily organs,) 'containing some afflicting intelligence. He casts his eyes upon its contents, and drops down without sense or motion. What is the cause of this sudden affection? It may be said that the vessels have collapsed, that the brain is consequently disordered, and that loss of sense is the natural consequence. But let us take one step backward, and enquire, what is the cause of the disorder itself, the effects of which are thus visible. It is produced by a sheet of white paper distinguished by a few black marks. But no one would be absurd enough to suppose, that it was the effect of the paper alone, or of the characters inscribed upon it, unless those characters conveyed some meaning to the understanding. It is thought then which so suddenly agitates and disturbs the brain, and makes its vessels to collapse. From this circumstance alone we discover the amazing

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amazing influence of thought upon the external organ; of that thought which we can neither hear, nor see, nor touch, which yet produces an affection of the brain fully equal to a blow, a pressure, or any other sensible injury. Now this very action of thought upon the brain, clearly shews that the brain does not produce it; while the mutual influence which they possess over each other, as clearly shews that there is a strong connection between them. But it is carefully to be remembered, that *connection* is not *identity*.'—pp. 94, 95.

But, says Mr. Lawrence, the faculties of the mind grow up to maturity with the bodily organs, begin when they begin to exist, and decay when they decay. The first part of this assertion will be readily granted, although we do not perceive in what manner it strengthens the Lecturer's cause. We believe he is not likely to have to contend with any persons who maintain the pre-existence of souls, although, with a view to such, he speaks (p. 107.) of a human fetus having been discerned in a very minute state, and asks, with a disgraceful levity well worthy of himself and of the principles which he maintains, 'whether the immaterial mind can have been connected with it in that state, at what precise time the spiritual guest arrived in his corporeal dwelling, and whether the little being had then a soul to be saved?' Putting aside such hopeless nonsense as this; it is quite as easy to conceive that, in the embryo state of the human being, an immaterial soul should begin to exist in union with the organic structure, and that the powers and faculties of both should be contemporaneously developed, as to conceive that the organic structure alone, without any immaterial soul, should begin to exist, and gradually grow to perfection. We see not that this part of Mr. Lawrence's observation has any thing to do with the establishment of his peculiar doctrine. But, he proceeds, 'the faculties of the mind decay together with the organic structure, they are together enfeebled in old age, and *perish* together in death.' How does he, or any one, know this? Instances are familiar to all of us, in which the exercise of some (or all the) mental functions is occasionally, even in this life, suspended, but not destroyed. Thus in a swoon and in sleep, and more especially in catalepsy, a total suspension of some or all the faculties takes place for a time, yet the exercise of them is afterwards as active as before. Thus too in atony or paralysis of some particular organ, as of vision or hearing, the use of such faculty of the mind is suspended,—let the organ be restored to its natural state of health, and the exercise of it returns. But are we to allow that the faculties of the mind and body decay always together? Generally speaking, no doubt, a decaying body brings with it, more or less, a decaying mind, as is naturally to be expected under the circumstances of the mind being most closely united

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with the body, and employing its organs for the development of its faculties. Exceptions, however, to this law occur continually of so marked a character, as wholly to defeat the inference which the materialist would deduce from it. In many cases the mind decays before the body; the latter is strong and vigorous, while the former loses more or less the exercise of its faculties. In many other cases, the powers of the mind remain clear and vigorous, in the most decayed and failing state of the body, and on the very verge of its dissolution.

Mr. Lawrence, who, like all other persons of the same school, is fond of drawing comparisons between brute animals and man, says, (p. 110.) 'If the intellectual phenomena of man require an immaterial principle superadded to the brain, we must equally concede it to those more rational animals which exhibit manifestations differing only in a degree from some of the human. If we grant it to these, we cannot refuse it to the next in order, and so on to the oyster, the polypus, &c. Is any one prepared to admit the existence of immaterial principles in all these cases? if not, he must equally reject it in man.' The insidious design with which these observations are made, is easily discerned, but that they are availing to establish the point proposed, will not be so readily allowed. What, if it be granted that the principle of life in brute animals, the principle of inherent activity and volition, and, in some, of a certain share of sagacity, is an immaterial adjunct to the organic structure? This has been granted by many able and philosophical inquirers into the subject, and it is perhaps the best conclusion we can come to, on a matter which is placed so far beyond the range of our knowledge. But is this to allow to brute animals any thing like the understanding soul of man? Surely not. Immateriality does not *necessarily* imply *immortality*. They are not convertible terms; nor does it follow that, because the Almighty has conferred the gift of immortality on the soul of man, he has therefore necessarily conceded it to the soul of brutes. The distinction between the condition of the brute and that of man, as to faculties and capacities of acquirement, is marked by lines too broad and deep to be overlooked. The brute, above all, is not a responsible being, subject to moral discipline, or susceptible of moral amelioration. 'The greatest part of the animal creation,' says Mr. Rennell, p. 116, 'is capable of no sort of improvement whatever; and with the very few, in whom education and discipline have any effect, the improvement is merely mechanical. A dog may hunt this year better than he did last, but it is not therefore in any degree the better adapted for a spiritual and a future world. If the habits of an animal are changed for the better, it is in reference only to sensible objects and to its present sphere

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sphere of action.' On the other hand, man lives the life of understanding: his soul is a reasoning soul, which not only receives ideas through the senses, but alters them at will, abstracts them from the sensible objects with which they were connected, forms them into new combinations of an endless variety, and thus opens a field of immeasurable extent for the exercise of its powers. Man too has a feeling, of which he cannot by any reasoning divest himself, of the moral responsibility which he incurs for the quality of his actions; he feels that, by care and self-controul, he may discipline himself to gradually encreasing habits of moral goodness: he feels too that he is susceptible of continual improvement, as well in knowledge as in virtue, and that scarcely any point can be assigned in the scale of attainment beyond which he may not aspire to advance. Mr. Addison finely touches upon this argument of the capacity of continual improvement in man, both to prove his marked superiority to the brute creation, and to shew the strong probability that the soul gifted with these high powers does not perish with the body, but is destined to exist in a more perfect state.

'How,' says he, 'can it enter into the thoughts of man, that the soul, which is capable of such immense perfections, and of receiving new improvements to all eternity, shall fall away into nothing almost as soon as it is created? are such abilities made for no purpose; a brute arrives at a point of perfection that he can never pass: in a few years he has all the endowments he is capable of; and, were he to live ten thousand more, would be the same thing as he is at present.—But a man can never take in his full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue his passions, establish his soul in virtue, and come up to the perfection of his nature, before he is hurried off the stage. Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such shortlived reasonable beings? would he give us talents that are not to be exerted, capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom which shines through all His works, in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick successions, are only to receive their first rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity?'*

But Mr. Lawrence comes upon us with a pair of scales, speaks of the number of ounces' weight of the human brain, and of 'the prodigious development of the cerebral hemispheres, to which no animal, *whatever ratio its whole encephalon bear to its body*, has any parallel;' p. 195. and, in conclusion, tells us, that 'it is strongly suspected that a Newton or a Shakspeare excels other

* See Spectator, No. 111.

mortals only by a more ample development of the anterior cerebral lobes, by having an extra inch of brain in the right place.' p. 110. Suspected! by whom? by Gall and Spurzheim? by himself?—Mr. Lawrence must pardon us; but in truth we cannot avoid 'strongly suspecting,' in our turn, that he is impelled to these speculations by having some extra inch of brain in the *wrong* place, or some exterior, or, peradventure, posterior lobe twisted into some strange convolution.—In another place he says that, 'unless we allow thought to be an act of the brain and not of an immaterial substance residing within it, this large and curious structure which receives one fifth of the blood sent from the heart, has the easiest lot in the whole animal economy; it is better fed, clothed and lodged than any other part, yet has less to do.' p. 106. Is it possible he can suppose that in all this there is a particle of serious argument in favour of his position? It is fully allowed that the brain is *the seat* of thought and intelligence, the centre in which the nervous system terminates, and the instrument by which the soul performs its functions during its union with the body. When it is considered how very high and important these functions are, it surely cannot be maintained, that the human brain has any inferior office allotted to it, or one which is ill suited to its ample bulk, its curious structure, and the supplies which it derives from the animal system.

Many physiologists, it seems, have endeavoured to shew that the brain in man is larger in proportion to the bulk of the body, than in any of the brute creation; p. 190. and 'the *mental* powers of brutes, (Mr. Lawrence tells us) as far as we can see, are proportional to their organization.' Neither of these facts is true; nor, if both were true, would they prove any thing to his purpose. The following are some of the proportions between the weight of the brain and of the whole body, in man and different animals, given by himself, (p. 191.) from Haller and Cuvier, physiologists of high authority. In a child 6 years old, the brain is $\frac{1}{22}$ part of the whole body, its actual weight being estimated by Haller, to be 2lbs. 28½ drams. In an adult, the brain is $\frac{1}{35}$ of the body. In the orang-outang, the same proportion as the human; in the sapajou, or American monkey with prehensile tail, $\frac{1}{24}$ and $\frac{1}{25}$; in the great baboon, $\frac{1}{103}$; the mole, $\frac{1}{36}$; the fox, $\frac{1}{203}$; the fieldmouse, $\frac{1}{31}$; the beaver, $\frac{1}{290}$; the elephant, $\frac{1}{300}$; the ox, $\frac{1}{730}$; the horse, $\frac{1}{700}$; the ass, $\frac{1}{234}$; the goose, $\frac{1}{360}$; the cock, $\frac{1}{25}$: the duck, $\frac{1}{257}$; the sparrow, $\frac{1}{25}$; the canary bird, $\frac{1}{14}$; the tortoise, $\frac{1}{2240}$. The most transient glance at these proportions shews that nothing whatever can be made out from them. Some of the animals, whose sagacity and powers of instinct are well known to be of a very superior kind, as the elephant, the horse, the beaver, rank among

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among the lowest in the scale; while others of an inferior class in point of sagacity, as the canary bird, the mouse, &c. rise very high: man, according to this measure, is about equal in reasoning powers to the orang-outang and the mole, but far inferior to the cock, the fieldmouse, the American monkey with prehensile tail, and many others; to crown the whole, the child of 6 years old has higher intellectual powers than the adult man.

Other speculations of physiologists on these matters follow; but Mr. Lawrence rests particularly on an hypothesis of Soemmering, according to which, on estimating the proportion which the mass of the brain bears to the bulk of the nerves arising out of it, man is thought to exceed all other animals. Independently of weight and size, he informs us, M. Soemmering 'observed fifteen visible material anatomical differences between the brain of the common tailless ape and that of man.' He proceeds to the attempts of others to prove that, in man, the proportion between the cerebrum and the cerebellum is greater than in brute animals, and dilates on the number and depth of the convolutions in the human brain, the great quantity of its medullary substance in proportion to the cortical, &c. (p. 197.) All these are very curious and valuable subjects of inquiry for the physiologist, whose business it is to trace out the resemblances, relations, and uses of the different animal organs. It is only when such speculations are turned to the purpose of proving, what they neither do nor can prove in the slightest degree, that 'medullary matter thinks,' and that man only differs from a brute in the structure of his material brain, that they degenerate into mischievous absurdities.

Among other means of establishing his principles, Mr. Lawrence has recourse to pathology. 'They,' he says, 'who consider the mental operations as the acts of an immaterial being, and thus disconnect the sound state of the mind from organization, act very consistently in disjoining insanity also from the corporeal structure, and in representing it as a disease, not of the brain, but of the mind. Thus we come to disease of an immaterial being, for which, suitably enough, moral treatment has been recommended.' —p. 111.

We fully agree with him that, *suitably enough*, in many cases of mental derangement, moral treatment has been recommended; and, what is more, we believe that it is often the only treatment which is found efficacious. We are clearly of opinion that the causes and the phenomena of these diseases, as well as the remedies devised for them, tend very decidedly to shew at once the distinction between mind and matter, and their immediate dependance on each other during their present union. Many causes of derangement are entirely mental. That the first effect

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of the disorder may be to affect the structure of the brain, and to produce some morbid action of it, is naturally to be expected from the intimate union which subsists between them. In these cases, medical regimen may be highly useful in restoring the brain to its natural state and tone, and preventing its diseased action from reacting on the disorder of the mind: but, at the same time, the moral regimen is wanting to attack the primary cause of the evil; and we appeal to every person conversant in these disorders, whether after all that can be done by medicine, this treatment of the mind is not often found the only remedy that is effectual. Here then we have distinctly marked diseases originating in the mind, and through that acting upon matter. On the other hand, there are frequent and well known cases of insanity arising primarily from the state of the brain, from the repletion of its vessels, and consequent inflammation, or some violent blow or pressure on a particular part. Here the primary seat of the disorder is in the organ; and medical treatment for the purpose of restoring it to its proper healthy tone is the obvious method of removing the complaint. Mr. Lawrence tells us (p. 113) that he has dissected the heads of many insane persons and has hardly seen a single brain, which did not exhibit obvious marks of disease. 'Sometimes, indeed,' he adds, with what consistency let the reader judge, 'the mental phenomena are disturbed, *without* any visible deviation from the healthy structure of the brain.' Allowing, however, the case to be as he first states, that, *generally*, in cases of derangement, 'the brain exhibits obvious marks of disease,' what is the conclusion? That the primary cause of the disorder is always in the brain? Assuredly, not; but that, in those cases where the disease is purely mental, it acts upon the structure of the brain, and brings it to a morbid state. Thus the morbid state of the organ is the *consequence*, not the *cause*, of the disease. It is not true, however, that the brain is perceptibly diseased in all cases of insanity. Of thirty-seven dissections made at Bethlehem Hospital, the structure of the brain was in eleven cases firmer than usual; in six it was softer; and in the remaining twenty its consistence was natural.*

Such then are the arguments—we believe we have adverted to all that deserve the slightest consideration—by which Mr. Lawrence professes to prove that it is the medullary matter of the brain of man which thinks, reasons, understands; that there is no conscious being residing within; that all the phenomena of mind result from the organization of matter, and that when this organized matter is dissolved by death, every thing that constitutes the

* Haslam on Madness.

human

human being becomes utterly extinct. Now we should not be unwilling to leave the matter entirely to the common sense of the reader, and to ask, whether from Mr. Lawrence's own shewing, from the facts which he produces and from the mode of his reasoning upon them, there does not result that degree of probability, which amounts almost to demonstration, against his revolting doctrines, and in favour of those which he opposes.

But there are some very important medical facts, (independently of the many powerful arguments of another description,) which Mr. Lawrence of course passes over in silence, which mainly tend to prove that the brain is only the instrument, and not the cause of the thinking and reasoning powers. We allude principally to the cases, in which it has been found that every part of the structure of the brain has been deeply injured if not destroyed, without impeding or destroying any of the faculties of the mind, or any part of the process of thought. Instances of this kind are well known to every medical man conversant in such matters, and a great variety of them are on record. Dr. Haller mentions a case in which half a pound of pus was found in the ventricles of the brain, yet the faculties were unimpaired till death. Sir J. Pringle found an abscess in the right hemisphere of the brain as large as an egg, in a patient who had never been delirious, nor altogether insensible. A woman, under Diemerbroerch's immediate inspection, whose skull was fractured by the fall of a large stone, lost a quantity of brain equal in size to a man's fist, yet she lived thirty-six days after the accident, without alienation of mind, though paralytic on the side opposite the fracture. Peyronie tells us of a boy six years old, who received a pistol shot in the head; a suppuration followed, during which he lost a great quantity of the brain at every dressing: at the end of eighteen days he died, having retained his faculties to the last. When the head was opened, the portion of brain remaining in the skull did not exceed the size of a small egg. Nor is it only after the destruction of the superior or lateral parts of the brain that the powers of thought have been known to exist; they have survived the injury, and even the destruction of the cerebellum, and of the basis of the brain. Haller mentions several instances of scirrhus affecting the cerebellum, and producing death without previously injuring the faculties. Morgagni gives a particular account of a fatal scirrhus of the cerebellum, slow in its progress, not affecting the patient's sense till the last, and then only at intervals. Dr. Brunner records a case of a blacksmith, sixty-four years of age, a hard drinker and an industrious workman, who expired in a fit of apoplexy, having

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having passed the morning in apparent good health. On dissection, the whole brain, even the base of it, was found to be in a most diseased state, yet his faculties had never been impaired, and he had been remarkably acute in his judgment. Bonnet, in a patient who died after an illness of twelve years, without suffering any alienation of mind, found the whole substance of the brain watery, and so soft that it would hardly bear the knife. The pineal gland has been so often found suppurated, or petrified, or full of sabulous particles, without any previous affection of the faculties, that it seems by general consent to be given up as unnecessary to thinking.*

The inferences to be drawn from the numerous facts of this description which might be adduced, are highly important. In the first place, they render nugatory the lucubrations of such ingenious gentlemen as Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; since, if it were true that particular portions of the brain are the organs of particular faculties, then, whenever that particular portion is diseased or destroyed, the faculty connected with it must be deranged, or cease; whereas the contrary is notoriously the case. We never heard of a person losing the passion of anger, by an injury on one particular part of his brain, or being deprived of the talent of invention by an abscess formed in another; still we believe there are to be found, even now, in some of our shops, models of the human skull *mapped out*, with all the regularity of a terrestrial globe, into districts of love, destructiveness, anger, inventiveness, &c. This, however, is only by the way: the facts just adduced press most strongly on our conviction the momentous truth, that it is not the matter of the brain which thinks and reasons. Let it be granted that there is an immaterial soul in which the power of thought resides—a soul which *can*, and at some future time *will*, exercise its faculties without the aid of the material structure now united to it; and the instances of the full exercise of the mental faculties under severe injuries of the brain carry nothing with them that cannot be accounted for. On the other hand, let it be supposed that it is the matter of the brain which thinks and reasons, and it will seem to follow as a *necessary* consequence that all disease of the brain should at once impede and derange the power of thought, and that the loss of a portion of the brain should be an actual loss of a portion of the power of thought. As far as we understand those who maintain this theory, we conceive them to mean that it is the proper action of the brain to think and reason, just as it is of the liver to secrete bile, and of

* See a paper by Dr. Ferriar in the Memoirs of the Manchester Society, Vol. IV. Part I. p. 20.

the

the other various glands to secrete their particular fluids. Now, as it appears impossible, and is indeed contrary to all experience, that the liver and other glands should perform their functions fully, while their whole mass is diseased or a portion of them wholly gone, it seems much too severe a tax on our credulity, to call on us to believe, that the brain, as the cause of thought, should, when deeply injured or partially destroyed, exert its several powers unimpaired.

There is another physical fact which seems quite conclusive against the material system: and which is thus admirably stated by Mr. Rennell.

'Experiments and observations give us abundant reason for concluding, that the brain undergoes within itself precisely the same change with the remainder of the body. A man will fall down in a fit of apoplexy, and be recovered; in a few years he will be attacked by another, which will prove fatal. Upon dissection it will be found that there is a cavity formed by the blood effused from the ruptured vessel, and that a certain action had been going on, which gradually absorbed the coagulated blood. If then an absorbent system exists in the brain, and the organ thereby undergoes, in the course of a certain time, a total change, it is impossible that this flux and variable substance can be endowed with consciousness or thought. If the particles of the brain, either separately or in a mass, were capable of consciousness, then after their removal the consciousness which they produced must for ever cease. The consequence of which would be, that personal identity must be destroyed, and that no man could be the same individual being that he was ten years ago. But our common sense informs us, that as far as our understanding and our moral responsibility is involved, we are the same individual beings that we ever were. If the body alone, or any substance subject to the laws of body, were concerned, personal identity might reasonably be doubted; but it is something beyond the brain that makes the man at every period of his life the same: it is consciousness.—The body may be gradually changed, and yet by the deposition of new particles, similar to those which absorption has removed, it may preserve the appearance of identity. But in consciousness there is real, not an apparent individuality, admitting of no change nor substitution.'—pp. 96—98.

We have seen with what earnestness Mr. Lawrence contends that man is only a superior kind of brute as to intellectual endowments, possessing them in common with animals of every description, and differing only in degree; the distinction mainly consisting in two or three additional anterior or posterior lobes of brain, or in the relative number and depth of the convolutions in the medullary matter. Consistently with these ideas it might be expected that he would have placed him, as to corporeal qualifications, in the rank of a better sort of baboon or monkey. It happens, however, that he is very indignant at this opinion, though

though maintained by Monboddo and Rousseau. According to these great philosophers, (who yet must yield to Dr. Darwin,) man, in his natural and proper state, loses the os sublime, goes on all fours, is covered with a clothing of hair, and furnished with a tail (whether prehensile or not has never been stated.) It may still be doubted whether the species will be very highly flattered by the generic and specific characters which Mr. Lawrence, under the auspices of Blumenbach, has substituted in the place of these at which he is so much offended—

'Order, bimanum (two-handed); genus, homo; the species, single, with several varieties: characters, erect stature; two hands, teeth approximated and of equal length; the inferior incisors perpendicular; prominent chin; rational, endowed with speech, unarmed, defenceless.' —p. 133.

—In which it is manifest that he deems the perpendicularity of the inferior incisors and the prominence of the chin quite as important characteristic marks of man, as his powers of reason and his intellectual faculties. He proceeds, however, with no inconsiderable degree of anatomical knowledge, to prove that man is evidently formed to bear an erect attitude, and that he is clearly distinguished in his corporeal structure from every other living creature. He observes, among other proofs of his being designed for erectness of attitude, that the length and strength of the lower limbs are peculiar to man; and, that all the monkey tribe, even those which are thought to approach him most nearly, fall very short in this respect, their lower limbs being short and weak, and manifestly inadequate to sustain the body in an erect posture. He notices the disproportion in the respective lengths of our upper and lower limbs, as clearly pointing out the different offices they are intended to execute; the superior length and power of the latter making us totally unfit to go on all fours. To the long and powerful femur, he says, to the strong tibia, to the broad articular surfaces which join these at the knee, no parallel can be met with in any animal.

The human feet too, he adds, being the ultimate support of the whole frame and primary agents of locomotion, are characterized by a combination of greater breadth, strength, and solidity, in proportion to the size of the body, than those of any animal. The whole surface of the tarsus, metatarsus and toes resting on the ground, and the os calcis forming a right angle with the leg are peculiar to man; even the simia and the bear have the end of the os calcis raised, so that this bone begins to form an acute angle with the leg; the dog, cat, and other digitated animals, do not rest on the tarsus or carpus, but merely on the toes; in the cloven footed ruminants, the os calcis is raised nearly into a perpendicular

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cular position. Thus, as we depart from man, the foot is more and more contracted and elongated, the part serving for support reduced, and the angle of the heelbone rendered more acute. The great size of the os calcis, and particularly the bulk and prominence of its posterior projection, to which the powerful muscles of the calf are affixed, correspond to its important office of supporting the back of the foot and resisting force applied to the front of the body. The concavity of the sole is an arrangement rendered necessary by the whole surface resting flat on the ground; providing room for the muscles, nerves, vessels and tendons of the toes, and assisting all the functions of the foot. 'The gradually increased breadth of the foot towards the front, the prominence of its solid and nearly immovable parts, the tarsus and metatarsus, over the more flexible toes, the direction of the metatarsal bone supporting the great toe, its situation and want of mobility, are circumstances of strong contrast with the structure of the hand, plainly pointing out the former as organized for strength and resistance, and adapted to encrease the extent and solidity of its support.'—p. 145.

Mr. Lawrence instances many other peculiarities of the human structure, in the form of the pelvis; the distribution, size, and offices of the muscles; the shape of the breast and thorax, and peculiar formation of the spine, as clearly shewing that man is destined to be erect, and that he is most clearly distinguished by essential characters from all the brute creation.—pp. 146—154. He afterwards considers more particularly the upper extremities of the human frame, shewing that, while they are entirely unsuited to the office of supporting the body, they are admirably adapted to the uses to which we put them, that of seizing and holding objects, and thereby executing, besides all the processes of the arts, many minute but most serviceable actions of constant recurrence. Comparing, too, the structure of those animals which approach nearest to the human form, with that of man, he shews that they are as ill suited to the erect attitude as man is perfectly adapted for it. As the result of his inquiry, he states 'that the erect stature is not only a necessary result of the human structure, but that it is peculiar to man; and that the differences in the form and arrangement of parts, derived from this source only, are abundantly sufficient to distinguish man by a wide interval from all other animals.'—p. 165.

From the forms of the limbs, and the general structure of the frame, Mr. Lawrence proceeds to the head, and the moral and intellectual qualities; and here he reverts to his former speculations, considering that in these most important characteristics of his nature, man is nothing more than an orang-outang or ape, with

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with more ' ample cerebral hemispheres,' in whom the rotundity of the skull gives room for ' the more exquisite, complicated, and perfectly developed structure of the brain, and in consequence, for superiority in propensities, feelings and intellectual faculties.'—p. 237. In consistency with these ideas, he maintains that, in those varieties of the human species which have a ' retreating forehead and depressed vertex, there is a natural inferiority in intellectual capacity; and that it is as unreasonable to expect that the Americans or Africans can be raised by any culture to an equal height in moral sentiments and intellectual energy with Europeans, as to hope that the bulldog may be made to equal the greyhound in speed, or the mastiff taught to rival in talents and acquirements the sagacious and docile poodle.'—p. 501. We might, and perhaps ought, to reply to this argument, by physiological facts derived from other animals whose percipient powers are not varied by greater changes in the form of the brain in individuals of the same species inhabiting different parts of the globe; and by historical facts respecting various tribes of man himself, experiencing as little change of faculty under like changes of the sensorium: but we are hastening to a conclusion, and cannot therefore stop to inquire the precise degree in which Mr. Lawrence is borne out in this assertion, or to consider how far it is consistent with what he allows in other passages respecting some of the savage tribes of North America, that they are intrepid, ardent, generous and humane; faithful to engagements; ' that their lofty sentiments of independence, ardent courage, and devoted friendship would sustain a comparison with the most splendid similar examples in the more highly gifted races.' We content ourselves with remarking that this warm friend of civil liberty and the rights of man supplies the best apology for those who would repress the benevolent attempts to raise the poor African in the scale of civilization; and that if at any time a slave-driver in the West Indies should feel some qualms of conscience for treating the blacks under his care as a herd of oxen, he would have only to imbibe Mr. Lawrence's idea respecting their being as inferior to himself in mental faculties as the mastiff is to the greyhound in swiftness, and his mind would at once be set at ease on the subject.

To return, however, to the important subject of Mr. Lawrence's doctrine of materialism. It is not certainly to physiology that we look for the main proofs of the immateriality of the soul, and its continuance after death—we only ask that this valuable science may not be enlisted into the service of infidelity; that, by disguising or concealing its facts, or misrepresenting the inferences to which they justly lead, it may not be brought to invalidate those other

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other proofs of the immaterial and immortal nature of the soul, which, in reality, it is calculated to support. Mr. Lawrence has the confidence to tell his readers, while he is striving with all his power to prove that men have no souls, and that the medullary matter of their brains thinks, that he is only speaking physiologically, and that 'the theological doctrine of the soul and its separate existence has nothing to do with this physiological question.'—p. 8. Nothing to do with it! Is he in his senses, or is he insulting the understandings of his readers? He endeavours to demonstrate from physiological principles, that what he calls the theological doctrine of the soul is *totally false*, and then says that this doctrine has nothing to do with the 'physiological question'! Why will he not be content with endeavouring to rob men of their religious hopes, and to degrade them to the brute creation, without expecting to impose on their simplicity by such assertions!

We are unwilling to draw our readers into metaphysical disquisitions, and shall not therefore dwell upon the argument for the immateriality of the conscious principle in man, urged with great success by Dr. Clarke in his letters to Dodwell, and which is founded on the position, that the perception or consciousness which we have of our existence is necessarily indivisible, since it would be a contradiction to suppose that one part of it could be here, and another there.—But we forbear to enlarge on an argument of this kind, although it is our firm opinion that it has never been satisfactorily answered; and we would rather entreat the reader again to consider whether he can at all reconcile it to his understanding to believe, that the exalted faculties and capacities, moral and intellectual, which belong to the mind of man, can be the mere result of particles of matter disposed and arranged into particular organs?

But, in the capacity of the human mind for moral improvement, and in the adaptation of the course of things in this world to promote it, we surely discern still clearer indications of a destination to some ulterior end. We find ourselves placed in a state which is manifestly a state of trial and of discipline. We have good and evil set before us; we are agitated by passions and affections, exposed to sorrows and anxieties, encircled with temptations of every kind. We feel that, by exercising habitual controul over our passions, and by turning to good account the discipline of sorrow, temptations and disappointments, we have it in our power to make a continual progress towards moral perfection, to exalt our piety, to increase our resignation, to confirm our resolution, to refine our desires. Is it probable, is it possible, that, while this is the manifest tendency of things, there should be no end designed in the appointment of it; that, after a progress towards

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wards perfection gradually carried on to a certain point, all should at once be closed, and the whole human creature become as if he had never been?

Again, it is surely not doubtful that every thing in this world is under the superintendence of a Being infinitely benevolent and just. Is it consistent with either of these high attributes, that man should have been formed with faculties, which, as all experience teaches, lead to the anticipation of a future state, and that all this anticipation should be built on error and delusion? How many, in all ages, have nobly sacrificed immediate worldly good; have patiently endured privation, pain and suffering; have even freely yielded up life itself, from the confident anticipation that an availing recompense awaited them beyond the grave? Would a benevolent and just Being permit these sacrifices to be made, and the hopes on which they are founded to end in utter disappointment?

Once more—where, in the course of the present world, do we find the stamp and impress of God's perfect and eternal justice? The pious soul frequently mourns under continued pain and affliction—the wicked is blessed with sound health and alacrity of spirits. The innocent falls into the snares of the guilty, virtue sinks into obscurity, and vice is raised to eminence; the plans of him who is striving to benefit his fellow creatures, end in disappointment, while they who seek only to injure and destroy, go on successfully and attain their purposes. What is the inference from all this?—that God exercises no providence over the world? Is it not rather that there *must* be some state of existence beyond the present, when all that appears now perplexed will be made clear, and all that is imperfect adjusted according to the rule of unchanging and unerring wisdom and goodness?

But, if these are the conclusions of unassisted reason, Revelation gives us the highest possible sanction for their truth. Revelation positively assures us that there is a life, a never-ending life beyond the present, that there is a soul within us, which *can* live distinct from the body, and which *will* live, when the body shall have mouldered into dust. It tells us that there will be a day of resurrection, and of judgment, a day when justice will reign triumphant and all righteousness be fulfilled. Here we have no crude speculations, no ill-digested theories of self-styled philosophers; but the sure word of God himself, confirming our belief, elevating our hopes, and teaching us the true end and destiny of our being!

> Nempe hæc quæ cogitat et vult
> Mens, haud terrenis conflata est ex elementis.

Verum

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Verùm hanc interea Deus hanc exstinguere possit:
Esto: Deus possit, si fert divina voluntas.
AT NON EXTINGUET: neque enim vis illa sciendi
Tot res humanâ tam longe sorte remotas,
Nec porro æterni nunquam satiata cupido,
Nec desiderium nostris in mentibus hærens
Perfecti, frustra est. Jam, si fas jusque requirunt
Ut sceleri male sit, bene virtutique, nec illa
Alterutri sors obtingat, dum vivitur istic;
Restat ut hoc alio fiat discrimen in ævo.

One word more, and we have done. Mr. Lawrence contends (p. 106.) that the doctrines which he promulgates are true, and that truth ought always to be spoken. We beg leave to remind him that, when he affirms the doctrines to be true, the most he can possibly mean is that he *believes* them to be so; and it is not to be justified, we must inform him, on any sound principle, that a man should, at all times and under all circumstances, give currency to opinions of every description, on the mere ground that, in his private judgment, he believes them to be true. A considerate person will always feel a certain distrust of his own opinions, when he finds them opposed to those maintained by the generality of mankind, including the wisest and the best; and above all, he will most seriously weigh the tendency and the probable consequences of their general reception. Apply this to the opinions maintained by Mr. Lawrence. Their tendency to impair the welfare of society, to break down the best and holiest sanctions of moral obligation, and to give a free rein to the worst passions of the human heart, is fully admitted even by those who embrace them. Voltaire, it is well known, checked his company from repeating blasphemous impieties before the servants, 'lest,' said he, 'they should cut all our throats;' and Mr. Lawrence, we apprehend, would much sooner entrust his life and property to a person who believed that he had an immortal and accountable soul, than to one who believed, with him, that medullary matter thinks, and that the whole human being perishes with the dissolution of the body. What advantage then can he propose to himself, by endeavouring to promote the general reception of his opinions? Is it possible that he can desire to increase human vice and misery, to degrade his species by sowing the seeds of more sensuality, impiety, profligacy and worldly-mindedness than he actually finds among them? Or, when he knows that such is the tendency of his conduct, is it possible that his fancied love of truth, or the indulgence of his vanity can outweigh the feeling of what he owes to the welfare of his fellow-creatures?

We are by no means surprized to hear that Mr. Lawrence has

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seriously injured himself in the opinion of the more respectable part of his profession by his late proceedings; and that he has already experienced from the public some of those consequences which he might have foreseen as the natural result. It has sometimes been said that sceptical opinions are prevalent to a considerable extent in the profession to which he belongs. We hope, and we believe, that this is not the case. Certain we are, that while Mr. Lawrence is an almost solitary instance of a person of any consideration in that profession who has publicly maintained opinions hostile to religion, very many of the most eminent individuals in it have been distinguished for the firmness and the soundness of their religious principles; and, on the present occasion, the stand which many of them have made against his pernicious and degrading doctrines has been such as do them infinite credit.

But something more is necessary for the satisfaction of the public and the credit of the institution. It appears to us imperative on those who have the superintendence of the Royal College of Surgeons, to make it an indispensable condition of the continuance of Mr. Lawrence in the office of lecturer, not only that he should strictly abstain from propagating any similar opinions in future, but that he should expunge from his lectures already published all those obnoxious passages which have given such deserved offence, and which are now circulating under the sanction of the College.

Art. II. *Mémoires sur la Marine, et les Ponts et Chaussées de France et d'Angleterre, contenant deux Relations de Voyages faits par l'Auteur dans les Ports d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande, dans les années* 1816, 1817 *et* 1818; *la Description de la Jetée de Plymouth, du Canal Calédonien, &c.* Par Charles Dupin. Paris. 1819.

THE avowed object of M. Charles Dupin's two visits to Great Britain was the improvement of a treatise on Naval Architecture, which he undertook in 1813; but which, he candidly confesses, was found to be defective by a commission appointed to examine it at Toulon. To supply those defects, and to make it more generally useful, M. Dupin was induced to visit the principal ports of France, and the other maritime powers of Europe; and with this view (as we have said) he came to England, bringing with him such recommendations as procured him an easy admission to all the naval and military establishments of the United Kingdom, and other great works and manufactories both public and private.

M. Dupin

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M. Dupin is a captain in the corps of Naval Engineers, a member of the Legion of Honour and, we believe, of the Institute, and was formerly superintendant of the Naval Arsenal at Dunkirk. He is undoubtedly a shrewd and intelligent young man, and no bad sample of the produce of Buonaparte's polytechnic schools; having published a good deal on mathematical and philosophical subjects, translated Demosthenes, with an essay on the Eloquence of the Athenian orator, and written, *proh pudor!* 'a letter to *Milady Morgan*' on the comparative merits of Racine and Shakspeare!

Less partial than most of his countrymen to his own nation and less prejudiced against every other, he nevertheless now and then suffers an undue bias to warp his better judgment, and, *à l'ordinaire*, compliments France at the expense of England and of truth. Our readers probably recollect that, in a former Number of this work,* we noticed the groans of the Institute at the reading of M. Dupin's Report, in which due credit was given to the state of perfection in which he found machinery in general in Great Britain; and they can hardly have forgotten that when the *invention* of all this machinery was claimed for the transcendant genius of Frenchmen, 'the groans ceased, the clouds were dispelled, and all became calm, cheerful, and serene.' This is pretty much the line taken in the volume before us.† While a fair proportion of praise and admiration is bestowed on the great public works, the naval and military establishments, and the machinery employed in the manufactories even of private individuals, there is scarcely an article in which it is not discovered that the inventive faculties of the French had preceded us; though it is admitted that we have left them at an immeasurable distance in carrying their inventions into practice.

'Having exhausted (it is thus that M. Dupin commences) every thing useful and ingenious afforded by maritime France, I turned my eyes towards a people who, for a century past, have wielded the sceptre of the seas, and, without resting on the superiority of their labours, are striving more and more to reach perfection.' His first visit is, of course, to the capital, which presented itself to his observations under three points of view; first, as the greatest port for trade; next as the focus of industry for the maritime arts; and, lastly, as the centre of the operations of the military marine or navy. He finds London to be, by nature,

* No. XXXVII. p. 195. *note.*

† An abbreviated translation of this work, with Notes by the Translator, has been inserted in the Third Number of a periodical collection of 'Modern Voyages and Travels,' by Sir Richard Phillips. The accuracy and information displayed by the author of this little tract lead us to regret that it did not appear in a more attractive shape, and under more worthy auspices.

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what Paris ought to be by art, a sea-port. He describes the tiers of shipping which, in clusters of five, six, seven, and even eight abreast, are anchored in the Thames, and which succeed one another almost without interruption, from the very foot of London Bridge to the distance of some miles down the river. He remarks that these, however, are but a small part of the mercantile marine belonging to the metropolis; for that all the ships which trade to the East Indies have their particular wet-docks or basins, both for imports and exports; that those which trade to the West Indies, in like manner, have theirs; that ships of all nations are received into those called the London Docks; and that the Greenland Dock, originally constructed for vessels employed in the fisheries of that country, has subsequently received a more extensive destination.

'Twenty years have not yet elapsed, since this last mentioned dock, the smallest of all, was the only one existing. War unexpectedly occurred, and we covered the continent with our trophies. Every where, throughout impoverished Europe, the commerce of England seemed to recede before our victorious banners. We imagined that Great Britain, exhausted, was on the brink of ruin. But, while our sight was darkened by the smoke of a noble incense of glory, unlooked for opulence overflowed with its treasures the British empire; the rivers were not wide enough to contain all the ships, and fewer years sufficed for a few individuals to excavate and construct, at their expense, the docks which receive the trading fleets of the two hemispheres, than it required for the triumphant government of France to erect some of the quays of the Seine. These are the prodigies of the seas!'—p. 2.

These are the 'prodigies' of something more—but we will not dispute.

If France had not first been torn in pieces by internal dissensions, which led to a military despotism; if she had prudently applied but a tythe of the sums expended in cherishing the unbounded ambition of a military despot, and flattering the vanity of his willing slaves, she, as well as England, might have erected more useful works than 'some of the quays of the Seine.' It is some consolation for us to reflect that, at the very moment this restless passion was not only ruining the nation by which it was fostered, but bringing on our own an accumulation of debt, which no one would have been bold enough to pronounce her ability to incur, much less her strength to bear—that during this eventful and fearful period, the public spirit of the nation should have carried her energies to a height unparalleled in the history of the world; and that, by the improvement and extension of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the United Kingdom, and by the construction of canals, roads, bridges, drains, docks, and harbours,

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harbours, the national wealth should be increased to such a degree, as not only to afford us the means of keeping faith with the public creditor, but of gradually discharging the obligations which now weigh so heavily on the state. We have heard (and we can trust our authorities) that not less than 120 millions sterling, or a sum equal to one fourth part of the whole debt created during the late war, were expended by the government and individuals in the great national works above noticed, and in the application of machinery to the various branches of useful and productive arts.

M. Dupin observes, that the construction of our wet-docks or basins differs essentially from that of theirs, by having the containing walls concave on the exterior side or that next the water, and convex on that next the land; whereas theirs have plain faces, with the stones placed in horizontal courses. It was Mr. Rennie, we believe, who first adopted the plan of cutting off the heads of the piles in an angle inclining inwards or towards the land side, and of laying the courses of stone in the same inclined angle, by which a greater resistance is offered to the pressure of the earth, and the wall prevented from being pushed outwards, as is more or less the case in most of the walls built on the old construction, which is still the practice in France. M. Dupin also notices the superior advantages of building the lock-gates convex, to resist the pressure of the water; of using the steam-engine for draining the works of hydraulic operations; and of iron railways for the removal of stones, sand, and other heavy materials. 'To these,' says he, 'England owes a part of her wealth. Never, without them, could coal, iron-ore, limestone, slate, and other raw materials have been conveyed to such distances, and at such a trifling expense.' The dredging-machines of the Thames, erected on lighters or barges, and worked by the steam-engine, attracted his attention, from their being altogether unknown in France—It is something at least to be allowed the invention of a mud-raising machine!—and he describes them as being at once very simple, very efficient, and very economical.*

The diving-bell with its apparatus is next described as a machine of infinite use in all hydraulic works. 'It is,' says M. Dupin, 'the geometry of three dimensions applied to the labours of the arts.' This is not very intelligible as applied to the diving-bell; but its chief uses are, as he observes, building the walls of quays or jetties under water, clearing harbours or roadsteds of rocks, anchors, guns, and remains of wrecks; and mining or blasting sunken rocks dangerous to navigation.

* In a note on this passage, the Translator tells us, that one of these dredging-machines, furnished with an engine of the power of sixteen horses, excavates and raises about three hundred tons of mud and gravel a day.

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It has not escaped M. Dupin, that a great change has taken place within a few years in the materials employed by us in the construction of wet and dry docks; by the substitution, in merchants yards, of brick and rubble for wood, and, in the great naval arsenals, of hewn blocks of marble and granite. The capital expended on this improvement is stated to be amply compensated by the saving of repairs, and obviating the constant interruption to maritime operations in docks faced with wood. He also observes, that a change not less beneficial has occurred on land, by substituting iron for wood in almost all public buildings—as roofs, rafters, floors, window and door frames, staircases, &c.; he particularly notices the iron shed for covering one of the quays of the West India Docks, 2400 feet, as he says, in length, and supported by hollow iron columns; the beams, joists, rafters, and laths, being all of that metal.*

M. Dupin next gives an account of the private establishments on or near the Thames, which he visited, as connected with the maritime arts. Of these he mentions Mr. Maudsley's manufactory, where the iron work of Brunel's block-machinery was made, and where were constructed for the English navy seven thousand iron tanks, each capable of containing about sixty-four cubic feet of water. He considers this, and very justly, to be an invaluable improvement, as it enables ships to stow about one-eighth more water in the ground-tier; but he does not appear to be aware that the water is infinitely better preserved, and that one set of iron tanks will outlast at least ten sets of wooden casks.

The rope-manufactory of Huddart, the iron-cable manufactory of Brown, and the circular saws of Brunel, with the peculiar merits of each, have not escaped the penetrating eye of M. Dupin; and though he does not openly avow it, in speaking of our machinery, he seems to feel that France in all these respects is a century behind England.

London, considered as the centre of the operations of the military marine, or Royal Navy, is next discussed. From the Admiralty office, he tells us, a courier may reach the dock-yard at Deptford in half an hour: Woolwich in an hour; Chatham in four hours; Sheerness in six; Portsmouth in eight; and Plymouth in twenty-four: that notwithstanding this rapidity of communication, lines of telegraphic stations afford a facility of correspondence with all the naval arsenals; and that the French Semaphore has recently been adopted, with some modifications proposed by Sir Home Popham, who is stated to have made several

* In this the translator (to whom we have so often alluded) observes there is a small mistake; the length being 2700 feet; the roof, he says, is of wood; but the shed on the south quay of the same dock, and which is 1314 feet long, has a roof of cast iron.

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improvements in it with regard to the art of holding intercourse by signals.* Here M. Dupin observes, that a change takes place in the Board of Admiralty with every change of ministers; whilst the permanency of the members of the Navy Board (which is at the same time independent and subordinate) may be considered, with reference to the Admiralty, as a division between art and authority, which he conceives to be 'a master-piece of the English institutions.'

In speaking of the Victualling establishment at Deptford, its bakehouses and stores of provisions for the fleet, M. Dupin justly observes—

'The English government would not merely consider as an act of barbarity, but as an act of madness, a saving made at the expense of the health of the men who consecrate their strength and their life to the defence of their country. Every thing is therefore abundant, wholesome, agreeable to the taste, and, I would almost say, delicate, in the provisions of the English sailors. When I shall state that the crews of the men of war have cocoa for breakfast, I shall perhaps make the superficial observer smile; but I shall strike deeply the men who, profiting by the lessons of Hannibal, know how much physical strength, added to moral strength, may decide the loss or the gain of battles.'—p. 15.

When M. Dupin calls Deptford the least important of all our naval arsenals, he is evidently not aware that it is the grand repository of the various manufactured stores for the fleet, from which they are shipped to the home yards, out-ports, and foreign stations, to the amount, in time of war, of more than thirty thousand tons annually. Besides the magazines, it has three slips for building ships of the line, three dry-docks, and a basin.

The dock-yard of Woolwich merits, he says, more attention than that of Deptford. 'From the time of the famous *Harry Grace de Dieu*, built by Henry VII., to the *Nelson*, a first rate of 120 guns, the largest ships have been built here.' In this short sentence are two mistakes. The *Henry Grace de Dieu* was not built by Henry VII. but by Henry VIII.; and Woolwich Dock-yard being first established by the latter sovereign, did not of course exist in the time of the former. It was the *Great Harry* which Henry VII. built. In this yard M. Dupin observed a machine invented by Mr. Hookey for bending the largest pieces of timber, of which it appeared to him that too little use was made; he may be assured that all the use of it is

* We have our doubts whether in telegraphic communications we have gone beyond or even yet reached the French; but we are quite sure, that the ingenious translator of M. Dupin's work is mistaken in supposing *Semaphore* to be a new name given to the Admiralty Telegraph by Sir Home Popham: it was adopted from the French long before Sir Home's improvements, as they are called, took place.

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made which is found necessary, and we believe that Mr. Hookey has been promoted in consequence of the invention. A new smithery was constructing in this yard under the direction of Mr. Rennie; it is now finished, and is, as M. Dupin predicted it would be, the first of its kind in England, and certainly in Europe;—we are much mistaken, however, if there is not a smithery on the Loire where anchors are manufactured by machinery. In that of Woolwich, the large cylinder bellows, tilt hammers and all the machinery, are put in motion by steam-engines. The roof, and every other part of the building, except the walls, are of cast iron.

M. Dupin has evidently obtained a very imperfect knowledge of Mr. Lukin's attempt to impregnate timber with some extraneous substance, and thereby prevent the disease improperly known by the name of dry-rot: the Translator, however, has set him right by borrowing our account of it from No. XXIII. p. 236—238. This is not the only one of our Numbers that has served his purpose; and we rejoice at it: for the first wish of our heart is to be conducive to the diffusion of useful knowledge.

An introduction from Sir Joseph Banks, whom M. Dupin truly calls the Mæcenas of the sciences in Great Britain, to Colonel Mudge, procured for him an admittance into the ordnance depôt at Woolwich, of which he speaks in terms of high admiration. The liberality of the Board of Ordnance is commended in the case of Brunel, whose ingenuity was remunerated over and above the terms of his agreement, by a pension for life, which, at his own desire, was subsequently commuted for a gross sum. Our author observes, that this noble and generous manner of treating artists is 'a better panegyric of an administration than the most refined compliments and the most pompous phrases,' which we suspect are the only harvest yet reaped by M. Dupin.

The improvements of Sheerness dock-yards are next described; and the construction of the new naval arsenal is pronounced to be 'one of the enterprizes which does most honour to the experience and the talents of Mr. John Rennie.' The materials employed for the walls and quays, M. Dupin observes, are granite, brought from Cornwall and Scotland, the two extremities of Great Britain. After visiting the Bellerophon, a ship of the line transformed into a hulk for the reception of the convicts employed in excavating the great basin, he notices a fact which we earnestly recommend to the attention of Mr. Bennet, as coming from one, who, though he cannot be suspected of any strong partialities in favour of England, is on this point at least free from prejudice: 'In the fitting up and the interior arrangement of this hulk,' he says, 'every thing that the most ingenious humanity can invent has

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has been put in practice, to render supportable and comfortable a floating prison.'

The praise thus bestowed on British humanity may, however, be meant to set in a more forcible point of view the *tirade* which immediately follows it against the inhumanity of the English government, in the difference of treatment experienced by a convict and a disarmed enemy; which is exemplified, he says, in placing from eight to twelve hundred prisoners of war in a prison-ship of the same rate as that in which the greatest number of malefactors does not exceed four hundred. We must observe, however, in the first place, that M. Dupin here hazards a statement not founded in fact; and, secondly, that a remonstrance on the treatment of prisoners of war, and an affectation of humanity for prisoners, comes with a singularly bad grace from the creature of a tyrant who, under the most cruel and aggravating circumstances, seized and detained civilians and non-combatants, men, women and children, as prisoners of war; who refused to *open the doors of his prison-house*, or to listen to any terms for an exchange; and who doomed hundreds of unfortunate Spanish and Italian captives to hard labour, on the muddy banks of the Scheldt, and in excavating the basins of Cherbourg.

At Chatham M. Dupin is particularly struck with the good order and regularity which prevail in the dock-yard of that port. Here, he observes, the building slips and dry-docks are faced with wood according to the old system; but a dry dock is excavating intended to be faced with granite and Portland-stone. The most remarkable object in this yard was a saw-mill, with its machinery, recently erected by Brunel. The mill is on an eminence at the upper part of the yard, to which the timber is floated from the Medway through a subterraneous canal or tunnel, into a circular basin; out of which it is afterwards raised by machinery to the level of the mill, taken into it, and placed under the saws; then moved away on iron carriages, and deposited on a long stage: from which, by trucks or carts on iron railways, it is finally conveyed to every part of the yard. M. Dupin finds fault with Brunel for not having levelled the eminence, in order to save the power necessary for raising the timber; and adds, that the same objection was made to him by Dr. Wollaston. We venture to say that if Dr. Wollaston made any such objection, he did so without having seen the works; for the carrying on the operations on the eminence is precisely that which constitutes the chief merit of the arrangement, as thereby the timber, when sawn, is conveyed on iron railways by a gentle slope to all the docks and slips in the yard, without teams of horses, and without interfering with any of the other works.

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It was at Chatham, M. Dupin observes, that Mr. Seppings first put in practice the improvements which he suggested in the building of ships: he adds, that to attain his object, he had to triumph over those numerous and venerable axioms consecrated by the pride—he might have added, the ignorance—of our ancestors, and preserved religiously by the self-love of their descendants; that, however, he had powerful friends out of the body of the master-shipwrights; and that he obtained from authority what he could not obtain by persuasion; and thus rendered, as it were by force, to the English navy, one of the most signal services that it ever received. 'I have endeavoured,' M. Dupin says, 'to make known, in France, the real advantages of the system introduced by Mr. Seppings. I met with more obstacles than he did, and, less fortunate, I have not yet triumphed over them. I have given demonstrations; but that was vain like the theory; calculations, and one would have thought that I was treating of imaginary quantities; in short, when I wished to support myself by the authority of experience, I was told that, in England, they were at present abandoning the system which I was desirous of getting adopted in France.' A second visit to England, however, convinced him of the contrary, and shewed him, in all the dock-yards, new ships building and old ones repairing according to the system of Mr. Seppings.

All this is well enough; but when he tells us that he will maintain, with the proofs in his hand, 'that the principle has been known and even practised in France and elsewhere,' we beg leave to join issue with him. He has no proofs in his hand, or elsewhere; nor do the systems or experiments of the builders mentioned by him bear any more resemblance to Mr. Seppings's diagonal framing than the construction of a velocipede to that of a phaeton. They have both wheels, it is true, and the same materials are found in both. It is also true that Bouguer, Chapman, Snodgrass and others, made frequent attempts to give additional strength to ships by placing wood and iron diagonally, the inefficiency of which we shewed in a former number.* We know nothing of L'Oiseau, which is cited as an example of diagonal bracing; but one precious specimen of French invention we have had an opportunity of seeing in our own ports in the Jupiter, now the Maida, in which the planks of the ceiling are placed somewhat in a lozenge-shape. The object of Mr. Seppings's plan is to give uniform strength to the fabric, and prevent the ship from hogging or arching, or, in other words, the middle part from rising and the two extremities from sinking; and

* No. XXIV. p. 459.

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it has effectually succeeded: while the French Jupiter is hogged to such a degree as to form no bad resemblance of the back of the animal from which the term is derived.

But, says M. Dupin, 'the Royal Society of London, by a favour too little merited on my part, has published, in the first part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1817, the theoretical, practical and historical researches which I have made on the improvements recently introduced in the construction of English ships of war. The honour of the first idea of these improvements has *thus, in an authentic manner*, been rendered to France.' Let him, however, not lay this flattering unction to his soul. The Royal Society, as well as other societies, can sometimes bestow 'favours little merited;'—but it is so far from considering what may find its way into the Transactions as *authentic*, that it expressly declares, at the head of every half-yearly Number, that it is not responsible for any one of the papers contained in it. We cannot help thinking, however, that it would have been as well if the *Committee of papers* of the Royal Society of London had withstood the attempts of a foreigner to deprive a meritorious British subject of his just claims, more especially when those attempts had already been rejected by the National Institute of France.

The Royal Society has, however, rendered tardy justice to Mr. Seppings, by conferring on him the Copley gold medal; and as M. Dupin is a reader of our Journal, we gladly avail ourselves of the medium, to convey to him the sentiments of its venerable president on the merits of Mr. Seppings's plan, taken from the address delivered by him on that occasion to the inventor.

'It cannot (said Sir Joseph Banks) be a just cause for lessening the satisfaction you are entitled to derive from the success of your improvements, that others should have formerly attempted to introduce arrangements of a nature somewhat similar to your oblique braces or riders, but should have done it so awkwardly and unskilfully, as to have failed altogether in obtaining any practical benefit from their imperfect inventions. If indeed the merit of mechanical improvements belonged exclusively to those who first had a vague notion of their possibility, the world would be filled with idle schemers and dreamers, multiplying their crude conceits for the mere chance of hitting upon some accidental combination, which, when the hands of more industrious and skilful men had brought it to perfection, they would be but too happy to claim as their own legitimate offspring. Other countries may be extremely fertile in speculations of this kind; but Great Britain has long been distinguished for practical excellence in arts and sciences; and we may willingly consent to share with others some portion of the glory of original invention, provided that we retain, as our peculiar patrimony, the highest perfection of actual execution.'

M. Dupin is perfectly right in his assertion that the exercise of authority

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authority was necessary to overcome ancient prejudices; it required indeed all the energy and firmness of Mr. Yorke to carry through a system which he clearly foresaw would be the means of renovating the strength and giving permanence to the soundness of the British navy. Some idea may be collected of the manner in which Mr. Seppings was thwarted and opposed, and tormented, by the way in which he writes to a friend.

'You cannot (he says) be aware of the determined and systematic opposition I have met, and the labour I have gone through both of body and mind, owing to the difficulties and disinclination with which I was thwarted in every step of the progress. The anxiety of my mind broke in on my hours of rest, and prevented sleep, and the want of sleep proved injurious to my health. At length, however, a superior power bore down all opposition; the system was adopted and was found to succeed. Before this I was told that my plan possessed neither sense nor science; but afterwards I was assailed with accusations of having collected my ideas, one day from the French; another from the Russians, then from the Swedes—whereas, God knows! the only assistance I have received was from the plan and drawings of the celebrated bridge of Schaffhausen, and from no other source.'

It would almost appear that professional prejudices among shipwrights have always been more inveterately rooted than among mechanics of any other description. The whole history of British naval architecture abounds with squabbles about innovations and suggested improvements. In the time of that excellent shipwright Phineas Pett, the Seppings of his day, his opponents carried matters to such lengths that King James found himself compelled to proceed to Deptford in person with his whole court, accompanied by certain learned men, to investigate the charges brought against Mr. Pett:—when all of them had been patiently gone through and refuted, except the last, which was that of his having cut the wood cross-grained, the king grew impatient, and turning to his accusers, observed, that 'the cross-grain was in the shipwrights and not in the wood.'

Mr. (now Sir Robert) Seppings, however, has had the satisfaction of knowing that his services are about to receive their due reward—services which, to use the words of the Finance Committee (3d Report), 'although they have nothing of that brilliancy which forcibly attracts public admiration, will continue to confer a lasting benefit on the British nation, long after that period when the beneficial effects of victories, however splendid, shall have passed away.' It was stated in parliament that they were under consideration; and we understand that the Prince Regent, in conferring on this intelligent and distinguished shipwright the honour of knighthood on board his own yacht, expressed

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pressed a hope that some more substantial benefit would soon reward his meritorious exertions.

Of the many practical improvements in naval architecture, introduced by this zealous surveyor of the navy, a few have come to our knowledge, which we shall briefly mention.

Foremost stands the new system of diagonal trussing, which in every instance has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation.* Every ship to which it has been applied continues airy, sound, and wholesome—no decay—no dry-rot—no recesses for vermin—no receptacles for foul air, moisture and mushrooms—no leakage below, nor dripping from above—no racking, nor lifting of the beams, nor working of the joints; but every part equally firm and strong throughout the ship. Unlike those *Forty Thieves*, (as a gallant admiral called them,) which, on the spur of the moment, were built at inordinate prices in the merchants' yards, and which broke down with the rickets and dry-rot in four or five years after they were launched, and some of them even in less time, the ships first built or repaired on Mr. Seppings's plan have come from sea as firm, as sound, and as free from filth as when they left the dock; and as it appears there are now not less than from forty to fifty sail of the line, built or repaired on his system, there can be no doubt of the perfect accuracy of Lord Melville's declaration in the House of Lords, 'that at no former period was the fleet in such a state of efficiency, as to ships, as at the present moment.'

An invention of great utility procured him, while yet an assistant shipwright, the approbation of the Admiralty, accompanied with a pecuniary reward of a thousand pounds. When a ship of the line was taken into a dock for repairs, she rested on a row of square blocks of wood, amounting to forty or fifty in number. In order to get at her bottom, or examine her false keel, it was necessary to *lift* her wholly off the blocks and suspend her in the air, by means of numerous shores and spars of wood. To effect this, wedges were driven simultaneously under the bottom of these shores, an operation that required three, four, and even five hundred men; the ship in the mean time pressing with her whole weight against the ends of the supporting shores, strained every timber, plank, knee and fastening during the operation. Mr. Seppings, by means of a block consisting of three pieces, found a remedy for all the evils attending the old system—by reducing the number of men to about twenty; by removing all weight or pressure against the ship's sides; and by lessening

* A particular description of this system and its advantages will be found in Nos. XIX. p. 27, 28. and XXIV. pp. 444. 451. *et seq.* of this Journal.

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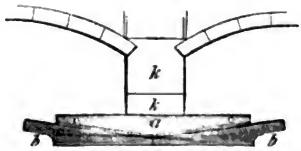
the time to as many hours as it once required days. The annexed figure shews the wedges or inclined planes of which the block is composed, where *a* is the wedge or double inclined plane on which the keel *k* of the ship rests, having its obtuse angle equal to 170°, and *b b* are two inclined planes, each having an acute angle of 5°. The upper wedge is of hard wood shod with iron; the inclined planes *b b* are of cast iron.



When any one of these blocks is required to be disengaged, in order to examine that part of the keel on which it rests, a few smart blows, given alternately on the two sides of the two half-wedges or lower-inclined planes, will cause them to fly out, when the upper wedge drops, and the more easily in proportion to the pressure of the ship upon it. Two or three minutes is sufficient to remove any one block, and the whole series may be taken out in succession in the space of two hours, not only without lifting, but without the least concussion of the ship.

It is customary in the Ordinary of the navy to lift the lower masts of ships every three years to examine into the state of their heels or lower extremities: for this purpose it was necessary to employ sheer-hulks, the first fitting of each of which costs from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds, and the annual expense amounts to more than a thousand pounds. By an apparatus contrived by Mr. Seppings, equally simple with the foregoing, the masts of the largest ships are now lifted upright out of the steps, without the assistance of a sheer-hulk, and by about half an hour's labour of *four boys;* and thus a saving of two or three thousand pounds a year has been effected. But this is the least part. From the ease with which masts were thus lifted, it occurred to Mr. Seppings that by placing the lower extremity on a pig of iron ballast instead of returning it into the socket, it would be preserved from the rot—and as there are perhaps not less than a thousand masts in the Ordinary of the navy, and the main-mast of a first rate costs nearly a thousand pounds, some idea may be formed of the importance of this ingenious and unpretending invention.

The difficulty, and we might almost say the impossibility, of procuring timber of shape and dimensions suitable for ships of the line, would have been attended with the most serious consequences,

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quences, had not an effectual remedy been struck out by this intelligent and indefatigable surveyor. This he accomplished by a new mode of putting together the timbers of the frame, so as to give more durability and greater strength, with considerable less expense of timber and workmanship; and at the same time to bring into use those inferior pieces of timber, which, under the old system, served only for the construction of frigates. It would require too much space to enter into a detail of the plan by which all these advantages are gained—namely, by the substitution of what are technically called square heads and heels for chocks, now, we believe, universally adopted; in consequence of which, the pecuniary saving alone is from two to three thousand pounds in each vessel. Instead of these chocks, (which are large wedge-shaped logs intended to connect the timbers of the frame, and which amount in every ship of the line to four or five hundred,) Mr. Seppings cuts square off the ends of the timbers and retains them in their places by means of round coaks in the centre, in the same manner that the fellies of a carriage wheel are put together. And though the timbers of the frame are now frequently made of shorter lengths, and are consequently more numerous, yet the number of pieces in the whole frame are much fewer than in the old system, less grain-cut, and consequently of greater strength. By an experiment made on the frames of two new 74 gun ships, the one with chocks altered from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches, and racked at the ends of the timbers from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 inch; the other without chocks, altered only from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch, and no racking whatever at the joints; the timber of the former was found, on calculation, to cost 12,500*l.*; that of the latter 10,420*l.*, being a saving of 2,000*l.* in timber alone, exclusive of a very considerable one in the workmanship.

It is well known to naval men, (indeed it must be sufficiently obvious to all,) that the stern of a ship is by far the weakest part of the fabric, both as it regards the shock of the sea, and the resistance of a cannonade. To obviate these disadvantages Mr. Seppings has suggested an important improvement in the shape and construction of the sterns of ships of war, by converting them from the square to the round form, and substituting upright timbers, as in the bow, for the heavy transom, which gave but a weak support to the superincumbent structure. By this new mode of construction the stern of a ship is of equal strength with the bow; and the battery as manageable and powerful; the ship may scud in a heavy sea without danger of being pooped, and be brought to anchor by the stern as safely as by the bow; the rudder too is better secured. Objections however have been made by naval officers to this form, as less convenient and beautiful; but when the natural prejudice

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prejudice in favour of what we have long been accustomed to look at shall have subsided, we are well persuaded that the present abrupt termination of the fine rounded lines of the body of a ship in a flat surface, will be considered as incongruous and wanting in good taste.

But we must return to M. Dupin. The dock-yard of Portsmouth is described by him as not only the most spacious, but as presenting the handsomest buildings and the most comprehensive display of labour. We do not think, however, that much can be said in praise of 'the skilful arrangement of the dry-docks:' though, when it is considered that they were laid out without any plan, and built and enlarged from time to time, as the exigencies of the service required, forming, like those in the other yards, a collection of expedients resorted to on the spur of the occasion, it may be pronounced as skilful as circumstances would admit. The stores and magazines are all on a grand scale. The wet basin, and the dry-docks communicating with it, are of the utmost importance, and do great credit to the genius of General Bentham, under whose superintendence they were undertaken and completed. The metal-mills are constructed on an excellent plan. Here all the old copper from ships of war is re-melted and re-manufactured: the number of sheets rolled in one year of the war amounted to about 300,000, weighing 1,200 tons, on which alone a saving was effected of more than 20,000*l.*

The block-machinery could not fail to attract the attention of M. Dupin. He observes, and it is true, that it is the creation of a Frenchman; and it is equally true, we doubt not, 'that some offended Frenchman will regret that the inventor had not consecrated his talents to the defence and glory of his own country;' but Mr. Brunel, we suspect, has little occasion to regret his coming from America to England instead of France. M. Dupin, however, endeavours to console his countrymen for the loss they have sustained, by a hope that another Frenchman, in his own person, will be able to add some interesting observations on the advantages and inconveniencies peculiar to each of Brunel's machines, as well as on the results of its manner of working. M. Dupin saw this matchless and complicated system of machinery work but once, and he ventures to talk of improvements!—Is there no limit to the vanity of a Frenchman?

As all foreigners of distinction visit the dock-yard of Portsmouth, with the view chiefly of inspecting this block-making machinery, and as it is really deserving of the most extensive notice and admiration, a cursory description of it may not be unacceptable to those of our readers who have not had an opportunity of witnessing its wonderful effects. To enable them to comprehend fully its construction and mode of working, numerous and accurate

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rate engravings would be required; our view, therefore, must be very general.

The block-machinery then, which a single coup-d'œil convinced M. Dupin that he could improve, may be said to consist of a system of no less than *sixteen* different machines all put in motion and in work at the same moment by a steam-engine. Seven of these machines are employed in finishing the shell and nine in completing the sheave. The *first* of them is the saw-mill, which squares the rough tree of ash or elm, generally the latter. The *second* is a circular saw, which cross-cuts it into the requisite lengths. The *third* is a boring-machine, by means of which, while one bit pierces the centre to receive the pin on which the sheave turns, another bores a hole at right angles to it, to admit the first stroke of the chissel that scoops out the mortice in which the sheave turns. This is completed by the *fourth*, which is a most ingenious piece of mechanism, and is particularly remarkable for the force, the rapidity, the workmanlike, we might almost say, the polished manner in which the shell is mortised out. The *fifth* is a circular saw, which takes off the four corners of the shell, and reduces it to the form of an octagon. It is then carried to the *sixth*, or shaping-machine, consisting of two equal and parallel wheels moving on the same axis, to which one of them is firmly fixed, while the other moves in the line of the axis, so that by sliding, the shells of blocks of any size may be admitted between their rims. Ten of these shells being fixed to the peripheries of the two wheels, the machine is whirled round with incredible velocity, and speedily reduces the outer surface of them, by the application of a cutting instrument, to a proper shape and curvature; after which, by reversing the motion of the wheels, the ten shells are simultaneously turned one-fourth part round, and a new surface presented which is cut and shaped as before. The two remaining sides are then treated in the same manner, when the whole ten shells are completely shaped and removed from the wheels. The *seventh* and last operation is the scoring of the shell, or scooping out a groove for the strap by which the block is suspended.

The sheaves are usually made of lignum vitæ, and the *first* operation is to cut the log into plates of the required thickness by means of a circular saw. The *second* is to bore the central hole to receive the pin, and at the same time to take off the angles and reduce the piece to a perfect circle, which is accomplished by means of a crown saw. The sheave thus shaped is brought, in the *third* place, to the coaking-machine, which is a piece of mechanism of singular ingenuity. A small cutter, in traversing round the central hole of the sheaves, works out, to a certain depth below the surface, three semicircular grooves for the recep-

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tion of the metal coak or bush; and both the grooves and the coaks are so uniformly true and fit each other so accurately, that the tap of a hammer is sufficient to fix the coak in its place. The *fourth* operation is the casting of the metal coaks with grooves, or channels, in the inside of their tubes, for the reception of oil or grease, and the prevention of waste. The *fifth* machine is a drill of a peculiar construction, by which also the pins are inserted to fix the coaks to the sheave. The *sixth* is the riveting hammer; and the *seventh* a machine for broaching the central hole of the sheave by means of a steel drill or cutter. The *eighth* process is that of turning a groove or channel round the outer circumference of the sheave for the rope to work in, which is performed by a lathe so constructed, that while the groove is cutting, another part of the engine is occupied in smoothing the two surfaces of the sheave. The *ninth* or last operation is the making, polishing, and fixing the iron pins on which the sheave turns, and which completes the block for use.

The quantity of blocks used in the navy, together with their great expense under the old system, renders the present machinery of the utmost importance. Not only has a very considerable saving been effected by it, but an article provided of an infinitely better quality than was formerly made by the hand. A single line of battle-ship requires nearly fifteen hundred blocks of different sizes; and the number which the machinery is capable of supplying was found to be more than adequate to the annual demand of the whole navy and ordnance during the war. To convey an idea of its efficacy, it is sufficient to observe that, with four men, and with less expense of time, as many shells can be completed as required fifty by the old method; and that six can now supply as many sheaves as before required sixty.

In the School of Naval Architecture, M. Dupin conceives it to be a matter not easily credited, that 'the English do not blush to acknowledge their inferiority, when it is clearly demonstrated to them.' It would be well for him and his countrymen to take a lesson from the English in this respect, and not to set up pretensions to superiority when they have not the shadow of a claim. 'For many years past,' says he, 'they have been complaining loudly, and perhaps not without exaggeration, that their shipbuilders are very far behind the French naval architects in regard to theoretical knowledge.' That we admitted this fact, is true; but not—that 'these complaints reverberated to the parliament of England:' neither is it true that 'it was at the suggestion of a committee of this great legislative body, that the school for Shipwrights' Apprentices was established,'—it was proposed by the Commissioners of Naval Revision, approved by the Board of Admiralty,

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Admiralty, and established by the King's Order in Council: the good effects of it have already been fully experienced.

We profess not to know exactly the internal economy of a French ship of war; but M. Dupin seems to have been amazingly struck with the arrangement of the Queen Charlotte.

'I was at Portsmouth (he says) when Lord Exmouth returned from his short, but brilliant expedition against Algiers. I visited two, among some others, of the ships of his squadron which bore the brunt of the battle, the Leander, armed with sixty guns and carronades, and the Queen Charlotte, a three decker, and the flag-ship of the Commander-in-chief. I could not behold, without admiration, the austere simplicity of the Admiral's cabin; furniture where nothing is for show, where every thing, without exception, can be removed, packed up, and carried away at the moment of clearing the ship for action; in short, the apartments are as fully provided with pieces of cannon as the rest of the gun-decks. Hence it may be imagined that the cabins of the captains and subordinate officers of the fleet are neither sumptuous, nor disposed in such a manner as to diminish the military means of the ship; and, nevertheless, the English men of war present every thing that can render pleasant and supportable the rough existence of the seamen.'—p. 40, 41.

Our traveller has seen little, at least he says but little, of the dock-yard of Plymouth, and that is incorrect; but he makes amends by giving, in a separate article, a detailed account of the Breakwater, which is now throwing across Plymouth Sound, and which, when completed, will render it a secure and excellent roadsted for a fleet of ships of war. This great national work was first contemplated by Lord Grey, when at the head of the naval administration; but to Mr. Yorke is due the merit of having adopted the plan and caused it to be carried into execution, notwithstanding the sinister bodings of those who were hostile to it: his own sound judgment, however, backed by the opinion of Mr. Rennie, gave him assurance of the propriety, and of the successful issue of the undertaking. M. Dupin assures us that in planning this work, Mr. Rennie availed himself of all the experience which his countrymen had acquired at Cherbourg. He is mistaken: Mr. Rennie has indeed avoided their errors; but he trusted to the resources of his own powerful mind, and imitated nothing that was done at Cherbourg. He never supposed that a set of wooden tubs filled with rubble could brave the violence of the waves; nor that a dyke of such materials cased with stones of a larger description, could maintain its ground against the continued action of the sea. He was perfectly aware of the total disappearance of Fort Napoleon, which had been erected on the centre of the great dyke of Cherbourg, and finally of that of the dyke itself—a fate which might have been anticipated by reflecting

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that the rubble stones, upon the sloping sides of which the casing was let down, would, when once put in motion, act as so many rollers and facilitate the passage of the larger stones beyond the extremities of the base. Mr. Rennie set to work with juster notions. He knew that to resist the force of the heavy sea which rolls in from the south and south-west, a very considerable slope would be necessary, and that great masses of stones from one to ten tons each would be required.

The quarries from which these were procured are situated at Oreston on the eastern shore of Catwater; they lie under a surface of about twenty-five acres, and were purchased from the Duke of Bedford for 10,000*l*. They consist of one vast mass of compact close-grained marble, many specimens of which are beautifully variegated; seams of clay however are interspersed through the rock, in which there are also large cavities, some empty and others partially filled with clay. In one of these caverns in the solid rock, 15 feet wide, 45 feet long, and 12 feet deep, filled nearly with compact clay, were found imbedded fossil bones belonging to the rhinoceros, being portions of the skeletons of three different animals, all of them in the most perfect state of preservation, every part of their surface being entire to a degree which Sir Everard Home says he had never observed in specimens of this kind before. The part of the cavity in which these bones were found was seventy feet below the surface of the solid rock, sixty feet horizontally from the edge of the cliff where Mr. Whidbey began to work the quarry, and one hundred and sixty feet from the original edge by the side of the Catwater. Every side of the cavern was solid rock, the inside had no incrustation of stalactite, nor was there any external communication through the rock in which it was imbedded, nor any appearance of an opening from above being closed by infiltration. When therefore, and in what manner these bones came into that situation, is among the secret and wonderful operations of nature which will probably never be revealed to mankind.

M. Dupin gives an animated description of the working of these quarries, and thus concludes.

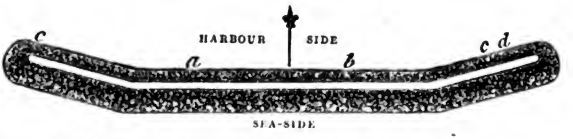
'The sight of the operations which I have just described, those enormous masses of marble that the quarry-men strike with heavy strokes of their hammers; and those aerial roads or flying bridges which serve for the removal of the superstratum of earth; those lines of cranes all at work at the same moment; the trucks all in motion; the arrival, the loading, and the departure of the vessels; all this forms one of the most imposing sights that can strike a friend to the great works of art. At fixed hours, the sound of a bell is heard in order to announce the blastings of the quarry. The operations instantly cease on all sides, the workmen retire; all becomes silence and solitude; this universal silence renders still more imposing the noise of the explosion, the splinters

ting of the rocks, their ponderous fall, and the prolonged sound of the echoes.'—p. 248.

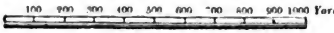
These huge blocks of stone are conveyed from the quarries on trucks, along iron-railways, to the quays, and from thence into the holds of vessels built expressly for the purpose: on their arrival over the line of the Breakwater, they are discharged from the trucks by means of what is called a *typing-frame,* at the stern of the vessel, which, falling like a trap-door, lets the stone into the sea. In this manner a cargo of sixteen trucks, or eighty tons, may be discharged in the space of forty or fifty minutes.

The following sketch of the ground-plan and transverse section will best explain the form and dimensions of this important national work.

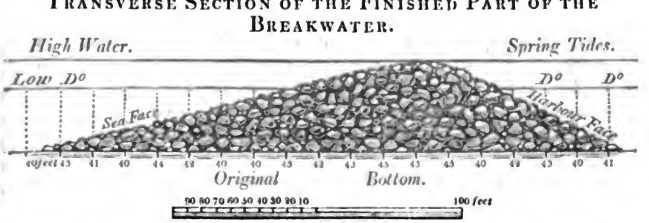
PLAN OF THE BREAKWATER.



N. B. The space between *a* and *b* describes the part finished.
Do. between *a c* and *b c* appears from 5 to 15 feet above low-water of spring-tides.
Do. between *c* and *d* the part approaching the surface.



TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE FINISHED PART OF THE BREAKWATER.



The first stone was sunk on the 12th August, 1812, and at the conclusion of the year 1816 upwards of one million of tons had been deposited. By the month of July, 1819, the quantity sunk exceeded a million and a half; and the money expended was about 500,000*l.* The original calculation was two millions of tons of stone; and the expense about one million sterling; but as this estimate was made on the war prices, which are now very considerably diminished, there is every reason to believe that it will be completed for 800,000*l.*

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'Such,' says M. Dupin, 'are the establishments of the military marine, or navy. In visiting them, I was every where struck by the order that reigns in the arrangement of the different articles of stores, as well as by the silent activity with which all the individuals employed seem to be animated. Every where are seen the signs and the effects of economy; *but of economy well understood, which knows how to make sacrifices bordering almost on prodigality, in order to reap afterwards with usury the fruits of its advances.* Nevertheless, such a degree of perfection is not the result of a great many years; it may be dated no farther back than the last war. In the midst of danger, and in the embarrassments of a convulsive activity, some determined characters contrived to vanquish all obstacles, triumph over prejudices, and give birth to an order of things which might be considered as the result of long and peaceful meditations. This example shows us how little time suffices for authority to work miracles, when, by chance, it falls into the hands of superior men.'—p. 45—46.

M. Dupin next visits the two great seaports of Bristol and Liverpool, and expresses his astonishment at the progress of the arts in these two cities, and the facilities afforded to commerce in their wet and dry docks, canals, quays, draw-bridges, magazines, &c., interspersing remarks on such objects as appeared to him worthy of imitation in his own country. On digesting these remarks, however, he candidly admits that he could not submit them 'to close examination and profound criticism;' and determined therefore on a second visit to supply what was defective. On this visit he extended his excursion to Scotland and Ireland, calling at Hull, Sunderland and Newcastle, at all of which he observed many things that arrested his attention; but a machine for making paper of an indefinite length, at a mill on the banks of the Tyne, causes him some regret, as being the invention of M. Didot, the brother of a printer of that name in Paris. 'By what fatality,' he exclaims, 'does it occur, that our most ingenious mechanics thus carry to a foreign country the treasure of their industry?' The answer is simple enough—because they bring it to a better market than their own country afforded them.

Edinburgh he dignifies, like the people on the spot, with the epithet of the 'Athens of the North;' and, he adds, that the Scotch people 'join the urbanity of the Greeks to the hospitality of the Arabs.' As M. Dupin is doubtless familiar with both, we shall not question his assertion; but he must excuse us if we could not suppress a smile at the solemn simplicity with which he rather periphrastically designates the 'literary tribunal' (meaning, we presume, the Edinburgh reviewers) 'which Edinburgh has erected in its own bosom, which makes despotism turn pale, and the decrees of which are sufficient to exalt or to overthrow many an European reputation.' How proud will this make Mr. M'Culloch!

Dundee,

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Dundee, Arbroath, and the Bell Rock are successively visited; and something worthy of notice is found at each of them. The keepers of the light-house, we are told, have a library, small, but composed of sound books on literature, moral philosophy, and the natural sciences; and they subscribe to one of the monthly journals, which treats of those subjects. From this, and other observations of a similar kind, our traveller is convinced of the general knowledge and information possessed by the Scotch people.

At Aberdeen he met with a currier and last-maker, who, in the leisure left him by his humble calling, constructs barometers, thermometers, and large reflecting telescopes, which appeared to M. Dupin to be very perfect; and it is added, by the translator, that one of the Professors of King's College considers a telescope of Herschel, which cost two hundred guineas, to be inferior to those made by this ingenious leather-dresser.

From Fort William M. Dupin proceeded to the banks of Loch Lomond, Dumbarton, and finally to Glasgow, whose establishments and manufactories, from the liberal spirit of the inhabitants, it is stated, are more easy of access than those of any other town in the British empire.

'If the ingenuous detail of particulars which pourtray the mind of a people, and the intelligence of the inferior classes of society, do not too much alarm delicate readers, in order to give to persons of that description an instance of the education of the common journeymen of Glasgow, I shall here speak of two brothers, bakers by trade, who, in the interval between one baking and another, employ themselves in making machines and philosophical instruments. They have cast, turned, and fitted all the pieces of a little steam-engine, the humble boiler of which derives its heat from being placed by the side of the oven for baking pastry. The engine is of the power of about two men; its mechanism is very ingenious; it serves for working a turning-lathe, by means of which our two artists turn metals, and shape lenses for optical instruments. They have constructed a small apparatus for lighting with gas their shops and their apartments. The tubes for the conveyance of the gas have flexible joints, which allow of transmitting the light to the places where it is wanted for the moment. These young men are well acquainted with the physical and mathematical principles of the instruments and machines which they construct. Some day they will quit their profession, in order to cultivate the natural sciences, and, I venture to predict, with success. But their fortune depends on an uncle, who infinitely prefers the business of a baker and pastry-cook to gasometry and astronomy, and who, jealous of the hereditary title of his family, wishes to transmit to the sons of his nephews the kneading-trough of his ancestors. Alas! how many men among us are, without suspecting it, like the uncle of the two bakers and pastry-cooks!'—p. 68—69.

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The gas-works and the water-works for supplying the city are next described; and he made an excursion to the grand canal which joins the Clyde to the Firth of Forth. Here we are introduced to the celebrated James Watt, 'an old inhabitant and civil engineer belonging to Glasgow.' 'It was with a respect,' says M. Dupin, 'mingled with admiration, that I saw this fine old man, of eighty-three years of age, preserving the vigour of his mind, as well as his physical strength; he informed me of a variety of particulars relative to the progress of English industry, of which, more than any other inventor, he has accelerated the advancement. *It is to Mr. Watt that England, in a great measure, owes the immense increase of her wealth within the last fifty years.*'

To every word of this we most cordially subscribe, and to more. Not to England alone, but to all Europe and the western world, Mr. Watt may be considered as the greatest benefactor. In strength of intellect, in original genius, in sound judgment, and in the application of all of these to the useful sciences and the practical purposes of life, Mr. Watt (now, alas! no more,) stood eminently alone and without an equal. His steam-engine, which has been pronounced 'the most perfect production of physical and mechanical skill which the world has yet seen,' would alone immortalize his name.—But the vigour of his genius was not satisfied with bringing to perfection what he found defective; it took a bolder flight in the wide field of invention, and shewed, in a variety of instances, what powerful effects were capable of being produced by the most simple and easy means when properly applied. Among other amusements of the latter days of this venerable man, was the invention of a machine for multiplying copies of busts and other pieces of statuary, which, though brought to a considerable degree of perfection, was not deemed by him sufficiently near it to be produced to the public. By his death, it may be truly said, England has lost one of its most useful and brightest ornaments; and we cannot but regret that a nation's gratitude was not evinced by some mark of distinction, ere he was snatched away to a better world; which, though it could have added nothing to his reputation, would not have sullied the purity of that fountain from which all public honours are held to derive their source.

We cannot follow M. Dupin in his farther progress through Scotland, and must content ourselves by extracting his concluding paragraph.

'If I had been able, in so short a narrative, to give not only a general idea of all the institutions, and of all the works undertaken within these few years, for the prosperity of Scotland, I should have presented one

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one of those pictures the most calculated for exciting the admiration of all men, and for affording an object worthy of the meditation of sages. It is highly gratifying to behold a poor people exerting their activity, their perseverance, and their genius, to triumph over rugged nature, to conquer the climate, and render sterility itself productive; and, thinking of the riches of the mind as well as those of the senses, causing agriculture, commerce, and industry; instruction, morality, and liberty, to flourish at the same period.'—p. 77, 78.

M. Dupin returned by the way of Liverpool, and speaks with enthusiasm of the improvements of that second capital of the British empire, which had been carried into execution since his first visit. From hence, passing through Wales, he crossed from Holyhead to Dublin, and describes the undertaking of Howth harbour, 'one of those operations which the Irish call a *job*.' This piece of false information we have no doubt he collected from the master of the packet who carried him over,—these people, having, as we understand, for reasons best known to themselves, set up a clamour as senseless as unjust against this useful undertaking. But M. Dupin is as much out of humour with Ireland as the packet men are with Howth harbour. The only establishment in all Dublin, he tells us, 'which presents a character at once honourable to humanity and to industry, is an immense drying-house, in which the poor mechanics are admitted to dry their dyed wool, &c.' The following paragraph, which with the drying-house is all that relates to the capital of Ireland, is sufficient to account for, and, (we regret to say,) in some measure, to justify the querulousness of our traveller.

'Although in Ireland individuals are free in their manners, and rank hospitality among the virtues of which bondage has not been able to deprive them, yet all the establishments of Dublin bear the stamp of illiberality. Their regulations are so drawn up as to be useful to the smallest possible number of individuals. No stranger is admitted to enjoy the benefit of the scientific repositories, nor to read the periodical publications in the great reading-rooms, established by subscription, nor to consult the books deposited in the libraries. In the library of the University, which I visited, introduced and conducted by a doctor belonging to the said University, and which I went over, according to the rules, *not stopping any where*, I wished to approach a window from which a tolerably fine prospect was to be enjoyed; but the doctor, who accompanied me, held me back; in his presence, and in that of a door-keeper who did not lose sight of us, there was a possibility of my putting a book in my pocket.—There are countries where men are first rendered despicable, in order that a right may afterwards be assumed to treat them as such.—p. 88, 89.

We have now, in a cursory manner, gone over those parts of M. Dupin's volume which relate to Great Britain, and more particularly

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particularly to its naval establishments; these, however, form but a small part of it, which is chiefly composed of detached subjects relative to the fine arts, to a marine academy, to his grand work on naval and military architecture, and a variety of other matters which have very properly engaged the attention of the savans of France, but which would afford very little to interest or entertain the bulk of our readers.

Just as we had put the last hand to the treatise of M. Dupin, we received, from Paris, another work of a similar kind, which has recently issued from the royal press. It is a large quarto volume, with numerous plates, intitled, ' Mémoires sur les Travaux publiques de l'Angleterre,' by a M. Dutens, who styles himself *Ingénieur en chef, Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées*, ' Knight of the royal order of the Legion of Honour.' On opening the book we found it to be a wholesale compilation of various articles from the English and Scotch Encyclopædias, on the roads, bridges, canals, iron railways, docks, diving-bells, &c. of this country, which M. Dutens strongly recommends to the attention and imitation of the French. Aware, however, (from the example of M. Dupin) that such a recommendation would not be well received without some preparatory sacrifice to the national vanity, the author assures them, in an Introduction of some length, that in arts and science the English are far inferior to the French; that all their grand works, even the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, are due to Frenchmen; that the bridge of Neuilly, ' that chef d'œuvre of the first engineer of France,' is fully equal to the Waterloo bridge over the Thames; and that the (*invisible*) breakwater of Cherbourg is four times as large as that of Plymouth Sound! Lest this should be insufficient, they are further consoled with the assurance that, if the English have excelled them in *iron bridges*, it is only because they (the unhappy English) have neither wood nor stone to build others; and that they may thank that ' precious combustible which they have discovered under their soil,' for the perfection to which they have brought their machinery. If such statements can gratify the good people of France, we cannot have the least objection; but as this is the only notice we mean to take of M. Dutens's ponderous volume, we avail ourselves of the occasion to invite his attention to the plate No. 14, for the excellent execution of which, under M. Bérigny, he expresses such lively gratitude. This plate is a chart of Plymouth Sound, with the breakwater, &c. *traced* from that which is given in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica; unluckily, however, for the reputation of the ' Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées,' and the skill of M. Bérigny, the chart is turned topsy-turvy, so that Plymouth Dock takes the place of Plymouth town,

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town, and Hamoaze that of Catwater; while the beautiful seat of Lord Mount Edgcombe, on the left of the Sound, is perched on the barren quarries of Oreston on the right. Now although it may not be very material whether, in the engraving of a pump or a portrait, the nose look east or west, yet the reversing of a chart and placing the East where the West should be; or, as in the present instance, making the shores of the two counties of Devonshire and Cornwall change places, is a very different matter, and appears to us no less pregnant with mischief than absurdity. Alas, for the poor Frenchman who attempts to enter Plymouth Sound by such a chart! his unfortunate bark will inevitably be wrecked on the *Tinker* or the *Shovel*. The same ridiculous blunder occurs in the Chart of Cherbourg, copied from the same work —but this we leave to the critics of the Institute.

ART. III.—*British Monachism, or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England; to which are added,* 1. *Peregrinatorium Religiosum, or Manners and Customs of Ancient Pilgrims.*—2. *The Consuetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits.*—3. *Some Account of the Continentes, or Persons who had made Vows of Chastity.*—4. *Economy of Monastic Life, &c. &c.* By Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, M.A. F.A.S. London. 4to.

IN the system of philosophy, which after-ages, if they remember the portentous abortions of these distempered times, will designate by the name of Jeremybenthamism, the author proposes (as our readers know) to abolish the universities, distribute the fellowships among half-pay officers, and convert the colleges into invalid barracks,—by way of improving the morals, enlightening the ignorance, and increasing the happiness of the people.*

The difficulty which continually presses upon civilized society is that of finding fit occupation and adequate maintenance for all its members according to their respective classes, and this increases precisely in proportion with the general improvement of the country. In what manner it affects the labouring part of the community is shown by the state of the manufacturing population, and by the poor-laws;—yet it will be found that the miseries which arise from this cause in the higher classes are greater in degree, and in their tendency more dangerous to the commonwealth. The establishments which this Root-and-Branch Reformer (who is as

* Well may the verses of old Skelton be applied to this notable writer!

'He wotteth never what
Nor whereof he speaketh;
He cryeth and he creketh,
He pryeth and he peketh,
He chides and he chatters,
He prates and he patters,
He clytters and he clatters,
He meddles and he smatters,
He gloses and he flatters,
Or if he speak plain
Then he lacketh brain.'

little

little English in his feelings as in his phraseology) proposes to overthrow are the great palliative of the evil as it affects these classes. Part of the property which our ancestors in the darkest days of Roman superstition bequeathed for pious purposes was thus appropriated, and it may justly be regretted that the whole of it had not been equally well applied at the dissolution of the monasteries; for it may safely be affirmed that no other establishments have produced so much unmingled good. But we have rather to wonder that in the calamitous and stormy age of the Reformation so much should have been saved from the wreck, than that so much was plundered and lost.

The monastic institutions were in the first ages merely superstitious; they became eminently useful, and they ended in being eminently corrupt and wicked. An historical sketch of this natural progress may be deemed not uninteresting, and will lead us to a subject which we are anxious to bring before the public, as of essential importance to those classes of the community among whom this Journal may be expected to circulate.

Without travelling farther into antiquity, it suffices that Christian Monachism originated in Egypt. That country, from the earliest ages, had been the scene of the most abject and absurd superstition, and the people, when they were converted to Christianity, rather changed the fashion of their faith than the materials. In many other great institutions, monachism may be traced to accidental circumstances. Men fled into the wilderness to escape from persecution, and some of them remained in solitude till they had lost all appetite or aptitude for social life. There are few incidents in romance more beautiful than the legend of the personage who is supposed to have been the first Christian hermit, and who usually leads the van in the army of monastic saints. Paul the Egyptian, at the age of fifteen, is said to have been versed in the learning both of Greece and of his own country, and deeply imbued with principles of the severest piety. He lived with a married sister, whose husband was a pagan, and who, in order to get possession of Paul's property, informed against him as a Christian during the terrible persecution of Decius. The youth discovered the treachery in time and withdrew into the desert. His intention had only been to remain there till the danger had gone by; but the villany of one with whom he was so nearly connected had disgusted him with mankind, and as time passed on, instead of being wearied with solitude, he acquired a love for it. Thus wandering farther into the uninhabited country, he came to some ruined dwellings, which, according to the legend, had been the mint of Egypt in the days of Anthony and Cleopatra. Near these ruins was a cave, the entrance of which was closed by a stone; removing this rude portal he entered

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ed, and found within what his biographer, St. Jerome, calls a large vestibule, open to the sky; an old palm-tree was growing there, forming a canopy with its broad head; under the palm a clear fountain welled from the ground, and presently was absorbed again. Believing that Providence had brought him to this place, he determined to remain; the dates supplied him with food, the fountain with drink, and from the fibres and net-work with which the branches of the Egyptian palm are interlaced he made for himself a coarse covering. If the legend had ended here, no suspicion could have been entertained of its truth,—the circumstances are perfectly possible—they are probable, considering the age and country to which the tale belongs, and the story itself is of that kind which there is a pleasure in believing. But what follows is palpable and must have been wilful falsehood, though related by the original writer on the authority of St. Antony the Great. St. Antony, fancying himself the most retired of all monks, was humbled by being told in a dream, that there was a better than himself who resided farther in the wilderness. Accordingly he set out in search of him, and meeting no other persons on the way than a Satyr and a Centaur, arrived at the cave and saw an hyena go in. Paul, hearing a human footstep, closed the portal, but Antony entreated that the holy man, who had allowed a beast to enter, would not exclude a brother. Overcome by six hours perseverance on the part of his visitor, the hermit removed the stone, and asked Antony wherefore he had taken that trouble to see a poor decayed old man, who would speedily return to dust? The next question was a natural one —how the affairs of the world were going on?—*narra mihi quæso, quomodo se habeat hominum genus? an in antiquis urbibus nova erecta consurgant? quo mundus regatur imperio? an supersint aliqui qui dæmonum errore rapiantur?* This perhaps is part of the true tale. The fabler by whom the legend has been larded to the taste of his age, insensible to the beauty of the tale, and forgetting even to adapt his fictions to their groundwork, supplies his solitary every day with half a loaf, which is regularly brought him by a crow,—the considerate crow on this day brought a whole one,—a dispute, worthy of two mandarines, ensues between Paul and Antony which shall be helped first, and they compromise the point of etiquette by splitting the loaf. Antony is sent back to fetch a vest which Athanasius had given him, and in which his new friend desires to be buried. On his return to the cave he is apprized of Paul's decease by seeing his soul ascend in glory: he finds the dead hermit on his knees, his body erect, his hands and head and eyes upraised, in the attitude of prayer; two lions attended as grave-diggers, and Antony buried him in the cave: from thence the corpse was translated first to Constantinople, secondly to Venice, and, finally, to Buda,

Buda, where La Brocquiere saw it in a state of perfect preservation four hundred years ago, and where probably it may still be seen.

Whatever truth there may be in the possible part of this legend, it is certain that about this time, and chiefly in consequence of the persecution, the monastic life began to be in vogue in Egypt. When the danger was over, and the fugitives came from their retreats, there were many of them in whom enthusiasm had ripened into madness; in the solitude of the desert, or in the caves of the mountains, dreams had appeared to them like realities, and the continued excitements of fear, hope and passionate superstition had induced a state of permanent delirium. There were others whose minds had become indurated like their bodies; they had lived in solitude till they had lost all relish for society, and in casting off the habits of social life they had rid themselves of its feelings also. But the age and country were favourable to men in this diseased state; they became objects of admiration and reverence, and the glory which they obtained by persevering in ascetic courses encouraged others to follow their example. The madness spread, and Egypt again became the scene of superstitions not less absurd than those which had prevailed under the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs. The doctrine of the two principles, with all its practical consequences, was grafted upon Christianity; the war of those principles was supposed to exist in every individual; and in the struggle between matter and spirit, the latter, conscious of its own weakness and of the wickedness inherent in the former, if it gained the ascendancy, could only maintain it by a system of the severest discipline. No points of faith, no axioms of morality, were more firmly established than the belief that every indulgence was sinful; that whatever gratified the senses, however apparently innocent, must be injurious to the soul; that the ties of natural affection weaned the heart from God; that the duties of social life must be abandoned by those who regarded their own salvation, and that in proportion as man inflicted privations and torments upon himself, he pleased his Creator.

The extravagancies which grew out of this system might appear incredible if they were not as well authenticated as any facts in history. Some aspirants shut themselves up in cells so low that they could not stand upright in them, and of such dimensions that they could neither lie at length, nor place themselves in any but painful positions. Others took up their abode in tombs, like the demoniacs, or dwelt in dens with wild beasts; or made dens for themselves, and burrowed in the ground. Men and women lived promiscuously in the deserts, with no other covering than what mere decency required, bare to the sun, and the wind and the sand showers. These persons renounced all such food as was used by their fellow-creatures, and grazed

grazed and browsed upon herbs and shrubs; for which reason they were called Βοσκοι. They even affected to appear like beasts, by going upon their hands and knees; and like beasts they fled from the sight of man, and betook themselves to the most inaccessible places for concealment. If this system had continued a few generations, it might have been seen how far it is possible for man to degrade his physical as well as his intellectual nature; he would have degenerated into an animal little superior to the ape or baboon, and more loathsome than either.

There was another class who counterfeited madness for the purpose of living loose upon the world. These men partook more of roguery than fanaticism—qualities which are frequently connate, and generally so congenial that they assort lovingly together; nor is it always easy to distinguish the one from the other. From the account which has been transmitted of these, they appear very much to have resembled the Yoguees of Hindostan. They took up their lodgings as willingly in the stews as in any other place; they made no scruple of bathing in company with women; and they are said never to have betrayed the slightest sense either of concupiscence or of modesty. Yet these wretches were for a time regarded with reverential admiration! 'Contrarieties,' says Evagrius, 'are in them so tempered, and the grace of God maketh in them such an union of discordant things, that life and death, which are in essence so opposite to each other, seem to join hands and dwell together in them,—happy are they while they live, and happier when they depart!' He adds with great simplicity, that when a stranger came among them they mortified themselves by entertaining him liberally and partaking of the good cheer, so that they had invented a new kind of fasting, he says,—that of eating and drinking against their will.

Before the abuses of this kind of life became notorious and intolerable through the scandal which they occasioned, it was discovered that for spiritual reasons it was not good for man to be alone; and that men who defied the enemy to single combat in the wilderness were in danger of being deceived by him in a manner of which they had no anticipation; for being alone, and continually thinking of themselves, and of the degree of holiness to which they had attained, this self-contemplation was likely to end in pride and vain-glory; and 'woe to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to help him up!' It was besides not consistent with true Christian charity that a man should retire into solitude for the sake of his own salvation alone, without the slightest regard for that of his neighbour. Therefore, both for the improvement of the individual, and for general edification, the cœnobite, it was argued, was preferable to the solitary life. St. Antony the Great is believed to have

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have been the first person, who, in conformity to this opinion, collected a body of devotees, and induced them to live together under his superintendence. This personage still retains a certain kind of celebrity, even in reformed countries, for his various encounters with the foul fiend, who assailed him with a host of imps, in all imaginable shapes. He could neither read nor write, and this ignorance is imputed to him as a virtue, because it proceeded from an early and pious contempt of profane studies. One of his sayings was,—He who abideth in solitude is delivered from the threefold warfare of hearing, speaking and seeing, and has only to support the combat against his own heart. This combat, however, he himself found it so difficult to sustain, that in an hour of distress he cried to the Lord, asking how he should be saved? 'Presently, says the legend, he saw one in the likeness of himself, who sat at work, and anon rose from his work and prayed, and then sat down again to twist a rope of the fibres of the palm, and after a while rose and prayed again. It was the angel of the Lord: Do this, said the angel, and thou shalt be saved.'

But in the first ages of monachism the legends seldom contain any thing so useful as this recommendation of industry. They generally present the silliest extravagancies of superstition, and the most pitiable and loathsome excesses of ascetic rigour. St. Poer always walked while he was eating; because (to use his own words) 'he did not consider eating as a business for which time was to be set apart, but as a thing to be done when it did not interrupt his avocations.' St. Pachomius, in order that he might sleep as little as possible, and with the least possible comfort or convenience, never allowed himself to lie down, nor even to recline against any thing which might support him, but sat upon a stone in the middle of his cell. And among the rules, which, according to the historians of this lying Church, were given to him by an angel, and are the first code of monastic laws, is one whereby the monks are enjoined in like manner to sleep sitting, and not recumbent. Beradat used for his clothing a close sack of skins, which had no other opening than one small one for his mouth and another for his nose. The female saint, Eufraxia, belonged to a convent containing an hundred and thirty nuns, not one of whom ever washed her feet, and the very mention of a bath was an abomination among them:—*de balneo verò superfluum est loqui: audientes enim vehementer vituperabant, confusionis et opprobrii plenam censentes, vel solam illius mentionem, et tanquam rei abominabilis nec audituni quidem volebant tolerare.* St. Macarius (for all these madmen are saints!) having one day killed a gnat which had bitten him, was struck with compunction at the sight of the insect's blood, and by way of atonement went into the marshes, and there for six months

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months exposed himself to all winged and creeping insects, till every part of his flesh was swollen and ulcerated with their bites. Sozomen relates of him, that he had so hardened his body by austerities that the very beard could not make way through his skin.—This personage, when in the full odour of filth and rags, returned one day to his convent, humbled and mortified by the sense of his own inferiority, exclaiming, I am not yet a monk, but I have seen monks!—for he had fallen in with two of these wretches stark naked.

The English reader is familiar with the extraordinary history of St. Simeon Stylites. 'This godly man, while yet in the flesh, imitated the life of the angels, withdrew himself from earthly things, forced nature, which ever inclineth downwards, aspired to things heavenly, and placing himself between earth and heaven, he, together with the angels, praised the Lord, lifted up the prayers of men and offered them to God, and brought down the mercy of God to make men partakers thereof.' Such is the language of Evagrius! And such was the influence which this madman possessed during his life, that when the Emperor Theodosius had given order to reinstate the Jews of Antioch in their synagogue, and Simeon rebuked him for it as an impiety, Theodosius acknowledged his sin, deposed the magistrate by whose advice he had acted, ousted the Jews again, and humbly besought the prayers of 'the living and aerial martyr' in his behalf! His celebrity long survived him. A church was built round the pillar upon which 'this earthly and incarnate angel led his heavenly life, and every year, on the Saint's day, a star was exhibited, playing about the pillar.' Evagrius says he himself has seen it, and does not intimate the slightest suspicion of the easy trick. Women were not allowed to enter the church,—they might only stand at the door, and peep at the miracles. His body was removed to Antioch, from whence the Emperor Leo would have translated it to Constantinople; but the people of Antioch represented that the fortifications of their city had been thrown down by an earthquake, and therefore they had brought thither the holy body of Simeon, that it might be to them instead of a wall! The Romish Church records the history of Simeon for edification, but not for example; and the fashion of the Stylitæ never obtained in the Latin world, unless it were in Ireland, where a guess that the Round Towers may have been erected for fanatics of this description seems to be as plausible as any other explanation that has been offered.

The austerities of the Egyptian and Syrian saints have been held forth to the admiration of the Catholic world as flowers of the Spiritual garden, whereas, in truth, they were rank weeds of the Egyptian soil. With whatever ingenuity they may be varnished, it

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is impossible that they should not always excite the pity, and sometimes the contempt of a sane mind. Nevertheless we know from the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical historians, that the success of these men in converting the neighbouring idolaters was wonderful. Something must be attributed to their intrepid madness, which excited awe as well as astonishment, but still more to the sincerity of which their lives displayed such painful but indubitable proof. The absolute dominion which they exercised over themselves, trampling all worldly enjoyments under their feet, and divesting themselves of every human affection, as if their very nature had been changed, evinced a strength of principle which might indeed have been attained in the schools of philosophy by a few rare spirits, but which became contagious when it had religion (however grievously perverted) for its cause. And pitiable as the monks were during their lives, their belief made them look forwards to death with desire, and meet it with rapturous hope; whereas all that philosophy could do for its votaries was to enable them to regard the end of life with resignation and composure.

Superstition has always lost something of its grossness as it proceeded from east to west. The mythology of Egypt was less grotesque and monstrous than that of Hindostan,—the mythology of Greece less so than that of Egypt. And thus, in later times, the Solitæ, and the other heroes of the desert, fell as much short of the Hindoo penitents in their extravagancies and practices of self-torture, as they exceeded their followers in Europe. Monachism being transplanted there, became eminently useful in its second age, which commences with St. Benedict. Many monasteries had been formed before his time;—the earliest is believed to have been founded about the year 350, at Vercelli, by St. Eusebius, bishop of that city. St. Ambrose supported a community of solitaries near Milan,—an incongruous association of words which may probably be explained by supposing that their establishment was like one of the eastern *Lauras*,—an assemblage of separate cells, each inhabited by a recluse. St. Martin of Tours introduced the monastic life from Italy into France; and the order of Regular Canons who disputed the ascendancy of the Benedictines, and may be said to have defended the liberties of the English church against them, claim St. Augustine for their founder. But though monasteries had multiplied there was no monastic order till the appearance of St. Benedict..

The life of St. Benedict has been written by no less a personage than Pope St. Gregory the Great, from the information, as he affirms, of four disciples of the saint. It is one of the worst that ever was written; for though the lives of the saints in general are as richly larded with lies, there is not perhaps a single one, we

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any foundation in truth, from which so little information can be obtained. He was born in the province of Nursia about the year 480, and was sent to Rome to study the liberal sciences, but fearing lest he should lose his soul in the vain pursuit of knowledge, *recessit scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus*, says St. Gregory. He left his family as well as his studies, became a monk, and was chosen abbot; but being too strict for those who were under him, they attempted to poison him. After escaping this danger he retired for a while into solitude, till, 'increasing wonderfully in virtues and miracles,' the noble Romans began to bring their children to him for instruction, and he acquired sufficient influence to establish twelve monasteries with twelve monks in each. Here also he provoked either envy by his reputation, or hatred by his austerity; a priest in the neighbourhood is accused of endeavouring first to poison him, and afterwards to debauch his disciples; and Benedict thought it prudent once more to withdraw. He took with him a few of his monks, and was accompanied by—two angels and three tame crows—a circumstance unaccountably omitted by his papal biographer, but related here upon the equally valid testimony of Pietro Damiano, a cardinal and a saint. With this remarkable retinue he arrived at Mount Cassino, formerly, it is said, the residence of the Roman author Varro. There he destroyed a temple of Apollo, converted the pagans in the neighbourhood, founded a convent, wrote the Rule of his Order, and died in the year 543.

To these few facts the life of Benedict may be reduced when stript of its embellishments. Few and meagre as they are, they appear to warrant the inference that, notwithstanding what Pope St. Gregory says of his wise ignorance, he was not an illiterate man; and that the tenor of his conduct was not such as to induce a suspicion of insanity or imposture, ingredients which oftentimes enter largely into the composition of Romish saints and protestant leaders of sects. The machinery with which it has been garnished is not, as in sundry other legends, (those of St. Francis and of our Dunstan for instance,) so inseparably connected with the events, that admitting of no other possible solution, it must either be plain miracle or downright fraud. Allowing something to enthusiasm in the saint himself, the folly and falsehood of the rest may be shared between the infallible biographer, his veracious authorities, who were all abbots, and his equally veracious followers, each, after the manner of Romish hagiographers, adding something to the legend which he repeated. That the devil appeared to him sometimes in the shape of a blackbird, sometimes in his proper shape with hoofs and horns, sometimes tempted him, and sometimes abused him, is what Benedict may very likely have believed. But when it is asserted that he worked miracles habitually, raised the dead, and sang

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psalms before he was born,* the merit of these fables may justly be assigned to his historians. The true character of St. Benedict, as St. Gregory has himself observed, must be sought for in his Rule.

This Rule has been compared to Aaron's rod, because it swallowed up all the others. At the second Council of Douzy in 876, it was declared to be an inspired work, of equal authority with the canonical Scriptures, and—the writings of the catholic doctors. Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna, calls it a divine rule, dictated by the Holy Ghost, and leading infallibly to heaven. The Grand Duke Cosmo de' Medici studied it, that he might there learn how best to govern his estates; and Calmet affirms, that in this work St. Benedict has presented an ideal of the most excellent monarchy and the most perfect government. More than two hundred works have been written upon it, of which the best and perhaps the last, is a Commentary in two quarto volumes by Calmet himself. The original rule, an autograph of Benedict, was burnt in the year 897, in the monastery of Theano, when that edifice was consumed by fire. Some far more curious relics were destroyed at the same time,—the sacks in which food used to be sent to the saint from heaven—*sacci, in quibus jussu Dei, cælitus eidem Patri Benedicto escæ delatæ sunt;* such are the words of the Chronicon Cassinense.

A translation of the Rule by C. F. priest and monk of the order of St. Benedict, was printed at Douay in 1638, and dedicated ' to the honourable mistress, Mrs. Anne Carie, daughter to the Lord Viscount of Faukland.' We use the language of this old translation, with the original and Calmet's Commentary before us, and correcting it where it requires amendment. The prologue opens thus, ' Hearken, O son! to the precepts of a master, and incline the ear of thy heart, and receive willingly the admonition of a pious father and effectually accomplish it, that by the labour of obedience thou mayest return to him from whom by the sloth of disobedience thou hast departed.' The Rule itself begins by saying, there were four kind of monks,—' The first is of Cœnobites, that is monasterial or conventual, living under a rule or abbot. The second kind is of Anachorits, that is hermits, who not by a novitial fervour of de-

* This notable incident is thus gravely narrated by the Cistercian poet F. Nicolas Bravo, in his Benedictina.—

' —encarcelado en el lugar materno,
Alegres muestras el infante dava,
Articulando con un son superno
La voz que claro afuera resonava;
Ya en esto el niño delicada y tierno
El gozo celestial pronosticava,
Pues, aunque en carcel tenebrosa y negra
Con celestiales canticos se alegra.
Que pudo ser la vida de este infante,
Sino contento, jubilo, alborozo,
Pues sin mira del sol la luz radiante,
Antes que sepa el llanto, muestra el gozo!
Ya da indicios alegres de triumphante
Del infernal y Tartaro destrozo,
Semejante al Baptista en gloria tanta,
Pues donde dança Juan, Benito canta.

The reader must not suppose this to be an invention of the Spanish poet; he refers to the grave authority of Bonifacius Simoneta, an abbot of his order.

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votion, but by long probation in a monastical kind of life have learnt, with the assistance of others, to fight against the devil; and being well armed, are able now, without the support of any other, by God's help, to fight hand to hand against the vices of the flesh and evil cogitations, and so proceed from the fraternal army to the single combat of the wilderness. The third and foulest kind of monks are the Saraibaites, who not having been tried under any rule by the experience of a skilful master, as gold is tried in the furnace, but being soft as lead, and still adhering by their actions to the world, are known by their tonsure to be liars unto God; who two or three together, or perhaps singly, without a shepherd, are shut up, not in the Lord's sheep-fold, but in their own; and the pleasure of their desires is to them a law; and whatsoever they like or chuse, this they will have to be holy, and what they mislike that not to be lawful. The fourth are they who are called Gyrovagi, who all their life wander through divers provinces, and guest-wise stay two or three days in one monastery and then in another, and are always strolling and never settled, and giving themselves altogether to their own pleasures and to the enticements of gluttony, are in all things worse than the Saraibaites; of the most miserable conversation, of all which it is better to be silent than to speak.' The institutions of St. Benedict tended greatly to put an end to these vagabonds. It was for the cœnobites alone that his rule was intended.

The abbot was to remember what he was called, for in the monastery he is believed to represent the person of Christ, seeing he is called by his title, as the Apostle saith, 'ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, *abba*, father.' He was to administer instruction by his life as well as his lessons; to know no distinction of persons in those under his command, not preferring a free man, or one of good parentage, before one of servile condition, or low degree, except for some other and reasonable cause. He was not to dissemble offences, but to admonish those who were likely to be amended by admonition; but harder dispositions he was charged, even in the very beginning of sin, to chastise with stripes. Upon any business of importance all the brethren were to be called to council, because God often revealeth to the youngest that which is best; the abbot was to hear all, and then act according to his own judgment, to which all were to submit. One of the first duties was obedience, and this was to be immediate, without the slightest delay. Silence also was so generally to be observed, that leave of speaking was seldom to be given, even to perfect disciples, though upon good and holy subjects, tending to edification; and for idle words and such as might move laughter, they were utterly condemned and forbidden in all places. Humility is like Jacob's lad-

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der, a way from earth to heaven, and it has twelve steps or degrees, of which the last is, for a monk not only to have humility in his heart, but also to show it in his exterior to all that behold him in the monastery, in the oratory, in the garden, in the field, in the way, or wheresoever he may be, sitting, walking, or standing, that he have always his head inclined and his eyes fixed on the ground, thinking himself ever guilty for his sins, and ready to be presented before the dreadful judgment of God.'

Some chapters follow concerning the divine service to be observed in the monastery.—Benedict is the earliest writer who has given a detailed account of the service of the church, which, according to Calmet, before his time was not performed according to any fixed rules in the greater churches. He also first appointed the seven canonical hours, lauds, prime, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers, and complines. If the services were too frequent they were not of an inconvenient length; Benedict left much to the discretion of the abbot, provided that every week the psalter were gone through. He was careful that the service should be performed with becoming solemnity; and the fine chaunting in our cathedrals has descended from his followers, who, in this respect, bore the palm from all other orders.* His good sense was shown also in discouraging long prayers; 'we shall be heard,' said he, 'not for our many words, but for our purity of heart and our compunction: and, therefore, prayer ought to be short and simple, unless peradventure it be prolonged by the influence of divine inspiration. But in public let it always be short.'

Every ten monks were to be under the superintendence of a dean, or decurion, *(decanus.)* And if the dormitory were not large enough to hold them all, they were to sleep by ten or twenty in a domitory, with their respective deans, each in a separate bed, the young not next each other, but mixed with the elder. They were to sleep clothed and girded so as to be always ready to rise, but not with their knives by their side, for fear of accidents. A light was to be kept burning through the night.

The punishments were, that, for lighter offences, the culprit should take his refection alone, and at such time and in such measure as the abbot might think fitting; for greater faults he was to be suspended from the oratory as well as the table, and none of the brethren were to hold any intercourse with him, nor even to bless him as they passed by, but he was to perform the task en-

* '*Dans son ordre on s'est toujours distingué non-seulement par la ponctualité à réciter l'Office Divin; mais aussi par la manière de le chanter, qui a toujours été noble, majestueuse, grave et méthodique; c'est comme l'héritage et le depôt que Saint Benoit a laissé à ses enfans; son esprit à cet égard s'est toujours conservé dans son ordre, même dans le tems où le relachement s'y est introduit.*'—CALMET.

joined

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joined him, alone, in penance and in sorrow; some of the elders however were to be sent secretly to advise and console him. If no amendment were produced, he was to be more severely corrected, and punished with stripes; finally, the incorrigible monk was to be expelled. He might, however, upon humble and contrite supplication be re-admitted once again; but after a third expulsion, the gate was closed upon him for ever. No one was to call or think any thing his own; and if any were detected in this most odious vice, he was to be admonished once and again, and then subjected to correction. None were to be excused from the service of the kitchen, unless they were hindered by sickness, or were more usefully employed. This work was taken in rotation, by weeks; and the officers of the week were allowed a draught of wine and a piece of bread an hour before refection. Dinner was at sexts, that is, about noon, and supper in the evening; on fast days dinner was at nones, about three in the afternoon, and it was then the only meal. Two dishes were allowed, in condescension to the infirmity of many brethren, that they who could not eat one might be satisfied with the other. Both these dishes were hot, *cocta duo pulmentaria*, the one consisted of pulse, the other of herbs; a third dish of fruit was allowed. The ratio of bread was a pound for each person. The flesh of all four footed creatures was prohibited, except to the sick and weak. 'Every one,' said St. Benedict, 'hath his proper gift from God, one thus, and another thus, and therefore we appoint the measure of other mens' food not without some scrupulosity. Yet considering the imbecillity of the infirm, we think a *hemina* of wine daily will suffice for each. But to whom God gives the gift of abstinence, let them know they shall receive their proper reward. And if either labour, heat of the summer, or situation of the place, require more, let the prior do what he thinketh good, having ever a care that superfluity or drunkenness creep not in. And although we read wine to be in no sort the drink of monks, yet because in these times they will not be so persuaded, let us at least consent to this that we drink not to satiety but sparingly.' After supper, or after even-song on fast-days, (Wednesdays and Fridays,) the brethren were to assemble and some one was to read aloud from the Collations of Cassian, the lives of the Fathers, or some other edifying book, but not the Heptateuch, nor the other historical books of the Old Testament: these might be read at other times; but at that hour* Benedict thought

* 'Mais pourquoi *défendre la lecture de ces livres avant complenes? C'est apparemment parce qu'il s'y rencontre certaines histoires qui peuvent laisser dans l'esprit des impressions qui pourroient revenir et inquieter les Religieux pendant le sommeil. Peut-être aussi parce que ces histoires des guerres de Josué, des Juges, et des Rois frappent trop vivement l'imagination, et remuent trop les passions. C'est, dit on, pour cette dernière*

thought it would not be profitable for weak understandings to hear them.

During Lent, Benedict recommended, but did not command, that the monks should add something to their daily tasks and prayers, and forego part of their allowance; but the permission of the abbot was necessary, otherwise whatever was done would be imputed to vain-gloriousness, and merit no reward. Guests were to be hospitably received and welcomed with the kiss of peace, but not till after prayer, by reason of the illusions of the devil; for Benedict believed that the devil was very likely to visit them in disguise, and even Calmet, in commenting upon this passage, found it necessary to treat the supposition as probable. Let poor people and strangers, said the rule-giver, especially, be diligently entertained with all care, because in them Christ is more truly received; for fear itself exacts honour for the rich. The clothes of the monks were to be adapted to the place and climate, as the abbot might please to appoint. Every one was to have two tunics and cowls to wash and wear, and upon a journey they were to be better than those which he used at home. When travelling they were also to be allowed breeches *(femoralia)*, which, on their return, they were to wash and replace in the wardrobe. For bedding, they had a mat, a blanket, a quilt, and a pillow, *(matta, sagum, lena et capitale.)* The abbot was frequently to search the beds, and if he found any thing concealed there, which the monk had not received from the convent, the offender was to undergo a severe punishment.

The abbot's table was always to be with the guests and strangers, if there were none he might invite some of the brethren to eat with him; but for the sake of discipline, one or two of the censors were always to be left with the monks. Such as were artificers might exercise their respective crafts with the abbot's permission, but that permission was to be withdrawn if the workman affected to consider himself a benefactor to the community. Whatever they made for sale was to be sold something below the common price, and they who managed the sale were warned to remember the fate of Ananias and Saphira. One who applied for admission was not to be received lightly; after he should have persevered in waiting at the gate four or five days, he might be admitted into the apartment of the guests, and from thence, after a like delay, into that of the novices, where he was to remain two months. At the end of that time the rule was to be read, and he was to be addressed thus,—'Behold the law under which thou desirest to fight: if thou canst

raison, qu' Ulphilas, Evêque des Goths, ne voulut pas traduire en sa langue les Livres des Rois, de peur d'allumer de plus en plus la passion de ces peuples, qui n'étoit déjà que trop grande pour la guerre.'—CALMET.

observe

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observe it, enter; if thou canst not, freely depart.' After six months more the rule was to be read to him a second time, and a third at the expiration of four more, making the full time of a year. He was then to profess publicly in the oratory, promising obedience before God and his saints, that if at any time he should do otherwise, he might know that he should be condemned by him whom he had mocked. This profession he was to write, (or sign if he could not write,) calling to witness the saints whose relics should then be present, and, laying the writing on the altar with his own hand, to say, O! stablish me according to thy word, and let me not be disappointed of my hope. He was then to prostrate himself at the feet of the brethren while they prayed for him; after which they were to take off his secular garments and clothe him in the habit of the order. His secular garments were to be deposited in the wardrobe, that they might be returned to him if at any time, by the devil's persuasion, he should quit the monastery: but the writing which contained his profession was not to be given up,—that doubtless was regarded as a bond upon which he was to be sued at the day of judgment.

A strange monk who came as a guest and behaved well was to be entertained as long as he chose to stay; and if he reasonably and with humility and charity reprehend or admonish any thing, let the abbot, says the rule-giver, prudently consider what he sayeth, for peradventure our Lord sent him for that end. If his conduct be relaxed, they were civilly to bid him depart, lest he should corrupt others; if it were edifying, they were then to intreat him to remain. But the abbot was cautioned not to receive a member of any other known monastery without dimissory letters from his superior.

The brethren were to take precedency according to seniority, dating not from their birth, but their entrance into the monastery. The seniors were to address the juniors by the title of brothers; the juniors were to call the seniors *Nonni*.* The abbot as representing the person of Christ was to be called Lord and Abbot (*Dominus et Abbas*), not because he attributed to himself these titles, but from the honour and love of our Saviour. He was to be chosen by the whole Convent, for his good desert of life, learning and discretion, though he should be the lowest among them; an election made even by a minority was to be good when the choice was discreet: but if the whole convent should unanimously elect a bad subject, the election was to be set aside by the bishop

* This word *Nonnus*, from which Nun is derived, is believed to be originally Egyptian; but, perhaps the word from whence the Italians derive *Nonno*, a name given to grandfathers and thence to old men in general, may have been in use in St. Benedict's time.

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of the diocese, or the neighbouring abbots and Christians. 'It behoveth the abbot always to prefer mercy before justice, that he himself may obtain mercy. He must hate vice and love his brethren; and, in correcting let him not be rigorous or excessive, lest while he seek to scour the vessel, he break it. And let him always suspect his own frailty, and bear in mind that a bruised reed must not be broken.'

Such was nearly the famous Rule of St. Benedict: the author himself speaks modestly of it in his conclusion. 'By observing it in monasteries,' he says, 'we may show that we preserve good manners, and have at least the beginning of a good life. But for him who hastens to the perfection of holy conversation, there are the precepts of the holy Fathers, the observance whereof bringeth a man to the height of perfection. For what page, or what precept in the Old and New Testament but is a perfect rule of human life? or what book of the holy Catholic fathers but proclaims to us the right way by which we may attain to our Creator? moreover the Collations of the Fathers and their institutes and lives, and the rule of our holy father Basil, what else are they but examples of obedience and instruments of virtue? but to us, slothful ill-livers and negligent as we are, they are a shame and a confusion. Whosoever therefore thou art, who hastenest to the heavenly country, observe by the help of Christ this little Rule for beginning; and then at length by the protection of God thou shalt come to those heights of doctrine and virtues whereof we have spoken.'

Judging of the saint by this Rule alone (and it is the only evidence which can be admitted, for all that Pope Gregory the Great has written of him may be rejected as fabulous) it appears that Benedict is to be ranked among reformers, not among the knaves, fanatics or madmen of a fraudulent church. His institutions are not to be estimated by themselves, but by comparison with those from which they are derived, and there is then more cause to admire their moderation than to wonder at their severity. And upon a comparison with all subsequent rules (till the time of the Jesuits) a like inference in his favour must be drawn. He intended a mitigated system, such as might render the monastic life eligible by men who were desirous of religious retirement, but were at the same time in full possession of their intellects. And he carefully entrusted the abbots with a discretionary power of mitigating the discipline still farther as occasion might require. If we bear in mind the extravagancies of the eastern monks, who were regarded as the beau idéal of holiness and whose rules were before him,—the picture which he himself has drawn of the Sarabaites and Gyrovagi, and the circumstances of his age, we must acknowledge that the founder of the Benedictines deserves to be remembered

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bered with respect, even if the services which his order has rendered to civilization, arts and literature, were not taken into the account. He himself, like many other men who have produced great effects in the world, was not aware of the importance of what he had done. His success was greater than his ambition. He had no views of becoming the head of an order, nor even of incorporating several monastic houses into one association or congregation under a superior-general. But the popes, who perceived the good sense of his code, (Gregory praises it as *discretione præcipuam,*) perceived also the advantage which they might derive from making it general, and thus organizing the great multitude of enthusiasts and fanatics with which all ages and all countries abound, into a disciplined body in the service of the papal church. Thus by the good policy of the popes, the decrees of provincial councils, and the favour of princes, which at that time was well deserved, in the course of two centuries the Rule of St. Benedict superseded all others, and became the sole rule of the west.

It was then that the Monastic Institutions became eminently useful. They attracted, regulated and directed the zeal and the fanaticism of the times, making beneficial what would else have been injurious, as waters which would produce devastation in torrents, or render the air poisonous by stagnating in marshes, serve for the use of man when collected in reservoirs and proper channels. The disorderly and vagabond monks ceased to be heard of after this time. And while every generation produced some new schism in the east, founded upon some new subtlety, the western church was in great measure delivered from the pest of heresiarchs and heretics; for the spirits which might have taken an eccentric course were brought under the yoke of obedience; and if the monastery failed to produce its intended effect as a school, it served as a Bedlam, where the maniac was indulged in all his humours, if any advantage to the community could be drawn from them, and authority was always at hand to restrain him from every thing hurtful. The monastery was a home for the studious, a refuge for the weak, and an asylum for the unhappy. Queens when divorced or widowed, and princesses for whom there was no establishment, could retire there with dignity and with comfort. Kings who in possession of worldly power had learned the late lesson that all is vanity, or who were stricken with compunction for their crimes, retired to the convent to pass the remainder of their days, the one in peace, the other in penitence. Even ambition was rendered less inhuman by these institutions: the searing irons were disused, and the usurper or the successful rival contented himself with compelling his victim to receive the tonsure and take those vows by which he became dead to the world. Here were to be found statesmen

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statesmen who were capable of directing the affairs of princes, and missionaries to go among the fierce heathens by whom the Roman empire was subverted, ready to act their part well as martyrs if they failed, or as politicians if their efforts were successful. Here, and here only, were the schools of education:—the discipline indeed was severe and even cruel, and the instruction was barbarous; still this education, such as it was, saved the world from total ignorance. The light of knowledge was kept burning, not like the fabled lamps of the sepulchre to be extinguished when daylight and free air were admitted,—it was carefully trimmed and preserved for happier generations: and were the present age divested of all that it owes to the patient and humble labour of the Benedictines, we should be poor indeed.

Thus eminently useful, monasteries obtained favour among the people in general. Superstition contributed largely to endow them; relaxed morals and a relaxed observance of the Rule were the consequences of their wealth; and those retreats which were intended for the nestling-place of meek and holy creatures like Bede, who, while they prepared themselves for another world, seemed scarcely to belong to this, became the eyrie of such high-flying spirits as Dunstan. The great body of the monks however were commonplace men, who went through the routine of their profession, filled their respective offices in the convent with decorum, and when they were gathered to their predecessors left no memorial behind them. Besides these there were the patient men of letters, to whose solitary labours we are beholden for what we know of the history of the middle ages—these persons were in their proper places; born neither too early nor too late, they were happy in their generation, and earned for themselves a durable remembrance, not dependant upon any change of times and taste, but which will last as long as the records of history endure. How insignificant while they lived—perhaps even in their own estimation—were they to the worldlings of monachism, the Lords-Abbots, who vied with temporal barons in the splendour of their retinue, and exceeded kings in the magnificence of their abodes!—but their names are forgotten, and their monumental brasses, if they have escaped the foundry, are trodden under foot, while the writings of the poor unambitious annalist are published at the national expense, and edited and illustrated by the ablest antiquarian scholars of the age.

When the monasteries were in this state the easy course of life into which their inhabitants had settled was frequently disturbed, sometimes by enthusiasts, sometimes by sour spirits, or turbulent and ambitious ones. The puritans of the day, regardless of the change of times and circumstances, and in their blind zeal for the letter of their institutions, mistaking or perverting the spirit, were not

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not merely for extirpating the abuses which had crept into the order, and restoring the vigour of the Rule, but for going farther than the founder, and raising it to the standard of Egyptian perfection. Reformers of this description often started up with more or less success. They made the unlucky monks of their generation miserable, by imposing upon them the yoke of a strict observance, as far as their authority or their influence extended; they obtained a renewal of popularity for the order by the reputation of their austere virtues, and drew into it a number of those ardent recruits who are always ready to enlist under the banners of fanaticism: but in the next generation the reformed convents began to relapse into the convenient and comfortable system from which they had been reclaimed; new reforms became necessary, and thus, in the natural course of things, reforms and relaxations succeeded to each other, in regular ebb and flow.

The improvements which had been made in the system in perfect conformity with the intentions of the founder, and the changes which change of circumstances had gradually and necessarily caused, were attacked by these reformers with more inveteracy than actual abuses. When Benedict composed his Rule it was necessary that the monks should labour for themselves, because they had no endowments, and there were none to labour for them. But extensive estates had now been given to the monasteries, and in those days the husbandmen were transferred with the soil. Whole families also, either by their own act or that of their feudal masters, had been dedicated to the service of these institutions. Thus the monks were relieved from that agricultural toil to which no merit was attached by the prejudices of monachism, and which it never could be considered as a duty upon them to perform for themselves, when the necessity had ceased to exist. And for such manual employments as were carried on within doors, every convent had now its own artificers, humble brethren, who under the title of *Donati*, were attached to the order, having devoted themselves to its service, for the sake of being admitted to participate in the stock of its good works. It accorded with the spirit of Benedict's Rule that the leisure thus obtained for the regular brethren should be employed by the more pious in religious meditation, by the more thoughtful in theological or scholastic studies; that those, whose inclinations led them to more active literature, should compose books, that others should perform the humbler, but not less useful task of copying them, and that the arts of architecture, sculpture, painting and music, as connected with objects of religion, should be cultivated in his convents. To the patient industry which was thus directed we owe the preservation of most of the classics, and a large portion of history which would otherwise have been

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been lost; and to the genius which was thus brought forth we are beholden for those cathedrals which vie with the noblest monuments of the ancient world, if they do not indeed surpass them. But the monastic reformers were hostile to all this. They regarded all time as lost which was not expended in the routine of divine service, or in the good works of monkery. In direct contradiction to the letter of the rule, which warned them not to exhaust their devotion by over-tasking it, they lengthened the services and multiplied them, as if, in the lively language of Mr. Fosbrooke, 'the best man were only a barrel organ set to psalm-tunes.' And this was carried to such excess that in some places they reached the astonishing extravagance of establishing what was called *Laus Perennis*, an infinite series of psalmody, to be kept up without intermission by relays of monks, or nuns, day and night, for ever and ever, without coming to Amen!

Benedict admired the Egyptian monks, and perhaps believed that his own lot had fallen in evil times and among a degenerated race; but abstaining from their extravagancies he so far regulated his institutions with regard to health, that he allowed meat to the sick, and dispensed with fasting when extreme heat or extraordinary labour produced an unusual exhaustion. Estates were sometimes settled on a monastery for the purpose of supplying the brethren with a daily pittance in addition to their rations; there was this difference observed, that when the pittance came upon the table it was not blessed like the regular dishes; but this omission gave little inconvenience to the conscience, and none to the stomach. By a pitiable superstition linen was thought sinful, as being luxurious; but flannel shirts were added to the monks wardrobe for the convenience of washing, and this was a great advance in cleanliness. The fanatic reformers regarded these mitigations with contempt or abhorrence—whatever tended to utility, to convenience, comfort or cleanliness, they held in abomination. Some of them declaimed against the pomp and beauty of ceremonial worship, and the splendour of the churches;—and with characteristic inconsistency the same books which exhibit the magnificence of the Catholic shrines and temples, record miracles wrought in compliance with an enthusiast who would have had churches as mean in their appearance as meeting-houses.

The same freaks and follies of the human mind,—the same diseases of the moral and intellectual nature have shown themselves in all ages; the Romish church has had the dexterity to turn them to account. In her service there was a place for every one, saint or sage, the painful student, and the expert sophist, the haughtiest temper and the humblest, knave, madman and idiot, all had

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had their uses, and were employed with excellent advantage to the papacy. When by some lucky combination of events a monk had attained that sort of influence which enabled him to institute a reform, it suited the policy of the church and of his order also, to accredit the fables forged by himself and his accomplices, and propagated by vulgar credulity; to canonize the fanatic who during his life had been an object of hatred or contempt to all his brethren, and to publish for edification the strangest pranks and the most disgusting actions of insane and grovelling superstition.

The most remarkable fanatic of this age was the personage known by the name of St. Dominic the Cuirassier, because of an iron cuirass which he wore next his skin, and which was never taken off till it was necessary to replace it by a new one. Dominic had been intended for an ecclesiastical life; but when he received priest's orders his parents presented a furred robe to the bishop who ordained him, and Dominic, conceiving that he had thus incurred the guilt of simony, not only refrained from performing mass, but resolved to do penance for the crime as long as he lived. For this purpose he entered into the congregation of Santa Croce de Fonte Avellana, the most extravagant of all the orders which had been produced by reforming the system of St. Benedict. The monks of this congregation never touched either wine or oil, and during five days in the week only bread and water; they were never allowed to speak, except for a short time on Sundays, and then only concerning spiritual things; they went barefoot, and every day, after every service, they flogged one another. In those days it was believed that a sinner might be flogged into a saint, as it has been supposed, within our own memory, that a dunce might be whipped into a scholar.—But besides the general utility of flagellation as a means of obtaining the favour of heaven, the actual value of stripes,—the price at which they were taken by the score in the treasury of Good Works, had been settled, according to the most minute and accurate calculation. This well deserves to be explained.

It is a point of faith, say the Catholics, that every mortal sin deprives the sinner of the grace of God, and makes him liable to eternal punishment; but if he repents and confesses, the mercy of God is so great that he restores the grace which had been forfeited, and commutes for temporal punishment that which should else have been eternal. How long a time a soul has to remain in purgatory for one mortal sin, or for many, whether for one year, ten, twenty or more, is what the divine majesty has revealed to none. The popes, however, have granted indulgencies by some of which they remitted a certain number of years of purgatory, by others,

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others, half the term, and by others the whole.* The monks of Fonte Avellana had determined that thirty psalms said or sung, with an accompaniment of one hundred stripes to each psalm, making in all three thousand, would be received as a set-off for one year of purgatory; the whole psalter with the full complement of fifteen thousand stripes would redeem five years from the same vast crucible, and twenty psalters with three hundred thousand stripes, fairly entered in the recording angel's book, would be equal to a receipt in full for an hundred years of fire and torments in the world to come. This scale was sanctioned (if not formally approved) by the popes.

Dominic the Cuirassier was ambitious above all men of laying up treasure of this kind in heaven; and to a man of his temper it was a great excitement to know that he was working by the piece. He tasked himself ordinarily at ten psalters and thirty thousand lashes a day, at which rate he would have redeemed three thousand six hundred and fifty years of purgatory per annum,—and as Dominic is said never to have committed any other sin in his life than that of consenting to the present of the furred robe, one year of such discipline might have been thought full measure and overflowing for that offence. But in addition to this regular allowance he used to petition his superiors in Lent for a supplementary task of an hundred years; and then his day's work was two psalters and a half, with thirty-four thousand five hundred stripes.

Even all this did not satisfy the ambitious Dominic. He was already creditor to a large amount in the angel's books,—but no good works can be lost; all that were over and above the sum necessary for his own redemption from purgatory would go to the great sinking-fund of the holy Catholic church, and Dominic therefore continued to flog himself with more spirit than ever, for the good of his fellow-creatures. He entreated and obtained during another Lent the imposition of a thousand years; and St. Pietro Damiano affirms, that in these forty days he actually recited the psalter two hundred times, and inflicted upon himself sixty millions of stripes, working away during the recitation with a scourge in each hand. This was in addition to his regular task,—and I neither know, says Yepes, how his head should have been capable of repeating so many psalms, nor how his arms could have had strength to give him so many blows,—nor how his flesh, not being of iron, could have endured so inhuman a battery.—In him, however, increase of appetite grew by what it fed on, and like our pedestrians, who go on walking hour after hour, till they ascertain the utmost exertion which their abused strength is capable of en-

* This is in strict and literal conformity to the book before us,—the work of a Benedictine of great learning, who held the office of Chronicler of his order.

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during, he, in an heroic mood, determined once to flog himself, in the jockey phrase, *against time.* In this noble feat, he so far outdid all his former outdoing, that beginning in the evening, and singing and flogging through the day and night, at the end of twenty-four hours he had gone through the psalms twelve times, begun them a thirteenth time, and proceeded as far as *Beati quorum,* the 32d psalm;—the quota of stripes being 183,100, thereby reducing purgatory stock to the amount of sixty-one years, twelve days and thirty-three minutes, to a fraction.

With regard to the authenticity of this account, it rests upon the authority of Pietro Damiano, saint and cardinal, and he relates it from his own personal knowledge, in an epistle to Pope Alexander II. It is laid down as an axiom by Ambrosio Morales, that whatever one saint relates of another, is to be implicitly believed. And Calmet, living in a less credulous age and country, premising that the statement appears incredible, says that, after seeing it affirmed by S. Pietro Damiano, there ought to be no further hesitation—*la chose ne doit faire aucune difficulté.* It seems, however, that certain awkward doubts respecting the possibility of Dominic's exploits obtruded themselves upon the minds of those who were very desirous of believing them if they could. It appears, upon calculating his great achievement of the four-and-twenty hours, that if during the whole of that time he had given himself two blows (that is, one with each hand, for he always used both) in every second, the number would have been 172,800, being 10,300 short of the stated amount! Padre Maestro Castaniza supposes that Dominic's cats had ten tails each, and that every tail was reckoned: but this mode of reckoning would savour so much of vain-glory, not to say deceit, that other writers reject the solution, as derogatory both to the saint and his canonized biographer: they therefore agree with Castaniza, that 'the divine grace which the Almighty imparts to his servants produces in them marvellous effects, however weak they may be by nature;' and so they take the sum total without scruple. But the saying *Credo quia impossibile est,* will not pass current out of the pale of Catholicism; and a Protestant may be allowed to ask how Dominic contrived to reckon the stripes while he was singing the psalms?—Another question will already have occurred to the reader, was Dominic in his cuirass all the while?—if he were, he might have laid on as lustily as Sancho upon the trees, and kept a whole skin. But the cardinal mentions that he stript himself for the work.—What, then, becomes of the assertion that the cuirass was never taken off till it was worn out? The story bears the stamp of fraud as well as of folly and madness, and the church which has accredited it by canonizing the man, whether knave or

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maniac, or both, thereby encouraging the grossest superstition and the most absurd practices, is implicated in the imposture.

But this was the age of imposture; and it is not difficult to discover by what means it had become the system of the Romish church. At whatever time miracles ceased, (probably with the age of the Apostles,) many persons continued to expect them. This also is certain, that there must have been many, even in the earliest ages, who called themselves Christians from worldly motives,—for however poor a sect may be, experience has shown that there are always some who find their interest in joining it. Such men were likely to pretend to miraculous power when, like Simon Magus, they found it was not a secret which could be purchased; and they were liable to be deceived themselves when they deluded others; for, in that state of knowledge, cases in which the imagination operates a cure, and others of natural phenomena which are now perfectly explicable, would appear to be miracles. Of the wonders with which books of hagiology are filled no inconsiderable portion belong to one or other of these classes;—the facts may be true, (and many of them no doubt were so,) but not miraculous. It followed as an obvious consequence, that displays were frequently made for the sake of obtaining credit and custom; that cases were forged as well as feigned;—and a great number of these cases betray their falsehood,—for the miracle-mongers, paying no regard to the extent of physical possibility, furnished a clue to their own detection, by inventing circumstances which would be miraculous, if they were true. Such practices became more common as the superstition concerning relics gained ground. No feeling is more natural in its origin than this, and none has ever been more grossly abused. It was natural that the early Christians should visit the graves of their friends and teachers who had sealed their faith with their blood, and in torments and death borne triumphant testimony to the truth of the Gospel. It was natural that they should be moved to prayer upon the spot where a martyr was laid to rest; and it might reasonably be expected, that on such occasions the strong emotion of the mind might sometimes suspend, and sometimes throw off a remediable disease. Such things were sometimes felt, more frequently feigned. The possession of an accredited relic became as good property to a church or convent, as the secret of a patent medicine to the proprietor in our days; and a list of miracles wrought at a favourite shrine was as easily procured as a string of affidavits in favour of the metallic tractors, the worm-lozenges, or the balm of Gilead. Relics were divided and subdivided, and in proportion as the superstition became more gross and abject, the miracles became

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became more numerous and portentous. Pope St. Gregory* explains why more and greater wonders were generally wrought by a small relic,—(a toe, or a finger, or the rag of a garment,)—than by the whole body of a saint; and the reason is quite satisfactory,—it is, that more faith is required of the supplicant, and that the saints for their honour were bound to exert themselves when their power might be called in question. Fraud and credulity kept pace with each other,—till at length, in the memorable instance at Cologne, the contents of a whole cemetery were removed into a church, and palmed upon the catholic world as the undoubted relics of eleven thousand British virgins, for the existence of any one of whom there was not the slightest foundation in fact.

Such fables and impostures were in full vogue when the bishops of Rome arrogated to themselves a supremacy over the whole Christian world, and what had been carried on by individuals or associations for private and selfish purposes, became a part of the system of that corrupt and wicked church. It is just, as well as charitable, to believe that among the heads of that church there were some who partook of the weakness of the age, and were deceived themselves; but it is certain, that for many of them no such excuse can be advanced. Men whom we know, from the concurrent evidence of history, to have been, not simpletons or fanatics, but ambitious and plotting statesmen, solemnly sanctioned the most extravagant falsehoods, the most abject superstitions, the most palpable deceit and mummery, and laughed the while at the credulity of mankind. The middle ages are indeed characterized by falsehood. The few persons who recorded their travels interlarded them with wonders till they contained more lies than truth; the chronicles were half filled with miraculous legends, invented in the monasteries; and natural history and natural philosophy were made up of wilful and impudent falsehoods, a few of which had been transmitted from the ancients, but the greater part were of monkish growth. With regard to the monastic legends which obtained belief, it is very possible that some of them may have been written as innocent and edifying works of

* The original passage is curious, not merely for its reasoning, but as containing an important fact in the history of Romish impostures, and proving the inference in the text. Peter asks him in the dialogue—*Quidnam esse dicimus, quod plerumque in ipsis quoque patrociniis martyrum sic esse sentimus, ut non tanta per corpora sua, quanta beneficia per reliquias ostendant; atque illic majora signa faciant, ubi minime per semetipsos jacent?* Gregorius: *Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres jacent, dubium, Petre, non est, quod multa valeant signa demonstrare, sicut et faciunt, et pura mente quærentibus innumera miracula ostendunt: sed quia ab infirmis potest mentibus dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ibi præsentes sint, ubi constat, quia in suis corporibus non sunt, ibi necesse est eos majora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum præsentiâ potest mens infirma dubitare. Quorum vero mens in Deo fixa est, tanto majus habet fidei meritum, quanto illic eos novit non jacere corpore, et tamen non deesse ab exauditione.*

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imagination, without any intention of palming them upon the people as true history; but when they obtained belief, the papal church set its stamp upon them; and latterly it is certain that they were invented with the deliberate intention of deceit; and the heads of convents, orders, and the church itself first winked at these impostures, and afterwards adopted them, and gave them currency, in a manner which the tricks and tactics of a faction in England may assist us to understand.

Thus superstition was continually increased by knavery, and knavery grew bolder by continued success, till a gross and idolatrous polytheism had been substituted in place of Christianity. These flagrant corruptions at length provoked inquiry and resistance, and in the language of a monastic historian, the church would have succumbed under the attack of its enemies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if He who promised to the prince of his apostles that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, had not sent new succours to its defence. From the institution of the mendicant orders, which is thus imputed to divine interposition in behalf of the church, the third age of monachism may be dated,—its age of consummate wickedness.

There is so much impiety connected with the history of the Franciscans, so much cruelty with that of the Dominicans, and so much flagitious and blasphemous imposture with both, that the founders of these several orders can hardly be seen in their true characters. It becomes difficult to regard the men themselves apart from the mythology in which they are enveloped, and the indignation which is due to their villainous followers. Both were fanatics in their outset, and perhaps it is not possible to ascertain how far either of them proceeded in the natural progress from fanaticism to imposture; but all previous legends were modest in comparison with those which were invented to their honour. Some of the miracles related of St. Dominic may be seen in one of our former Numbers,*—those of St. Francis are neither less numerous, nor less monstrous. The Romish church has in most cases, with its usual policy, left its religious orders to lie at their own discretion, and defend their fables as they could; thus profiting by the fraud while it lasted, and always ready to disclaim any participation if it should be discovered and exposed;—but in the case of the Franciscans, it departed from its usual caution, and two of the most audacious impostures of that most impudent order have received the sanction of the church, the one tacitly the other directly, but both so decidedly that the Bollandists in their latter years, when they gladly rejected as many fables as they could ven-

* No. XII. pp. 321—325.

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ture to impugn, thought it necessary to maintain the authenticity of these, and having gulped the camels themselves, endeavoured to persuade the reader to shut his eyes, open his mouth, and swallow boldly, after their example.

The first of these miracles relates to the Indulgence of Portiuncula. The legend is thus related: On a certain night, St. Francis, being fervently employed in prayer, was informed by revelation that our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, with a multitude of angels, were at that moment in the church of Portiuncula, which he had rebuilt from its ruins. The saint hastened to the place, and seeing the celestial assembly, prostrated himself before Christ and the Virgin. Our Lord then said to him, Francis, ask what thou wilt for the salvation of the people, for thou art given to be the light of the nations, and the restorer of the church on earth. Francis, after lying awhile in ecstasy, requested for all persons who should visit that church a full pardon and indulgence for their sins, all and several, which they should have properly confessed to a priest; he then turned to the Virgin, and intreated her to intercede with her Son that this petition might be granted. She did so, and Christ replied, Brother Francis, you have asked a great thing, but you are worthy of greater, and greater you will have. I admit your petition; but you must go to the Pope, Honorius the Third, who is at Perugia, and on my part ask him for this indulgence.—To Perugia accordingly Francis went. The Pope offered to grant the indulgence for one year at first, then successively for three, six and seven. Holy father, replied the saint, it is not years I ask, but souls,—I desire, if it may please you, because of the benefits which God hath done there, that every one who shall come to that church contrite, and absolved by his priest, may be absolved from punishment, in heaven and on earth, for all the sins he may have committed from the hour of his baptism to that of his entering the aforesaid church. The pope assented, but by the advice of certain cardinals, who represented to him that this would put an end to all hopes of recovering the Holy Land, and destroy the credit of the indulgence of St. Peter and St. Paul, he restricted it to four-and-twenty hours annually. Francis was then departing, well satisfied, when the pope called after him, O Simpleton (*O Simplicone*)—what do you carry away with you as proof of this indulgence? The saint answered, your word is enough. He then set out on his return to Assissi, and on the way heard a voice saying that what had been granted to him on earth was confirmed in heaven. The day, however, on which this sweeping indulgence was to be obtained had not been determined. One evening, when the saint was in a cell in the garden behind the church of Portiuncula, a strong temptation came upon

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him, and in order to subdue it he threw off his clothes, forced his way through the hedge into a wood, and there rolled himself, naked as he was, among the brambles. Behold! a great light shone around, the brambles were converted into rose trees, covered with flowers and without thorns, a multitude of angels were seen, who summoned him to the church:—gathering twelve white roses and twelve red ones, he went there, and found the same celestial company as before. Our Saviour asked him why he did not pay the Virgin the dower which he owed, and Francis understanding that by this the souls who were to be saved by the indulgence were meant, entreated them to name the day; and the divine Majesty then appointed from the eve of the first of August to the eve of the second, promising entire forgiveness to all persons who should enter the church within those twenty-four hours for all their sins which they had repented and confessed.—And now, added our Lord, go thou to Rome, to my Vicar, that he may publish it. As Francis expressed a doubt that the pope might not believe him, he was directed to take some of his companions who were present at this miracle as witnesses, and some of the miraculous roses (for it was winter) as proofs.—The pope made no more difficulty than on the former occasion, and so the day of the indulgence was fixed. More than sixty thousand persons have sometimes flocked to Assissi on that day to obtain this cheap pardon for their sins. Every year some of these poor superstitious wretches were crushed to death in crowding to the church. The press was increased by an opinion that the visit might be performed by deputy; and many persons, therefore, who had entered the church once on their own account, had to force their way back a second and a third time for some friend or relation, dead or alive, 'for many miracles and mysterious visions had certainly proved that souls were delivered from suffering by these means.' The number of friars of the order who attended and walked in procession often exceeded sixteen hundred, and the pilgrimage to Portiuncula might at one time have vied with the pilgrimage to Mecca or to the temple of Jagganaut.

The other miracle is of a more atrocious cast. The Franciscans affirm that two years before the death of their patriarch, Christ appeared to him in the form of a seraph extended upon the cross, and imprinted upon him five wounds in the hands and feet and side, that, as Francis in all other things had been his living image, the resemblance might be made perfect. The assertion has received the full sanction of the Catholic church; for although it was not specified in the bull of canonization among the miracles for which the saint received his apotheosis; yet Pope Gregory IX., by whom he was canonized, severely reprehended a Moravian bishop for treating

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ing the story as a fable.—Alexander IV. excommunicated all who should preach against the images of St. Francis with the Stigmata, and finally, the 17th September was set apart in the Romish calendar, and still holds a place there as a holiday in commemoration of this most blasphemous imposture.

The Mendicant orders accomplished for the time the service for which they were intended. They embodied, in the service of the papacy, much of that fiery fanaticism which is always to be found in the world, and which, if it had not been thus dexterously brought to the support of the church, might probably have taken the other side, and appeared in arms against it. They decided the wavering partly by the success of their impostures, more by the enthusiasm which they kindled and diffused, and most of all by the persecution with fire and sword which they excited and directed. By their efforts the heretics were crushed and apparently extirpated, and the Reformation was deferred for three whole centuries. It was, perhaps, the policy of the popes to countenance two rival orders at the same time, and thus, by balancing the one with the other, to secure the easy management of both; but their rivalry produced a consequence which had not been foreseen. Being competitors for reputation and popular favour, they vied with each other in all the abominable arts by which the people were to be deceived. Thus, because the Franciscans boasted that their founder exhibited in his life a perfect parallel with the life of our Redeemer, (the subject of the famous, or rather infamous, Liber Conformitatum,—a copy of which is now before us,) the Dominicans affirmed that the Virgin Mary adopted Dominic for her son, and fed him at her breast! And that their rivals might not boast of the Stigmata as the peculiar and exclusive glory of the Franciscan order, the Dominicans pretended that the same honour had been conferred upon their patriarch, but because of his great modesty and profound humility he kept it a secret, and the truth had not been known till it was revealed in a vision to Benedicta of Florence, and affirmed to a friar by the Virgin Mary herself. They even played off the trick with success upon some of their female associates, (for such women as Anne Moore and Joanna Southcote were exhibited as saints in those days,) till growing too bold at last, some of them were detected in this villany at Berne, and burnt alive there, about twenty years before that city received the Reformation, a change to which the exposure of this atrocious deceit is believed to have greatly contributed.

While the friars were thus rivalling each other in extravagant fables, the elder orders of the Benedictine family (brave liars in their day) found themselves outdone, and the spirit of emulation set their inventive faculties at work. It was revealed to St. Dominic, in a

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vision, that the place of his friars in heaven was under the Virgin Mary's robe. The Cistercians, on the contrary, maintained stoutly, on the faith of a revelation equally well attested, that this was their place, consequently, the Dominicans could have no right to be there. *Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.* The Bollandists treat the case with exemplary candour, and for an excellent reason: they state the pretensions of both parties, and declare that, undoubtedly, they can see no cause why the same vision might not have been vouchsafed both to a Cistercian and to a Dominican, because, they continue, the blessed Virgin has condescended to bestow the same favour upon our humble society: *certè non videmus, cur similis visio monacho Cisterciensi, et S. Dominico offerri non potuerit, cum beatissima Virgo minimam nostram societatem eodem favore dignata est.*

But it must not be supposed that there was no good connected with monachism even in its most flagitious age, nor that the guilt of the foul practices which have been here exposed attaches to the individuals of these orders indiscriminately. The number of dupes, as in all cases, was far greater than that of knaves; and the political advantages which arose out of these institutions would not have been overlooked at the Reformation had it not been for the rapacity by which that event was forwarded and disgraced. They offered a respectable provision for the younger branches of good families, a calm and dignified retreat for the elder, when they were weary of the world. They afforded an encouragement to literature which no other establishments have yet supplied; men who loved laborious research for its own sake, and for the pleasure which they found in preserving old records from obscurity for the information and use of future ages, were enabled to follow their meritorious pursuits: it was for the credit of the order, and all meaner considerations were disregarded. Cases which in our days are consigned to a mad-house found a better asylum in the convent; a wicked purpose indeed was sometimes answered by pampering insanity, but more frequently the disease was considered as something divine, and the sufferer was soothed by sympathy and indulgence, and enjoyed all the comfort of which he was capable in a bedlam of his own choice. Enthusiasts and fanatics of every description found their place: if they were desirous of preaching, they were sent to travel; if they chose to torment themselves, an assortment of whips and cilices was ready for their accommodation, and the order was sure to publish and magnify their merits; if they aspired to martyrdom, even in that ambition they were gratified, and were shipped off as missionaries among the Moors, Gentiles, and savages. Moreover they did this service for humanity, that they offered an asylum for ruined fortunes and for broken hearts, a religious

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a religious retreat for repentance and affliction which was sanctified by public opinion.

It was not possible to preserve the Franciscan and Dominican orders in reformed countries; they were founded for the express purpose of opposing the principles of reformation; they had involved themselves in a web of fable from which they could not be extricated, and it was necessary that their abominable impostures should be stigmatized for deserved abhorrence. The Benedictines might perhaps have been continued; they had well-founded claims upon the gratitude of Christendom, their institutions might have been revised, and when the follies and falsehoods of later growth had been rooted out, alterations so slight as scarcely to be deemed a departure from their original constitution, might have adapted them to the spirit of a protestant country. 'Of all the retreats,' says St. Evremond, 'that a man can chuse when he is old, I should infinitely prefer that of a convent, if their rules were less severe. 'Tis certain that old age shuns a crowd, out of a nice and retired humour, that cannot endure to be either importuned or tired; and yet it avoids solitude with greater diligence, where it becomes a prey to its own black disquietudes, or to sullen vexatious imaginations. The only remaining relief against all this is the conversation of a virtuous society. Now what society can better agree with it than a religious one, where one would think all manner of human helps should be afforded with more charity than elsewhere, and where their prayers should be united to obtain those succours from heaven which cannot reasonably be expected from men? It is as natural for old people to take up with devotion, as it is ordinary with young men to abandon themselves to pleasures. In the latter, nature, full charged, throws out of herself her superfluity of vigour, hunting after voluptuousness in external objects; in the former, languishing nature seeks in God what she has lost, and adheres more closely to Him to provide for herself a kind of resource in her decay. Thus the same spirit that leads to society in our wants, conducts us to God in our languishings, and if convents were instituted as they ought to be, we should find in the same place both the support of heaven and the assistance of men; but, after the manner they are settled, instead of an alleviation of our miseries, we find there the hardship of a blind obedience, either in the performance of unprofitable things, or the forbearance of innocent ones: we find there an habitual sacrifice of reason; laws more difficult to be observed than the divine and political ones; ordinances scandalously broken by libertines, and impatiently borne by the most submissive. The penance which a man would willingly undergo is made necessary; the sin which he designs to avoid must be shunned by injunction, and the good which he would

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would do is to be pursued by constraint. Common slavery goes no farther than to force us to what we are unwilling to do, but that of convents lays a necessity upon us, even in things that we are willing to perform. I could wish,' he adds, 'we had established societies where men might commodiously retire after they have done the public all the service they were able. When they were once entered, whether out of a consideration of their future state, a dislike of the world, or a desire of tranquillity after so many different agitations of fortune, they might taste the delight of a pious retreat, and the innocent pleasure of virtuous and agreeable conversation. But in this place of repose I would have no other rules than those of Christianity, which are generally received every where. And indeed we have ills enough to suffer and sins to commit, without creating new torments and new crimes by new institutions.'

Such societies as St. Evremond wished for might easily have been established by reforming the Benedictines; convents without the vows, without the mummeries and superstitions of monachism; colleges not for youth and those who have their fortune in the world to make, but for men in mature or declining life, who desire to pass the remainder of their days in retirement. Literature might have gained much, and religion something by such establishments. It may justly be regretted that nothing of the kind was done; nor is it less to be regretted that no attempt was made to substitute something for the Mendicant orders, and to incorporate an auxiliary force for the service of the national church: perhaps if this had been done, the puritans would never have set these kingdoms in a flame; certainly, Wesley and Whitefield would, like Francis and Dominic, have found their place, and methodism would have kept within the bounds to which the founders, notwithstanding their sincere wish, were not able to confine it.

In the wholesale extirpation of monastic institutions, the nunneries were swept away. The good which would have resulted from converting them into protestant establishments is so obvious, that few persons can have regarded the present state of society in these kingdoms as it affects women, without regretting that an opportunity for alleviating so much evil should have been neglected.

Women in the lower classes take their full share of occupation, and there is always occupation for them. But in all the intermediate stages between low and high life they feel the effects of a crowded population far more severely than the other sex, and more in England than in other countries, for many reasons. Great part of the shop-business on the continent is carried on by women, in England very little; partly because of that reserve which is the grace of the female character with us; partly because the spirit wherewith trade is carried on requires, in most branches, an exertion

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tion of strength and activity which they are not able to sustain; and partly also because men have intruded themselves into those branches in which women might more fittingly be employed. In no other country is the general character of society so ambitious as in this, nor the general habits so expensive. They have become so during the present reign in consequence of the extraordinary impulse communicated to industry and enterprize by the calls which the state has made upon them, and by the improvements in machinery. As the value of money lessened and the demand for it increased, owing to the exigencies of the state, it was both a heartless and a hopeless attempt for individuals to accommodate their manner of living to the altered circumstances of the age by retrenchment; the severest economy was insufficient for this. The whole pressure of the times fell upon those who had no other resource,—persons who had retired from business with what had been a fair competence when they withdrew, widows and single women who had no opportunity of improving their limited means, the most suffering but always the most uncomplaining part of the community. Upon the stirring and active members of society who had hope to aid them, the effect was like that of task-work upon the willing labourer; every man increased his exertions, widened his views, and extended his concerns. The natural consequence of this was a liberal, or rather a profuse expenditure. Frugality is the virtue of a quiet age, when men are contented with small and regular gains. Speculation leads to extravagance, and when expensive habits become prevalent, and the rank which individuals hold in society is chiefly determined by the appearance which they make, many persons from policy as well as from pride, think it necessary to make an appearance beyond their means. In this state of things throughout the middle and lower classes of society, children have been educated for a stage above that in which they were born. And now when the peace which we have won so bravely has put an end to our extraordinary exertions, as well as to the dreadful expenditure of human life, the evil of a redundant population in the educated classes becomes every year more and more apparent, and the consequences more and more distressing; every profession and every way of business is overstocked, nor is there nor can there be any other remedy than colonization. But modern governments have not been accustomed to consider colonization as a necessary part of their economy; and it cannot be expected that the best means of relieving the country from its surcharge should be devised at once, nor that the public feeling should accommodate itself immediately to regular migrations of this kind, which are absolutely indispensable for the general good.

All these changes have had an unfavourable effect upon the condition

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dition of women. They also, throughout the intermediate classes, have been educated for retired life. But it is in retired life that the moral checks to population operate with full force,—with such force indeed as to make celibacy the lot of far the greater number of females who have little or no fortune. Foreigners used to say of England that it was the paradise of women and the hell of horses. It is more the hell of horses at this time than it could possibly have been before mail-coaches were invented, and it is less the paradise of women. For though domestic happiness is both higher in kind and greater in degree than it can possibly be in countries where morals are at a lower standard, manners more frivolous and minds less cultivated, that happiness is comparatively the lot of few; and the condition of unprotected women is perhaps the greatest evil in our present system of society. The man who is cast upon the world has many chances; he can bestir himself to better his fortunes, or, at the worst, *Omne solum forti patria*, 'the world is all before him where to chuse;' if he fail of success in his own country, other countries are open which want inhabitants, where he may find sure subsistence for himself, and reasonably hope to form an establishment for a family. But how many daughters of the clergy, of military and naval officers, of that numerous class who derive their support from life-incomes, and of those whom the vicissitudes which are always occurring in commercial countries have reduced from affluence to distress, are yearly left with a scanty provision, or with none! All the circumstances and all the prejudices of society are against them. Of the few employments which are left for them, there is not one to which they can betake themselves without a certain degree of degradation, and all are overstocked. They are fallen from the rank in which they have grown up, and they wither on the stalk, not in single blessedness, but in forlorn desertion; with no other joys than what religion can bestow, and no hope in this life except the prospect of the next, and the belief that an allwise and almighty Creator, who has made none of his creatures to be miserable, will reward them in a better world for the privations and trials which are their portion in this!

As a remedy for this evil, though it was far less in his days than in ours, Richardson suggested the establishment of protestant nunneries in every county, 'in which single women of small or no fortunes might live with all manner of freedom, under such regulations as it would be a disgrace for a modest or good woman not to comply with were she absolutely on her own hands; and to be allowed to quit it whenever they pleased.' 'The governesses,' he would have had 'to be women of family, of unblameable characters from infancy, and noted equally for their prudence, good-nature, and gentleness of manners. The attendants, for the slighter services, should

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should be the hopeful female children of the honest industrious poor.' 'Do you not imagine,' he continues, 'that such a society as this, all women of unblemished reputation, employing themselves as each (consulting her own genius) at her admission shall undertake to employ herself, and supported genteelly, some at more, some at less expense to the foundation, according to their circumstances, might become a national good; and particularly a seminary for good wives, and the institution a stand for virtue, in an age given up to luxury, extravagance, and amusements little less than riotous?' In reply to the question how it could be supported, he says, 'Many of the persons of which each community would consist, would be, I imagine, no expense to it at all; as numbers of young women, joining their small fortunes, might be able, in such a society, to maintain themselves genteelly on their own income; though each, singly in the world, would be distressed. Besides liberty might be given for wives, in the absence of their husbands, in this maritime country; and for widows, who, on the death of theirs, might wish to retire from the noise and hurry of the world, for three, six or twelve months, more or less, to reside in this well-regulated society; and such persons, we may suppose, would be glad, according to their respective abilities, to be benefactresses to it. No doubt but it would have, besides, the countenance of the well-disposed of both sexes; since every family in Britain, in their connexions and relations, near or distant, might be benefited by so reputable and useful an institution; to say nothing of the works of the ladies in it, the profits of which perhaps will be thought proper to be carried towards the support of a foundation that so genteelly supports them. Yet I would leave a number of hours in each day for the encouragement of industry, that should be called their own; and what was produced in them to be solely appropriated to their own use. A truly worthy divine, at the appointment of the bishop of the diocese, to direct and animate the devotion of such a society, and to guard it from that superstition and enthusiasm which soars to wild heights in almost all nunneries, would confirm it a blessing to the kingdom.'

Richardson's scheme proceeded no farther than this suggestion; but even this, as coming from a man of such deserved celebrity, is interesting. Among the attempts which have been made to institute something like a protestant nunnery, Mr. Fosbrooke mentions the curious establishment of the Ferrar family at Little Gidding. He is mistaken* in calling it a nunnery, because it contained persons of

* Let us here notice a more remarkable mistake into which Mr. Fosbrooke has fallen. He refers to Solorzano as saying that 'idolatrous customs were mere inventions of the Devil, *the Monkey and Fool, whom the Almighty kept for his amusement,—a Diabolo summi*

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of both sexes; and he is mistaken also in saying that 'this protestant nunnery was no other than the old *beguines*,'—the house at Little Gidding bore no resemblance whatever to a beguinage. The only Catholic institutions to which it can be compared are the domestic convents, which at a very early age were prohibited. But it is certain that Nicholas Ferrar followed no model, and it was not likely that he should find any imitators; it required no small fortune to form such an establishment, and no little enthusiasm to go through the useful tasks, and the burthensome ceremonies, to which he subjected himself and his family. A more plausible scheme was proposed in 1671 for 'an academy or college, wherein (says the programma*) young ladies may, at a very moderate expense, be duly

mi Dei simiâ et improbo histrione excogitata.' But the irreverence of this language arises wholly in his misconception of Solorzano's meaning, who calls the devil an ape and actor, upon the Catholic notion that the idolatrous rites which he suggests to the heathen are intended as imitations of the ceremonies of the church. Having thus noticed some errors in Mr. Foshrooke's work, it would be highly unjust were we not at the same time to state that it contains a great store of curious and recondite information, and that wherever the subject permits, the author gives proof in the liveliness of his expression of a vigorous and original mind.

* The intended institution was explained in a quarto pamphlet of ten pages, printed by Thomas Newcomb in the Savoy. The unknown writer begins by stating that English women, who before the troubles were the most modest, chaste and pious in Europe, had become worse than those of any other country, in consequence of their general relaxation of manners; that the maiden schools in and about London grievously disappointed the expectations of those who sent their children there; that the girls who were sent abroad to convents were generally tainted with popery during their stay; and that those who were placed in the families of nonconformists, 'where perhaps a stricter education may sometimes be found,' had schismatical and rebellious principles instilled into them. A collegiate life was therefore recommended to be instituted, 'that thereby may be founded, not only excellent seminaries and nurseries, out of which persons of honour and worth may at all times make choice of virtuous wives, but where provision (whereof there is great want in England) may be made, for sober, pious, elder virgins and widows, who desire to separate themselves from the vanities of the world, and yet employ their talents to the benefit of the public. These are therefore to give notice, that near London, in a pleasant healthy soil and air, there is provided a large house, with a chapel, fair hall, many commodious lodgings, and rooms for all sorts of necessary offices, together with pleasant gardens, orchards and courts, all encompassed and well secured with strong high walls. Also there is a reverend, learned and pious divine in the same parish, ready to officiate daily, morning and evening, as chaplain; a grave discreet lady to be governess, with divers others matrons, who having taken up a resolution to live a retired, single and religious life, are to assist in the government of the college without expecting any gain, profit, or emolument to themselves, but to bestow *gratis* all their care and pains in governing the college and the young ladies in their education. Moreover there will come at due times the best and ablest teachers in London for singing, dancing, musical instruments, writing, French tongue, fashionable dresses, all sorts of needle works; for confectionary, cookery, pastery; for distilling of waters, making perfumes, making of some sort of physical and chyrurgical medicines and salves for the poor, &c. If therefore any honourable and worthy persons desire that their daughters, or any trustees that their orphans, should be admitted commoners or pensioners of this college, or any devout widows or elder virgins who intend not to marry, desire to be admitted fellows and assistants in this government, and to lead the rest of their days without cares and troubles of the world—to live with honour and reputation—to devote themselves to the service of God and the good of their country, by contributing their advice

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duly instructed in the true protestant religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that sex; also be carefully preserved and secured till the day of their marriage, under the tuition of a lady governess, and grave society of widows and virgins, who have resolved to lead the rest of their lives in a single, retired, religious way, according to the pattern of some protestant colleges in Germany.'

This well-intended plan has escaped Mr. Fosbrooke's notice;—we know not by whom it was devised, and probably it did not meet with sufficient encouragement for the institution to begin. The next attempt seems to have been that of Mary Astell; her scheme excited so much attention that, it is said, Queen Mary intended to give ten thousand pounds towards erecting a college, which was to serve both as a place for female education, and an asylum for such ladies as might wish to retire from the world. It is said also that Bishop Burnet frustrated this good intention, by stating that such an institution would too much resemble a nunnery. The objection is altogether unworthy of so tolerant and so good a man; it is moreover in direct contradiction to his own recorded declaration that 'something like monasteries for women would be a glorious design; and might be so set on foot as to be the honour of a Queen on the throne.' The reproach therefore may be removed from Burnet. But both the scheme and the authoress were libelled by Swift, in the Tatler, in a manner most disgraceful to the libeller. Mr. Fosbrooke adds, that Lady Masham, about the year 1700, appears to have meditated a similar plan as far as it regarded education; and that 'a rich and fashionable group of *bas-bleus* were assembled upon a conventual plan, in a rural retreat, by the accomplished Harriet Eusebia Harcourt, who died in 1740. According to nature,' he continues, 'as the feminine duties are pointed out by her, and sensitive timidity and soft grace rendered woman's chief attractions, fine taste, delicate sentiment, and tender feelings are more appropriate than philosophical habits, which produce masculine disputations and deterring characters, certainly unsuited to the conjugal or maternal station. Monasteries of learned women would be injurious to society, because they might be much better employed.' The objection would be valid if any such institutions had ever been proposed; but we know not that any wild intellect ever dreamt of them. And with regard to the sort of establishment which is easily practicable, in all respects unobjectionable, and most desirable as affording some palliation for one of the sorest

advice and assistance in the training up of young ladies and gentlewomen, and securing their persons and fortunes till the time of their marriage, let them repair either to Mr. Horn, a Stationer, at the South Side of the Royal Exchange, to Mr. Martyn, a Stationer, at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-Yard, &c. &c. and they shall be farther informed.'

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evils in society, Mr. Fosbrooke gives it his unequivocal approbation when, in speaking of Mary Astell's plan, he says, that Burnet and Swift, in opposing it, 'succeeded in robbing posterity of much probable benefit.'

Such an establishment was instituted in 1816, under the sanction of her late Majesty,—nor has there ever been any institution more worthy of the attention and the liberal patronage of the public.

'In the spring of 1815, the Dowager Dutchess of Buccleuch, Lady Carysfoot, Lady Anson, Lady Willoughby, and Lady Cavebrock, having taken into consideration the plan of an institution calculated to afford the comforts of life at a moderate expense to ladies of respectability and small fortunes, agreed to form an association for the purpose of promoting establishments of that nature. Lady Isabella King is the person to whom the merit of having originated this association is due, and the still higher merit of having hitherto superintended the institution which by her means was formed. Should its success be answerable to the trial which has been made, and to the real and paramount utility of the scheme, she will deservedly be remembered as one of the greatest benefactors to her country, and the greatest to her sex that any country has ever yet produced. The most frequent objections which she had heard advanced against her favourite object were 'that a society of women —*English* women, belonging to the Church of England,—could never be expected to live together in peace. That their love of variety and change, their impatience of restraint, and above all the absence of any religious bond, would render it impossible to give stability or happiness to such associations, and that therefore endowments for them would be useless. With the fervent hope of proving that these reflections on her sex, her country, and her religion were unfounded,—with an ardent desire of forming a society united by the best bonds of Christian love, its members differing in fortune only, but equally gentlewomen in principles, education and manners,—with an intention of rendering the institution not only a means of protection, but also of improvement, to those whose virtues recommended them for admittance, and whose loss of friends or of fortunes placed them in want of such a home, Lady Isabella quitted a life more congenial with her taste and inclinations, and engaged in this undertaking.'

The general object of the plan as first proposed, was 'the promotion of societies so regulated that the larger payments of one part of the community, thrown into a joint stock, should reduce the payments of the remainder to a convenient limit, without subjecting them to any unpleasant feeling of pecuniary obligation; and that all should engage themselves, as far as their situation would admit,

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in benevolent and useful occupation, their agreement in such pursuits serving as a bond of union. It was thought, however, upon further consideration, that no institution ought to rest wholly for support on an arrangement which would expose it to great inconvenience, perhaps total failure, on the removal of the richer members. It was agreed therefore that a sum of from ten to fifteen thousand pounds should be raised by the association as an endowment for the primary establishment; and that, as an additional support, a limited number of apartments should be allotted to such ladies, friends of the undertaking, as would agree to reside there, paying a high yearly rent for their rooms to the funds of the establishment, and conforming equally with the other inmates to the rules of the institution.' Accordingly a statement of the plan was printed, and a subscription set on foot. The Queen contributed 300*l.* and signified her intention of subscribing 100*l.* annually. The late Princess Charlotte, and the other princesses, contributed 50*l.* each. But notwithstanding this distinguished patronage, the whole sum which could be collected in the course of a year fell considerably short of five thousand pounds, whereas it had been hoped that from 10 to 15,000 might be raised, and less could not suffice for putting the institution upon a permanent establishment. Anxious however that the execution should no longer be delayed, and hoping that when its practicability should have been tried and proved, the good would be so manifest as to ensure success in a future appeal for public support, Lady Isabella King offered to take upon herself whatever risk or responsibility might attend it, and proposed to give 200*l.* a year for a furnished house in Derbyshire. Lady Willoughby was of opinion that it would be better to have the institution in the immediate vicinity of Bath, and offered to pay the difference of rent which this arrangement would occasion. Accordingly a lease of Braybrook House, near that city, was taken for three years, at a rent of 400*l.* a year. 1350*l.* was laid out by the committee in fitting up and furnishing apartments for ten lady associates, and for the servants of the institution. 60*l.* was paid for printing, and the remainder, amounting to about 3000*l*, was placed in the funds in the names of the Earl of Shaftsbury, Earl Manvers, the Hon. George Vernon and Sir Benjamin Hobhouse—the four trustees of the association; and Lady Isabella King, devoting her whole time and thought to the establishment, took up her abode in it as superintendent.

It had originally been designed that for each 50*l.* accruing yearly to the institution from the interest of the collected fund, one lady should be admitted, paying on her part 50*l.* annually for her apartment and board. But the first step taken by the residing managers was to make known their determination of not drawing upon the

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fund, but leaving it to accumulate for three years, during which time the society engaged to defray every expense of the establishment, rent and taxes included. It was hoped that 'before the expiration of that term there might be a sufficient sum to enable the guardian committee to place the institution on a more permanent footing, by the purchase of a house. The contributions of the lady president, and the other ladies, renters of apartments, would then cease to be so absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the establishment, and should any circumstance occasion their assistance to be withdrawn it would not have the immediate effect of breaking up the society. Should they, on the contrary, continue to make it their residence, a further advantage would arise. The sum paid half-yearly for their apartments would, during their stay, enable the society to *rent* the house from the Ladies Association instead of accepting it gratuitously—the rent so received to be added to the general fund; and thus the patronesses, after having fulfilled the promise of support made to the primary establishment, would still find a sum accumulating to enable them to assist in the formation of other societies on a similar plan.' 'The next object was to form such regulations as (when known) might tend to prevent the institution from being a mere accommodation to the sordid and selfish, or one of the temporary resting-places of the discontented or the whimsical. In an institution open to characters of that description, the society would be continually fluctuating, no bond of union would exist, nor would the establishment have a chance of becoming the residence of the class for whom it is best suited, namely, ladies of cultivated minds, religious principles, and domestic habits; who having been deprived of their nearest connections would feel desirous of the protection and social comforts of such an asylum, provided there was a prospect of finding the society select, well regulated, and, as far as circumstances might permit, unfluctuating.' In forming these regulations, 'the feelings and habits not only of a protestant, but also of an English community were consulted; no rules or restrictions being admitted but such as appeared indispensable to the maintenance of good order.

The three years devoted to the experiment have elapsed; 'to those who consider the formation of such institutions as desirable, it will be gratifying to learn that all who are personally concerned in promoting this undertaking, all who have actually visited the establishment and made themselves thoroughly acquainted with its arrangements, are cordially desirous of its continuance.' The experiment was fairly tried, and it succeeded perfectly. No lady quitted the society who was elected after the first year, that is, after the principles of the society were more generally known, and its regular and retired habits fully understood. It has been proved that such

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such a society of ladies may live in harmony; that they can consider themselves fixed, though bound by no vows; and be contented and happy in their retirement, though 'not upon compulsion.' The late excellent Queen inspected the establishment in person during the last year of her life. She expressed the most unqualified approbation of its principles and regulations, and emphatically pronounced it 'a blessed asylum.' Though nothing was drawn from the fund, eight lady associates had been received on the original plan. The establishment was enabled to afford this by the ladies president and vice-president residing in it at considerable expense; but it is observed that such a mode of upholding it cannot be rested upon as permanent; and it was soon found that many ladies looked with an anxious but hopeless eye to this retreat, because their total want of fortune precluded their admission, though for all circumstances of manners, birth, education and principles, they would have been peculiarly desirable as inmates. A few official situations in the establishment were therefore instituted within the last year for ladies thus circumstanced, and they were admitted gratuitously.

The views of the excellent persons by whom the Institution had been formed, and thus far successfully conducted, enlarged with their experience. They had seen that three different classes in point of fortune might live happily together, when all were equally gentlewomen in principles and in manners,—for it is only where there is inequality in these respects that other differences become painful: but they perceived the propriety of affixing yearly salaries to the official situations, which by enabling the ladies who should be elected to them to contribute a stated sum toward the general expenses, would give them both the feeling and the reality of independence, and thus add to their happiness in the society. They proposed to continue their support to the establishment for a second term of three years, if a house of sufficient size could still be secured; and they enlarged the plan, that the original view of benevolent and useful occupation might become a more leading object, and that the benefits might be extended to those who possessed every title to admittance except that of fortune. They have appealed therefore again to the public, and solicit subscriptions for endowing with competent salaries a certain number of situations in the establishment, for the better management of its concerns—in memory of their exalted Patroness by whom the blessing of such an asylum was so justly appreciated, and in further honour of that regretted and excellent Personage, they propose to engraft upon it (as soon as the funds will admit) as a charity congenial with her Majesty's known feelings, a school for female orphans of that class for which the original institution was designed, who by the death of their parents are left destitute,—to be situated as near

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as possible to the primary establishment, and under the immediate guardianship of the Lady President and the Resident Society, to be more particularly superintended and managed by some of the ladies who fill the endowed situations.

'The institution thus improved by the addition of a regular system of rational and benevolent occupations interwoven with its arrangements, will remain in other respects the same. The resident society will still consist of a lady president nominated as usual by the guardian committee from among its own members: two or three other ladies of sufficient fortune, elected by the resident society, paying a high yearly price for their apartments to the funds of the establishment: a stated number of lady associates, whose more limited income entitles them to apartments free of expense, and from two to perhaps four assisting ladies holding the endowed situations, and devoting their time to the interests of the institution, and to the inspection and management of the orphan school, in which employment, it must be observed, every member of the society will be expected occasionally to lend her aid.—It is assuredly desirable that the ladies who compose a society of this peculiar nature should feel on the whole inclined to habits of retirement and of domestic occupation; but seclusion from their friends, or from society, is neither necessary, nor intended. There is no limitation as to age, for it is hoped that the establishment may be at once a protection to the young, and a peaceful retirement for declining years.' The widows and daughters of clergymen, and of officers in the army and navy have a preference over other candidates. Each member is to pay 50*l* a year toward the household expenses, the assisting ladies excepted, whose contribution will in justice be limited in proportion to their salary. Each member possessing a yearly income of more than 120*l*. is also to pay a stated yearly price for her apartments, and to furnish them.

Such have been the rise and progress of the Ladies Association, and such is the present state of the institution at Braybrook House. Should funds sufficient for its permanent establishment be raised, it cannot be doubted but that, with this example to look to, other institutions of the same kind would be formed,—it might be hoped that they would become as extensive as the necessity for them, and how extensive that is every person may estimate by the cases which have fallen within his own knowledge for which such an institution would indeed have been a 'blessed asylum.' But if the present attempt be suffered to fail for want of due encouragement, we cannot expect that it should ever be revived under better auspices, nor with wiser management, nor with fairer prospects. This danger there is,—for it has had no adventitious assistance; no passions or interests have been identified with its success and notoriety;

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riety; no party or sectarian spirit has been busy in its service. The excellent persons who designed and supported it have been employed in doing good, not in making it known. And if Braybrook House for want of due support should cease to be an asylum for English ladies, educated in the pure principles of the gospel, and employed in training up others in the same principles, which are the foundation of our public prosperity and our private happiness, it will immediately pass into the hands of the papists and be converted into a regular nunnery. We have already many such establishments in England—'black, white and grey with all their trumpery.' The premises have been offered for sale, an abbess from Yorkshire has inspected them in company with a Catholic priest, and the nuns are ready to remove and set up a Catholic school conected with the nunnery, the work of proselytism will go on in the neighbourhood, (as it does in the vicinity of all Catholic establishments,) and young women will be perverted and inveigled from their parents, to become tenants of the Bedlam which is designed for them. Woe be to that protestant family wherein a Romish priest finds admittance, for these men are indeed wise in their generation! the first lesson of monachism is to disregard your parents. St. Benedict, when he repeats the substance of the commandments in his Rule, *changes the fifth*, and instead of saying Honour thy father and thy mother, makes it Honour all men, as if, says Calmet,* to denote that his disciples must consider themselves as having no longer father or mother or relation upon earth. This principle the Romish priest inculcates in its utmost extent when he has obtained the ear of a young woman, and perplexed her with his sophistries. And when he has turned her brain, and separated her for ever from her parents, he congratulates himself upon having one good work more added to his account in the next world, and shuts up the poor victim of delusion for the remainder of her days, to say prayers by the score which she cannot construe, to rise at midnight and attend a service which she cannot understand, to address her supplications not to her Creator and Redeemer, but to Saints, of whom some were madmen and some knaves, and many are nonentities; to put her trust in crosses and in relics; to practise the grossest idolatry; to believe that the food which is innocent on Thursdays, becomes sinful on

* *Honorare omnes homines* is the text, and Calmet's comment is so important that it must here be annexed in his own words: '*il est remarquable que Saint Benoît, après avoir inséré ici les premiers préceptes du Décalogue, semble avoir exprès omis celui-ci,* honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, &c. *pour mettre à la place le conseil de Saint Pierre,* omnes honorate; *comme pour marquer qu'un religieux doit se regarder sur la terre comme n'ayant plus ni père, ni mère, ni parens, et qu'il doit tellement oublier le monde, et tout ce qu'il y a laissé, qu'il ne songe plus qu'à rendre à Dieu seul le service qu'il lui a voué, comprenant ses parens même dans le sacrifice qu'il lui a fait de toutes choses.*'

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Fridays, and, if her devotion aspires to the higher honours of her profession, to torment herself with whipcord, and a horse-hair shift!

There is no want of money among the Catholics for any object connected with the propagation of their corrupt and mischievous doctrine. They can erect colleges and purchase estates for their support. Means are never wanting where there is zeal. And can there be none excited for this protestant institution because it has no alloy of folly, nor of extravagance, nor of superstition, —because its purport is rational, its intention pure, its principles just,—because it is so excellently adapted to its object, so worthy of an enlightened age and country? It is no doubtful benefit which is proposed, no untried theory, no project of visionary benevolence, no narrow or confined advantage. And when we consider the crying necessity for such institutions, and the great and certain good which they would produce, we cannot but feel that we are performing a public duty in thus endeavouring to excite public attention to the subject.

ART. IV.—*Radical Reform, Restoration of Usurped Rights.* By George Ensor, Esq. London: Printed for Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1819.

MR. Ensor has long been one of the most active of that class of writers, who set themselves in opposition to all established laws and government. His services to the cause which he has espoused have, however, been but ill requited. His works have been ungratefully suffered to fall still-born from the press, neither read nor praised by the friends of reform; and it must be grievously mortifying to him to reflect, that while Cobbett and Wooler have formed the political creed of thousands, he has not yet been able to alienate from his sovereign, or from the constitution of his country, the affections of a single individual.

Several causes have contributed to prevent Mr. Ensor's rise to that bad eminence among the advocates of anarchy, to which he has so long aspired, and of which none would be more worthy, if a rancorous hatred of kings and priests were the only requisite. But the candidate for supremacy in the line of composition, which our author has chosen, must possess higher qualifications. It is not enough for him to entertain the feeling and the spirit of the lowest scribes of sedition, and to place himself on their level. It is not enough to adopt their tone and language; he must copy their merits as well as their defects, and with their coarseness and their ignorance unite their plainness and their strength. Above all, he must be careful not to wound the self-estimation of

of his readers by any pretensions to superior knowledge or endowments. The supporters of political equality are in general alike independent in their notions of literature and of government. Each trusts to his own powers alone; and suffers neither his thoughts nor his actions to be guided by others. Mr. Ensor has gone into the opposite extreme of apparent deference to authority. Proud of a mass of ill-digested literature, and anxious to exhibit it, 'he lets his reading and writing appear where there is no need of such vanities,' and pours forth upon every occasion cumbrous illustrations and unappropriate quotations.

This ostentatious display of useless knowledge, while it thickens the natural dullness of our author's works, frightens away those for whom he chiefly writes: many are deterred by his pedantry, whose feelings are in unison with his own, and who would sympathize in the hatred, and delight in the abuse of their superiors. Nor is he more fortunate in adapting himself to those whose education enables them to form a just idea of his worthless acquirements: the general spirit of his writings must shock every man of refinement or liberality; and those who would only smile at his vanity, will turn with loathing from his malignity.

Of the superiority which Mr. Ensor fancies learning confers on him, he is too proud. It is not surprising that he should look down upon some of those worthies who are engaged with him in what they term the cause of liberty, and speak lightly of their merits; but we recognize the workings of jealousy when we read that that very eminent radical reformer, Mr. Jeremy Bentham, 'in treating reform in Parliament, sunk instantly into a shallow demagogue, who uttered the draff of the lowest doers of the daily press.'

> ——————— O the good gods,
> How blind is pride! what eagles we are still
> In matters that belong to other men,
> What beetles in our own!

It is melancholy to see that even the sanctity of the cause to which these two great patriots have devoted themselves does not prevent the intrusion of the green-eyed monster. We should be happy to effect a reconciliation between them, for to us it appears that they resemble one another more closely than our author seems willing to admit. They fight the same battle against the same enemy, and with nearly the same weapons. Neither can boast of excelling the other in rancour of feeling or expression against their superiors; and although Mr. Bentham may lie under some disadvantage from being a trifle less grammatical than Mr. Ensor, yet this is fully compensated for by the greater originality of his phraseology. We know not the precise force of the word

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'draff,' by which Mr. Ensor characterises the writings of his opponent; but judging of its meaning from the context, we should apprehend it to be equally applicable to the effusions of both.

In his general views of the defects of our constitution, Mr. Ensor follows the steps of others with whose declamations the public is sufficiently familiar. He diversifies their charges with a few additions of his own; and adopting the ideas of various persons, he contradicts himself without any hesitation, and imputes to our government every species of opposite and inconsistent faults. Thus a chapter is devoted to proving that property ought not to be the basis of representation; and to pointing this out as one of the errors of the English system. The folly of such a system is thus neatly exemplified: 'Plutarch (Moral. *p. 93*) remarks, that Æsop said he saw a man solder a piece of brass to a man: but our election laws solder a man to forty pieces of silver.' Lest however the possessors of property should think they have reason to be well satisfied with the portion of power allotted to them, the former accusation is abandoned, and we are told, in another part of the work, that 'so small a share of property enjoys this consequence (that of conferring a vote) compared to the whole disfranchised mass, that property, colloquially considered, is excluded from ministering to the right of suffrage.'

To convince us of the imprudence and incompetence of those to whom he attributes the exclusive possession of all power, he tell us that 'almost all the great corporations of the state are in debt, in distress, pennyless and without credit;' and 'the old aristocracy' are, it seems, 'uniformly immersed in bankruptcy.' They are, however, not so improvident as to neglect themselves, for in the next page we find them 'preying on all around them;' their poverty is gone, their debts are paid, they are 'rich in the sum of all opulence,' and they 'monopolize all legislation!'

Mr. Ensor's mind seems equally adapted to entertain extensive views of policy, and at the same time to contemplate minuter objects. Thus, amongst the many vices of our government, he notices the lateness of the hours to which the members of the House of Commons protract their sittings. Departing from the simplicity of former manners, they foolishly sacrifice for the concerns of the nation the usual hours of meals and rest, and make laws at the most unseasonable periods.

'In Clarendon's time the House met at eight in the morning (Hist. vol. ii. p. 76). It also sat forenoon and afternoon (Whitelock, p. 590). Nor is this half the evil. That the public business should be deferred for private affairs is not singular; but I believe it is unique that the sovereign questions of law and policy should be cast into the depth of night; certainly it is contrary to ancient custom in this country. Whitelock

Whitelock remarks as a thing unusual, and the reason was unprecedented, "sitting up to nine at night, in expectation of an answer from the king, who was at Uxbridge." (Mem. p. 128.)'

He is not alone in his complaints of the time occupied by the labours of the house, but he has found one argument in favour of annual parliaments, the merit of which, we are inclined to think entirely his own. 'A seat for seven years—which nearly equals a man's probable life—must be contested at greater expense, and with greater acrimony than one whose duration is limited. A seat for a year is but a seventh part as valuable to him who does not succeed, while his defeat is cheered by his hopes reviving with the returning year.' He has somewhat miscalculated the duration of life; for however much we may suffer from the oppression of septennial parliaments, our lives are certainly worth more than seven years purchase; nevertheless we cannot but commend that amiable solicitude for the unfortunate which would alleviate the afflictions of a disappointed candidate by shortening the period of his rival's triumph.

It seems to be a maxim of Mr. Ensor, that in England whatever is, is bad, and that whatever is bad is to be attributed to what he is pleased to term 'the exclusion of the people from their political rights.' His ideas of this system are appropriately illustrated by the following comparison. 'We are informed by Van Egmont in his Travels, (vol. ii. p. 201.) that Paul Lucas brought from Egypt a mummy to Paris, which he exhibited as the remains of a very beautiful queen of that country. This is virtual representation.' In what particulars our representation resembles a mummy is not explained; but it is not in being inactive and harmless, for we find that to this system is to be traced all crime, all pauperism, all war and misery, and in short all moral and physical evil: virtual representation even exercises (like the moon) a baneful influence upon the intellects of those who are subject to its power; after an enumeration of our misfortunes, we are told that 'madness too is added to the sum of misery, for lunacy and suicides have greatly increased.'

The remedy that is to raise us from that 'aggravation of ruin' in which we are involved, is the radical reform of parliament. Reform is 'the light, the air, the common want of our political being.' Let but this light and air be administered and all will revive. The mummy will start into life; war, tythes, madness, and pauperism will exist no more; members of parliament will go to bed at nine o'clock; and we shall no longer hear of sinecures or suicides. In a word, the golden age will return, and 'all be once more sympathy and affection.'

Happily for our author he is convinced that this reform is as inevitable

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inevitable as it will be beneficial. 'I tell those who oppose reformation, that they must reform.' But certain as this is, it is no where explicitly stated by what means or through whose agency the improvements are to be effected. 'The house of Commons,' we are told, 'cannot reform itself.' From the crown and the aristocracy nothing is to be expected, nor are there apparently any greater hopes of assistance from those 'talking patriots,' the former Whig friends of reform. They are charged, and not without some reason, with having deserted the cause, and abandoned the doctrines that they once cherished; and 'the apostacy of those who presumed to all the talents and all the virtues of the state,' may well shake all confidence in such professions. No party seems likely to meet Mr. Ensor's views, and least of all the moderate reformers. They, in fact, are no better than 'hypocrites, who talk of reform and mean deterioration.' 'Moderate reform is a mere subterfuge, it is the cant of slaves and tyrants.' 'Moderation and mediocrity are terms of the same ignoble parentage. Moderate men are the neuters whom Solon punished by his laws, and whom Dante placed among unmeaning sights in the last sad receptacle of fantastic mortality.'

Thus it is not by the ordinary legislative means, that the threatened reform is to be accomplished; and to be consistent with himself, Mr. Ensor must have in view some more violent process. We know not whether he would recommend to our imitation the revolt of Jack Straw, or the French revolution; each of which is honoured in its turn with his most cordial approbation. But whatever be the scheme, the object is sufficiently apparent, and it would be worse than blindness not to perceive that what he calls reform is revolution.

It is the misfortune of that spirit of dissatisfaction, which so many employ themselves in disseminating, that those who habitually rail at the constitution of their country, learn to exaggerate its faults and to depreciate its excellencies. They are determined to be miserable, and reject all evidence that does not coincide with their own notions of national degradation and misfortune. Their breasts cease to glow with generous exultation at any acquisition of honour to their country, and they collect with industry whatever may diminish the lustre of British valour or British talent. It is hence that the battle of Waterloo, the most glorious event in our military history, is so often made the subject of their invidious remarks. Our author is not wanting in this amiable and patriotic feeling, he talks of that 'braggart and chance-medley field,' and sneers, in his best manner, at those who give any share of credit to the victors.

The feelings in which such remarks originate are disgraceful to

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to him who entertains them; but it is in a worse spirit that Mr. Ensor directs his venomous attacks against our beloved monarch. The age and infirmities which close and sanctify a life of virtue should have protected it from reproach; and, for the sake of human nature, we are glad to see that the heart which prompted his brutal insults upon his afflicted sovereign is not associated with a better head, than that from which this most despicable farrago emanated.

There is one passage in Mr. Ensor's work which we would recommend to his attention. He tells us, that the people are peaceably disposed. 'Their enmities and antipathies are derived from those who ignorantly suppose they are interested in deceiving them.' Writers of Mr. Ensor's cast may perhaps have some success in exciting their enmities; they may aggravate discontent into disaffection, and disaffection into revolt, but they are ignorant indeed, if they suppose that by the accomplishment of their plans they can elevate themselves. If they should raise the storm, a short experience would shew them, that they would not be permitted to 'ride in the whirlwind,' and to direct it. The scribbling instigators of revolution would be superseded by bolder spirits, and, if they should not fall the early victims of their own doctrines, would be hooted back with ineffable contempt to their pristine obscurity.

ART. V.—*Narrative of my Captivity in Japan, during the years 1812 and 1813; with Observations on the Country and People.* By Captain Golownin, R. N. *To which is added An Account of the Voyages to the Coasts of Japan, and of the Negociations with the Japanese for the release of the Author and his Companions.* By Captain Rikord. 2 Vols. 1818.

CAPTAIN Golownin has given us rather a prolix and tedious account of the treatment which he, and six of the crew of the Russian ship Diana, met with from the Japanese government during their imprisonment among that strange people, of whom we know but little, but to whose general character (always excepting those connected with the government) the little we do know is not unfavourable. Wearisome, however, as the details are, it must be admitted that they embrace a variety of matter sufficiently curious to compensate in some degree the heaviness of the narrative. There is besides so much *naiveté* and *bonhommie* in the description of the pitiable condition in which he and his comrades were cooped up for two years in Japanese cages, and so good and kindly a disposition to palliate and find excuses for the scurvy treatment which they received, that it is hardly possible to be out of

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of humour with the author, or not to take an interest in all the little concerns of himself and his fellow prisoners.

To account for the extraordinary conduct of the Japanese towards Captain Golownin, it will be proper to take a brief retrospect of the connection, if it may be so called, which has subsisted between Russia and Japan. About forty years ago a Japanese vessel was wrecked on one of the Aleutian islands: the crew were saved and conveyed to Irkutzk, where they were detained about ten years; well treated, and instructed in the Russian language. On sending them back to their native country, the Empress Catharine instructed the governor of Siberia to endeavour to establish such friendly relations as might tend to the mutual benefit of both countries. For this purpose, he was directed to dispatch an envoy, in his own name, with credentials and suitable presents, taking especial care to employ no natives either of England or Holland. The governor fixed upon a lieutenant of the name of Laxman, who, embarking in the Catharina transport, sailed from Okotzk in the autumn of 1792, and landed on the northern coast of the island of Matsmai, where he passed the winter. In the following summer he entered the harbour of Chakodade, on the southern coast of the same island, and travelled from thence to the capital, which also bears the name of Matsmai, and is situated at the distance of three days journey to the westward.

Here he entered into negociations with the officers of the Japanese government, and (as the sole result of his labours) obtained from them a declaration in writing to the following effect— 1. That although their laws inflict perpetual imprisonment on every stranger landing in any part of the Japanese empire, the harbour of Nangasaki excepted, yet, in consideration of the ignorance of these laws, pleaded by the Russians, and of their having saved the lives of several Japanese subjects, they are willing to wave the strict enforcement of them, in the present instance, provided Lieutenant Laxman will promise, for himself and his countrymen, to return immediately to his own country and never again to approach any part of the coast, but the harbour aforesaid. 2. That the Japanese government thanks the Russians for the care taken of its subjects; but at the same time informs them, that they may either leave them or carry them back again, as they think fit, as the Japanese consider all men to belong to whatever country their destiny may carry them, and where their lives may have been protected.

With this document Laxman returned to Okotzk in the autumn of 1793. During his stay in Japan he had been treated with the greatest civility; at his departure he was gratuitously provided with every thing necessary for the voyage, and finally dismissed with a variety

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variety of presents. Catharine did not think fit to pursue this opening for a restricted intercourse, but nevertheless kept her attention fixed on Japan, and encouraged the cultivation of the language, which the shipwrecked Japanese had afforded her people the means of acquiring. 'No further communication took place during her reign, or that of her successor; but Alexander, desirous of renewing the intercourse, sent the Chamberlain Resanoff on a formal embassy, in 1803, with credentials and valuable presents to 'his good brother the Emperor of Japan.'

In our review of Captain Krusenstern's Narrative of that Expedition, the reader will have seen the ungracious and undignified manner in which Resanoff conducted himself; and the tameness with which he suffered himself to be first insulted by the Japanese government, and then dismissed with a notification that they had no wish for any Russian ships to approach any part of the coasts of Japan. Though Resanoff took all this very patiently while he was cooped up within the bamboo paling on the beach of Nangasaki; yet it appears that he meditated vengeance; and, on his return to Kamtschatka, applied to two persons of the name of Chwostoff and Davidoff, each of whom commanded a small vessel in the service of the American-Russian Company. These officers readily entered into the views of the ambassador, whose instructions they considered as emanating from the throne; and proceeded to retaliate the treatment which he had experienced at Nangasaki, not indeed on the offending party, but on the innocent natives of one of the southern Kuriles belonging to Japan, whose villages they plundered, murdering some, and carrying off others, of the inhabitants. Resanoff died on his way to Petersburg, and the two officers, whom he seduced to this outrageous enterprize, met an untimely end, by falling into the Neva, where they both perished.

That the expedition of Captain Golownin had any thing beyond the ostensible object of making a survey of the Kurile islands, there is no reason to believe; but it must have been obvious that, in the performance of this duty, he could not well avoid coming in contact with the Japanese authorities, and thus incur the hazard of exciting the jealousy and alarm of a people so easily susceptible of both. This chain of islands consists of twenty-three, divided between the Russians and the Japanese; Niphon, containing the capital of Japan, being the southern extremity of the chain, and Shom Shoo, close to the point of Kamtschatka, the northern; but where the dominion of one power ends, and the other begins, is not known, at least not avowed, by either. The poor Kuriles, who feel the yoke of both, are a mild and inoffensive people, evidently sprung from some of the numerous branches of

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of the great Tartar family, to which both the Russian and Japanese empires owe their origin.

Captain Golownin sailed from Awatscha Bay on the 4th May, 1811, in the imperial sloop of war the Diana, and on the 17th June had made observations on the islands, from the 15th in the chain down to the 18th, when he found himself very near the western coast of the northern extremity of Eetoorpoo, which he supposed to be inhabited by independent Kuriles. On landing, however, he was accosted by a Japanese chief, attended by some soldiers, who immediately demanded if the Russians meant to treat them as Chwostoff had done; and indeed they soon learned, that the inhabitants were firmly persuaded they were come on the same errand. Thus suspected, they determined to take their departure, having procured one of the native Kuriles, named Alexei Maximovitsch, who spoke the Russian language, to accompany them as an interpreter. They then made sail towards the island of Kunaschier (the twentieth link in the chain) where, Alexei informed them, they might be supplied with wood and water. This island is only separated from Matsmai by a narrow strait, and may be said to be a constituent part of the Japanese empire. On entering the harbour two guns were fired at the Diana from something resembling a fort, hung round with blue and white striped cloth: sentinels were seen posted in various places, near painted embrasures, and flags waving in different parts of the town. The Diana anchored at a safe distance, and Captain Golownin went in his boat towards the shore, when the guns opened upon him again; finding it dangerous to proceed, he returned on board, the Japanese continuing to fire long after the boat was out of their reach. Thus precluded from all oral communication, Captain Golownin, who had probably heard of the significant symbols which his countrymen, the Scythians, once presented to Darius, now tried his hand at a similar conundrum. He sawed a cask in two, in one half of which he placed a glass of water, a piece of wood and a handful of rice, to express his wants; in the other a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some beads and pearls, to shew his readiness to pay for them. These casks were floated towards the town, and two days after another cask was observed on the water. It contained a little box, in which the Japanese, who seem to have preferred the hieroglyphic mode of correspondence, had inclosed a letter (which, however, the Russians were unable to read) and two drawings, both of which represented the castle, the vessel, a boat towing the cask, and the rising sun; but with this difference, that, in the one, the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other their muzzles were turned backwards. These ingenious devices mightily puzzled the crew, and each explained them after his own way.

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way, agreeing however in one point, that the Japanese declined holding any intercourse with them. The interpretation, we humbly conceive, lay on the surface—we read it thus—If, after receiving this letter, you depart before next morning, we will not molest you; if you continue till after sunrise, we will turn the guns of the fort against you.

The Diana now stood to a distant part of the bay near a village, where the Russians helped themselves to such provisions as they could find, leaving in money and other articles what they judged to be an equivalent. At length a boat with Japanese officers and a Kurile interpreter ventured from the shore, and was met by Captain Golownin. They excused themselves for firing at the vessel, on account of Chwostoff's conduct a few years before; but they were now satisfied, they said, of the peaceable intentions of the present visitors, whose wants they were ready to supply; and intreated the captain to go on shore to communicate with the governor, which he promised to do the following day. He did not, however, keep his word, but continued to fill his water casks. A day or two after, another cask was observed to be dropped out of a boat; it was found to contain all the articles which had been left by the Russians at the village as payment for what they took. The Japanese on shore now beckoned them with white fans, and made indications of their wishes that the Russians should land. Captain Golownin seized this opportunity of communicating with the governor, and taking with him Alexei and a sailor, landed on the beach, ordering the rest to keep the boat afloat, and not to permit any Japanese to go into her. The Japanese received him with every mark of civility, and desired him to wait on the beach till the governor should arrive. Presently a strange figure came stalking down in complete armour; 'his eyes fixed on the earth, his hands pressed close to his sides, proceeding in a pace so slow that he scarcely extended one foot beyond the other, and keeping his legs as wide apart as if a stream of water had been running between them.' This sedate personage began, as the others had done, by apologizing for having fired upon the Diana; but said it would not have happened had the boat they sent out on her arrival been met by one from the ship—a ridiculous falsehood, but asserted with the most inflexible gravity. He then invited Golownin to partake of tea, sacchi, caviar, and tobacco, the circle in the mean time thickening with armed Japanese. They smoked, drank tea, and joked together, asking a variety of questions on both sides, through the Kurile interpreter. It was now discovered that the man in armour was not the governor after all—that great man had remained in the castle expecting the strangers: the captain, however, prudently declined the

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the visit, and after an exchange of presents and mutual civilities took his leave. In the evening a boat was sent on shore for some fish which had been promised, and returned with an invitation to the captain to bring with him some of his officers on the following morning.

Accordingly, the next day he landed with Moor, the midshipman, Chlebnikoff the pilot, and four seamen. Three Japanese officers came down to meet them, begging them to wait a little until every thing was prepared for their reception at the castle. To shew his confidence (as he says) in the good faith of the Japanese, Golownin, with a degree of infatuation for which we find it difficult to account, ordered the boat to be hauled upon the shore, and one sailor only to be left with it. On entering the gate of the castle, he was astonished to behold at least 400 soldiers with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, and near a tent a countless multitude of Kuriles. Within this tent sat the governor, in a suit of armour, with two sabres under his girdle, and three men near him, with his spear, his musket, and his helmet. Several officers were sitting on the floor, all of them armed. After tea and tobacco had been served, a multitude of questions were put, and the answers carefully written down. It was casually observed that the soldiers without the tent had their sabres drawn, and that, at this time, the second in command whispered the governor; this caused a momentary suspicion of treachery, but it was done away by his ordering dinner to be served up; and the party was again tranquillized. When the dinner was ended, and the Russians were about to take leave, the governor intimated that it would be necessary for one of them to remain in the castle, as an hostage, until the return of a messenger from the governor of Matsmai with an answer to the report he was about to transmit to him. Golownin, startled at this intimation, asked how long it might require, and was answered about a fortnight. He then said he must consult with his officers on board the ship, but that none of his people could be left as hostages.

The governor now suddenly altered his tone; spoke loud and with warmth, mentioned the names of Resanoff and Chwostoff, and struck several times on his sabre. Golownin inquired what he had been saying. 'He says,' replied the terrified Alexei, 'that if he lets a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ript up.' On this the Russians sprang forward, and ran for it. The Japanese did not venture to close upon them, but set up a loud cry, threw billets of wood after them, and pursued them to the beach.—Here the Russians perceived with horror that the tide had ebbed, and left their boat dry on the strand. The Japanese seeing this, and that the Russians were unarmed, became more

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more confident, and surrounded them. 'I cast a look upon the boat,' says Golownin, 'and said to myself, our last refuge is lost; our fate is unavoidable—and I surrendered.'

They were now conveyed back to the castle, thrown on their knees, and bound with thick cords; lest these should not be sufficient, smaller ones were added and drawn painfully tight, so that their elbows nearly touched, and their hands were firmly bound together. Their legs were also tied together above the knees and above the ancles; from the fastenings behind proceeded the end of a cord, by which, on the slightest attempt to escape, the elbows could be drawn in contact, and the noose about the neck tightened to such a degree as to produce strangulation. The rope's end proceeding from the neck was then thrown over a beam and drawn so tight that it was impossible for them to move. In this position their pockets were searched, and every thing taken out of them; after which the Japanese sat down coolly to smoke their pipes. The lieutenant-governor, however, very kindly pointed to his mouth, 'to intimate, perhaps, (says Golownin) that it was intended to feed, not to slaughter us.' They remained an hour in this state of suspension both of body and mind, not knowing whether it might not be the good pleasure of the Japanese to hang them outright as a retaliation for Chwostoff's conduct; but they derived, the captain christianly admits, some consolation from fancying that if such was to be their fate, the execution would take place on the beach in sight of their countrymen on board the Diana, 'which would augment the desire of vengeance, and bring down the wrath of Alexander on the heads of the whole Japanese nation!'

At length they were loosened from the beam; and with all the fastenings kept tight, except those of the legs, were led out of the castle and through a wood, each having a conductor holding the end of the cord, and an armed soldier by his side. 'On ascending a hill,' says Golownin, 'we saw our ship under sail. This sight lacerated my heart. When Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was immediately behind me, exclaimed, "*Wassily Michaelovitsch!* take a last look of our Diana!" it seemed as though a deadly poison had shot through my veins. Good heaven! thought I, how much do these words comprehend?—take a last look of Russia, of Europe. We belong to another world!' In the midst of these reflections they heard a cannonade which they knew to proceed from the ship. These sounds served to add to their misery, as, if any accident should befall her, their fate would remain unknown in Russia.

In the midst of these melancholy bodings, their bodily sufferings were so far forgotten that they were only recalled to a sense of them by Golownin being actually choked with the

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tightness of the cord about his neck; his face was swollen and discoloured; he was nearly blind, and could scarcely utter a word. He made signs to the conductors; but the cannonade had so frightened them that they only urged on their prisoners the faster, looking continually behind them, towards the quarter whence the noise proceeded.

At length Golownin fell senseless to the ground, and on recovery found the Japanese sprinkling him with water, and the blood gushing from his mouth and nose; on slackening the cords he recovered. In the evening they arrived at a small village, and being carried into an empty apartment, were offered some boiled rice; they were then stretched on the floor, and the ropes, by which they had been led, attached to iron hooks driven into the wall. Their conductors then sat down to regale themselves with tea and tobacco. In this situation they remained all night. The seamen now began to reproach the captain for want of prudence, but were reprimanded by Moor and Chlebnikoff, who did all in their power to console their unfortunate commander, whose bodily suffering was aggravated by anguish of mind, which induced him to pray for death as the greatest of blessings.

At day-light a plank was brought into the room, having ropes attached to the four corners, the ends of which were tied together above it. On this Golownin was placed, bound as he was, and carried away on the shoulders of two men, he knew not whither, after taking a last farewell, as he thought, of his unfortunate companions. In a short time, however, he found himself in a boat, into which all the rest were brought one by one in the same manner, with an armed soldier between each of them. They crossed the strait to the island of Matsmai, where they were placed in other boats and dragged along the shore the whole of that day and the following night. They observed that every part of the coast was thickly strewed with buildings;—at every third or fourth verst were populous villages, in which extensive fisheries appeared to be carried on.

Though the Japanese paid no attention to the sufferings of their prisoners from the tight ligatures, they were most attentive to their wants in all other respects; they fed them with rice and broiled fish, putting the meat with little sticks into their mouths; and constantly flapped away the gnats and flies which annoyed them. On their arrival at a village, a venerable old man brought them some sacchi, and stood by while they were eating it, with evident marks of pity in his face. Nor was this the only instance in which they experienced humane and kindly attentions from individuals; on the contrary, in the course of their long confinement they met with so much sympathy from the highest

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to the lowest, that Captain Golownin left Japan with the most favourable impression of the benevolence and generosity of the people.

The boats, which were thirty feet long and eight feet broad, were now dragged through some thickets, and up a steep hill, on the other side of which they were launched into a sort of canal; at the termination of this they entered a large lake, which they crossed. In this way, sometimes by land and sometimes by water, but always firmly bound, and, when on shore at night, hung up by the cords to hooks in the wall, they were conducted they knew not whither. The party escorting them amounted to nearly 200 men; yet it was not till the ninth day that they ventured to loosen the cords of the wrists, so as to allow them to make use of their hands.

The prisoners now learned, for the first time, that all this apparent inhumanity was intended as an act of kindness, to prevent them, in the distressed situation of their minds, from committing suicide. The extraordinary conduct of the Japanese in other respects was also explained; and the Russians could now understand why every evening they were careful to wash their feet with warm water; why they would not allow them to eat strawberries and raspberries; why they would not suffer their feet to be wet, but carried them over every splash or streamlet they met with; why, when they marched along the banks of a lake or river, a Japanese invariably placed himself between each Russian and the water; and finally why, after their hands had been unbound, the Japanese always took care to hold their pipes for them while they smoked:—it was done, as they now informed them, that they might not convert the pipe into an instrument of death; on this point, however, they came to a sort of compromise—that the Russians should fasten to the mouth-pieces of the pipe, a wooden ball, of the size of a hen's egg, which was supposed to be too large to swallow. The act of suicide, not being considered either by the Chinese or Japanese as a crime, is very frequent in both countries; and, as in both, the officers of government are responsible for the health and safety of those delivered into their custody, their officious attentions go near to verify our own adage of 'killing with kindness.'

On approaching Chakodade they were met by three officers who had been sent to conduct them thither. These new guides evidently wished to render their situation as little distressing as possible, and, with the exception of loosing their bands, succeeded in making them more comfortable; they took great pains to assure them that, when they reached Chakodade, they would inhabit a fine house prepared for their reception, and enjoy the society of

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the most distinguished inhabitants of the place. As the ropes seemed to weaken the effect of all these fine promises, the guards endeavoured to console them even on this point, by vehemently protesting that the greatest officers of state, when accused, were bound just as they were.

It was a whole month after leaving Kunashier before they reached Chakodade. Into this city they were marched with great pomp; the sides of the road were crowded with spectators, men, women and children, who behaved with the utmost decorum. 'I particularly marked their countenances,' says Golownin, 'and never once observed a malicious look, or any signs of hatred towards us, and none shewed the least disposition to insult us by mockery and derision.' They were conducted into a large wooden building fenced round with palisadoes. It consisted of a long passage or lobby, with a number of wooden cages arranged on each side; and into these the unfortunate Russians were thrust, each having his separate cage.

These cells or cages were about six feet square, and eight feet high; two small windows with iron gratings admitted the light from without; a wooden bench and two or three mats were the only furniture. Throughout the night, guards came frequently with lights along the passage to examine the cages, and the sentinels without plied, at intervals, their wooden rattles. In the morning water was brought for washing, and a physician made his appearance to examine into the health of the prisoners: the Captain now discovered that the others were confined in pairs, and one of the sailors was sent to keep him company.

On the third day they were marched with ropes round their waists, and strongly guarded, to the house of the governor, where they were presented with tea and tobacco. A number of childish questions were then put to them, the answers to all which were carefully written down. At length the governor desired to know if some change of religion had not taken place in Russia, 'as Laxman wore a long tail, and had thick hair which he covered all over with flour, whereas we had our hair cut quite short and did not put any flour on our heads;' and he could not believe us, the captain says, when we told him that religion in our country had nothing to do with the cut of the hair. In the evening, after a whole day spent in answering minute and frivolous questions, they were marched back to their cages. One question, however, was to the purpose—they were asked, why they had carried off wood and rice at Kunashier without the consent of the owners?—and whether, under the circumstances of leaving other articles in lieu, any law existed in Russia which authorized them to seize the property of strangers? The Captain acknowledged there was no such

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such law; but added, that if a man took only what was necessary to support his existence, he would not be considered guilty.—'With us,' replied the Japanese, 'it is very different: our laws ordain that a man must sooner die of hunger than touch, without the consent of the owner, a single grain of rice which does not belong to him.'

After they had been confined about three weeks, Golownin's chest, the portmanteau of Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, and some bundles, were brought to them. The first thought that occurred on the sight of these was the distressing one that the Diana had fallen into the hands of the Japanese; but they were soon relieved from their fears by learning that the articles had been landed from the ship before she left Kunashier; a piece of intelligence which revived the hope that their fate would not remain long unknown in Russia: of this they were in a few days more firmly convinced, when, on examination before the governor, he drew from his bosom a letter signed by Rikord and Rudakoff, two officers of the Diana, in which they acquainted Golownin with their intention of returning immediately to Okotzk.

It would be tedious to repeat the numerous examinations and cross-questionings which the prisoners underwent before the governor who, they soon discovered, was fully informed of Laxman's visit, Resanoff's embassy, and, above all, of the unauthorized proceedings of Chwostoff, to which it was but too evident they owed their captivity and all the ill treatment they had experienced. It appeared, indeed, that the Japanese were in possession of documents which very naturally led them to believe that the conduct of this officer had been conformable to instructions received from the sovereign of Russia. Among other papers was produced a copy of a proclamation, and a silver medal, which had been given by Chwostoff to the chief of a village in the bay of Aniwa 'as a token of the Russian Emperor Alexander having taken possession of the island of Sagaleen, and placed its inhabitants under his gracious protection.'

At the end of fifty days Golownin and his comrades were taken out of their prison, bound with ropes, as before, and marched off for the capital of Matsmai, which they entered in procession, as they had done Chakodade, and, after being paraded through the streets, were finally lodged in cages similar to those they had left. Here they underwent a multitude of examinations before the Bunyo or Viceroy, who was infinitely more minute and inquisitive than either the governor of Chakodade or Kunashier. He was mild, however, in his manner of questioning, spoke kindly to them, and seemed to feel for their unhappy situation, When Golownin told him that they had only two requests to

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make, first, that they might be permitted to return to their own country, or if that could not be granted, to die, he desired the interpreter to say that 'the Japanese were men and had hearts like other people, and that they had no reason either to fear or despair:' he told them moreover, that they should have plenty of good provisions, and warm winter clothing together with bear-skins to sleep on; and, that if it should turn out that they were not in any way connected with the proceedings of Chwostoff, they should all be sent back to Russia. These were not empty promises; for they found that their provisions were infinitely superior, both in quantity and quality, to what they had yet had; and so kind and attentive were all around them, that they ventured to ask for a window in the side wall of their jail to admit light and allow them to look out; this, however, was refused on the plea that the bleak north winds might injure their health: so careful indeed were they in this respect, that a physician came twice a day to visit them, and if any thing ailed any of the party, he generally brought another with him. Their condition continued to improve, and towards the end of the year the Bunyo condescended so far as to tell them that he believed they had no evil intentions in visiting the coasts of Japan, and that he had sent a statement of the case to the Emperor at Yeddo, which he hoped would procure an order for their release.

The cords were now for the first time removed from their bodies, and their cages knocked down; the floor was laid with planks and covered with mats, so that they had a spacious room to walk in, and were at liberty to converse freely with each other. Their meals too were served up with neatness and decency. All these changes inspired them with lively hopes of soon regaining their liberty and returning to Russia, when the arrival of the governor of Kunaschier put an end to all their flattering dreams; and with the exception of being caged, their treatment, if not so cruel as at first, was at least marked with equal indifference and contempt. Their old enemy, it seems, had procured fresh documents which, in the minds of this jealous people, were supposed to implicate them, as well as the Russian government, in the proceedings of Chwostoff. It is perfectly astonishing how many trifling circumstances, utterly unconnected either with Chwostoff or Golownin, were brought to bear on the supposed views of the Russian government against Japan. The visit of Captain Broughton to one of the Kurile islands was coupled with some insinuations of the Dutch at Nangasaki respecting the sinister intentions of the English, and construed into a concerted plan with the Russians to extend their power in the east; the renegade Dutchmen, resident in Japan, having assured them that England, acting by sea, and Russia by land, had, for their ultimate object, to divide China and Japan

Japan between them! This, they said, was corroborated by the recent appearance of an English frigate* in the bay of Nan-

* This was the Phaeton, of whose imprudent visit we gave some account in Number XII. p. 378. We learn, with deep regret, from recent information, that, for this act of indiscretion on the part of her commander, not only the innocent governor, but four other officers have since atoned with their lives, having been deemed criminal for the liberal supplies which they sent to the frigate, and for not having *sunk* her with the cannon of the fort! Among this singular people, an officer accused of an offence, if guilty of the charge, awaits not the issue of a trial, but if he would leave behind him an honourable name, becomes his own executioner; and the unfortunate governor and his four coadjutors accordingly ripped up their bowels, which is esteemed the most honourable way of meeting death. Orders were issued at the same time to seize Englishmen wherever they were to be found; and so exasperated was the government of Japan against them on this account, that the interpreter told Golownin he had no doubt the crew of any English vessel arriving on the coast of Japan would be dealt with exactly as he and his companions had been.

It appears, however, that they have not ventured to carry their threats into execution. We have now before us the journal of a very intelligent and enterprizing officer, Captain Gordon of the navy, who, in June 1818, entered the bay of Jeddo in a little brig of sixty-five tons burden from Ochotzk. He was visited immediately by two officers whom, from their great gravity, he supposed to be of high rank. He told them he had come merely to obtain permission to return to them with a cargo of goods for sale. They said he must unship the rudder and allow it, with all the arms and ammunition, to be taken on shore. The vessel was then surrounded by a circle of about twenty small boats, and beyond them, by another, of about sixty larger guard and gun-boats, besides two or three junks mounting a number of guns. After these judicious precautions against force, two interpreters came on board, one speaking Dutch, the other knowing something of Russian, and both a little English. They inquired if the vessel belonged to the East India Company, if the English were friends with the Dutch, and if Captain Golownin was at Ochotzk. They asked after the king of Holland, the king of France, and Buonaparte. They knew the names and uses of the various nautical instruments, and said that the best of these and other articles were made in London. In a subsequent visit they told Captain Gordon, that permission could not be granted for his trading to Japan, as by their laws all foreign intercourse was interdicted except at Nangasaki, and there only allowed with the Dutch and Chinese, and that the governor desired they would take their departure the moment the wind was fair. Captain Gordon offered the interpreters some trifling present, but they were prohibited, they said, from accepting it. Every thing that had been taken on shore was carefully returned, and about thirty boats were sent to tow the vessel out of the bay.

Captain Gordon speaks in high terms of the polite and affable conduct of the Japanese towards them and towards one another. The shores were crowded with spectators, and as soon as the guard boats had left them, not less than two thousand visitors came on board in succession, all eager to barter for trifles. Having no sheep, and warm clothing being necessary in the winter months, Captain Gordon thinks that our woollen cloths would be particularly acceptable to them; and that with respect to cotton wool, piece goods, indigo and sugar, Bengal would be inadequate to the supply: he thinks also that the mineral riches of Japan would furnish more than sufficient returns for such immense demands. We differ with Captain Gordon altogether on this point; for although we deem it a very unfortunate, and indeed a very culpable omission on our part, not to have endeavoured to open a more friendly intercourse with Japan, during the many years in which we had the entire command of the whole oriental archipelago; we regret this, not so much because we lost the opportunity of extending our commerce, for we believe the wants of this people are few, and their superfluous produce neither great nor valuable,) as that we let slip the occasion of convincing this proud and jealous government that the few Dutchmen, on whom they were long accustomed to trample, are not the best specimen of Christian Europe.

We cannot close this slight notice of Captain Gordon, without expressing our respect for his character, and our satisfaction with the whole of his conduct as exemplified in his little narrative.

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gasaki, which, they added, could be for no other purpose than to examine the state of the harbour and fortifications, previous to the meditated attack, as she was observed to take soundings.

By the month of March, however, the Russians were so far reinstated in the good opinion of the Bunyo that they had permission to walk about the town, with a guard; and in April they were released from their prison and removed to a private dwelling-house. They were far however from being easy with regard to the intentions of the court; the Bunyo had desired them to regard the Japanese as their brothers and countrymen; which they construed into a hint that they must make up their minds to stay there, and banish every thought of Russia; and so powerfully did this impression operate, that they bound themselves by an oath to use every endeavour to escape; determined to perish rather than remain in Japan. Mr. Moor however declined entering into the confederacy. Something extraordinary had been observed in the conduct of this young man; at first he was the life of the company; but all at once he had become gloomy and reserved, except with the Japanese, in whose language he had made considerable progress. He assured them that all his relations resided in Germany; and he had previously informed Alexei of his design of entering the Japanese service as European interpreter: the Russians therefore considered him as a dangerous person, and determined to hasten the execution of their project; which was to escape to the sea-shore, seize upon a boat, and stand across to the coast of Tartary.

By the end of April they had succeeded in burrowing the ground beneath the palisadoes; and, in the middle of the night, they crept out, one by one, leaving Alexei and Moor behind. Directing their course to the northward they ascended the hills, the summits of which were covered with snow. For eight nights they continued to wander through thickets or scramble among precipitous rocks, in imminent danger at every step of falling down deep ravines. In these ravines they concealed themselves by day, marking, as well as they could, the direction of the sea-coast, towards which they bent their steps by night. At length they reached a village on the shore and found two boats, but they were hauled upon the beach, and they had not strength to launch them: they therefore passed on, and saw a boat afloat, with a tent near it. Being almost famished with hunger, one of the sailors thrust his hand into the tent hoping to find something eatable, but grasped the head of a person who was sleeping there. The man roared out, and the fugitives fearing that the noise would alarm the inhabitants, made the best of their way back to the hills.

On the eighth day they observed that they were surrounded by soldiers,

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soldiers, who came up to them very quietly, bound their hands slightly behind their backs, and led them to a neighbouring house, where they were supplied with sacchi, boiled rice, radishes and tea. They now discovered that, from the moment of their setting off, they had been regularly tracked every day, and all their motions watched by this party. Why they were not seized sooner Captain Golownin could not guess, unless it was that the Japanese feared that through desperation they might have slain some of the troops, or committed suicide. They were marched back to Matsmai and conducted to the castle. The Bunyo expressed not the slightest displeasure, but merely asked Golownin what induced them to escape, and told them their plan was not only very ill-contrived, but also very wrong, as, had it succeeded, himself and many others must have answered for it with their lives.

Moor had, in the interval, used all his endeavours to prejudice the Japanese against his companions; but they had the satisfaction to hear from the viceroy that, all circumstances considered, his good opinion of them was not changed; notwithstanding which they were sent to a new prison, and Golownin and Chlebnikoff put into separate cages. Here things went on much as usual till the month of February, in the second year of their confinement, when it was communicated to them as a profound secret, not to be made known until the arrival of a new bunyo, that it was decided at court to liberate them. The Russians, however, had no great cause to felicitate themselves on this *decision*, as it was called, since every thing remained just as before; and they appear to have finally owed their deliverance to the active and intelligent interference of a native whom Captain Rikord (to whose narrative we are now arrived) had seized on the coast the preceding year, and carried to Okotzk, whence he returned with him to Kunashier, about the middle of June.

Our readers will recollect that Captain Golownin had been decoyed into the fort of Kunashier, and made prisoner with several of his crew. It is at this point that Captain Rikord, who was then second in command on board the sloop, takes up the interesting narrative, with which we shall now proceed.

The officers of the Diana, perceiving through their telescopes what had happened on the beach, determined to stand closer in and attack the fort; but finding the water too shoal to admit of their coming near enough for their small pieces to take effect, and being fired at by the Japanese, they retired beyond the reach of their guns, and remained three days in the vain hope of learning the fate of their companions. On the second day a baidar was seen

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seen to put off from the shore, and to throw out a cask with a black pennant. A boat was manned to see what it might contain: but the Japanese had attached a rope to it, by which it was imperceptibly drawn back, in order to entice the Russian boat on, and thus to get possession of her.

It was now determined to put on shore, at the distant and deserted village, the linen and other articles belonging to the detained officers and seamen, and to return to Okotzk to lay before the government an account of their proceedings. Immediately on their arrival Captain Rikord set off for Irkutzk with the intention of proceeding to Petersburgh. At Irkutzk he had the satisfaction to find that the governor had already dispatched an account of the unfortunate transaction to the capital; but Alexander was then engaged in more important matters, and had little leisure to think of Japan: orders, however, were dispatched for the Diana to return in the succeeding year to Kunashier to ascertain, if possible, the fate of Golownin and his unfortunate companions.

Captain Rikord carried back with him a Japanese, of the name of Leonsaimo, who had been seized by Chowstoff, and six others who had suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamschatka, in the hope of exchanging them for the seven Russians. On reaching Kunaschier bay, now named by them *The Bay of Deceit*, the Russians perceived that a new battery of fourteen guns had been erected. Not a Japanese appeared; all the buildings were covered with striped cloth; and the boats drawn up on the shore. As Leonsaimo, in his six years captivity, had learned the Russian language, Captain Rikord dictated a short letter to the governor, stating his having brought back the Japanese, and requesting the restoration of his countrymen; but this artful man availed himself of the occasion to write his own story, in which it was supposed he had not rigidly adhered to the truth. for when Captain Rikord asked for the copy of what he had written, he put the paper in his mouth, and after chewing it, with a cunning and spiteful expression of countenance, swallowed the whole. The original letter was then sent by one of the Japanese, but on his landing, the batteries, for the first time, opened upon the Diana. This man returned no more.

Three days after a second Japanese was dispatched with a memorandum in the Russian language. He came back, saying that the governor would not receive the paper, and that the Kurile had thrust him out of the castle by force. Nothing now remained but to dispatch Leonsaimo, who, by his own account, was a person of some importance among his countrymen. On the following day he returned, and taking Captain Rikord and Lieutenant Rudakoff into the cabin, said—'they are all dead!' Struck with horror

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horror at this account, the first impression was to attack the place and avenge the murder of their comrades; but wishing to be fully certified of the fact, Leonsaimo was sent once more to obtain from the commandant a written confirmation of his intelligence—but he never returned.

Determined not to quit the bay in this state of uncertainty, the next step was to seize any vessel that might be either entering or going out of the harbour. On the second day they succeeded in capturing a baidar, the crew of which immediately jumped overboard and escaped. Next morning a large Japanese ship was seen steering towards the harbour. On being brought to, several of the crew threw themselves into the sea; some of them were picked up by the Diana's boats, some swam ashore; and nine were drowned.

The captain was conducted into the cabin of the Diana; his rich yellow dress, his sabre, and other circumstances, indicated that he was a person of some distinction. Having saluted Captain Rikord, with great frankness of manner, and seated himself on a chair, he said his name was *Takaytay-Kachi*, that he was part-owner of several ships, and that ten belonged entirely to himself. On shewing him the letter written by Leonsaimo, he immediately exclaimed, 'Captain Moor and five Russians are now in the city of Matsmai.' This was joyful intelligence; but the year being now too far advanced to remain on the coast, Captain Rikord determined to return to Okotzk, taking with him the Japanese merchant. On intimating this intention, he replied, with a coolness that astonished them all, 'Very well, I am ready;' and being told that he should remain with him (Rikord) while there, and be brought back the following year, he seemed to be perfectly reconciled to his destiny. It was proposed to take four Japanese out of the vessel to attend on him, but he intreated that they might not be carried away, as he apprehended they would die of grief; he was however overruled, and four men were selected for this purpose.

On board the ship was a Japanese lady who had been the inseparable companion of Takaytay-Kachi on his voyages: desirous of seeing the strangers, she was brought on board the Diana, but appeared timid and embarrassed.

'On reaching the cabin door (says Captain Rikord) she wished to take off her straw shoes, but as there were neither mats nor carpets, I explained to her, by signs, that this singular mark of politeness might be dispensed with. On entering the cabin, she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and Kachi requested her to sit down. Fortunately for this unexpected visitor, there was, on board our vessel,

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vessel, a young and handsome woman, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased, on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman endeavoured to entertain the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in; she shewed her her trinkets. Our visitor behaved with all the ease of a woman of fashion; she examined the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over her face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and, with a smile, exclaimed "*yoce! yoce!*" which signifies *good*. I observed, that our visitor was somewhat vain of her new ornaments, and I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady placed herself immediately behind her, in order to shew her the difference of their complexions. She immediately pushed the glass aside, and good humouredly said "*varce! varee!*" (not good). She herself might have been called handsome; her face was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lacquered teeth. Her black eye-brows, which had the appearance of having been penciled, overarched a pair of sparkling dark eyes, which were by no means deeply seated. Her hair was black, and rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle size, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, similar to our night gowns; each fastened round the lower part of the waist by a separate band, and drawn close together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colours, and the upper one was black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was altogether calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be more than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she eat and drank moderately. On taking leave I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be very much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman, that she should embrace her. When the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile.'—pp. 261—263.

On the 11th September they left the bay and steered for Kamtschatka, where they landed on the 12th of the following month. The Japanese made himself exceedingly agreeable, set about learning the Russian language, and never once uttered a reproach on Captain Rikord, who had been, however reluctantly, the cause of his misfortunes; he said he perceived the finger of God in what had happened, and only hoped he should be able to stand the cold climate of Kamtschatka. In short, the whole conduct of this most interesting and worthy man was well calculated to command the attention and sympathy of the Russians of Kamtschatka; and their kindness made a deep impression on his mind in favour of a people whom he had hitherto been taught to dread.

Kachi

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Kachi continued tranquil and in good health until the middle of winter, when the death of two of his attendants greatly affected him—he became melancholy, complained of indisposition, and told the surgeon he was certain he should die; his real disorder, however, was 'the home sickness,' which the preparations for departure speedily relieved. They arrived in Kunashier bay in June; but not a living being made its appearance along the whole line of coast. Kachi however ordered his two Japanese to carry a message to the governor of the island. Rikord asked him if he had directed them to bring back circumstantial information respecting his countrymen, and if he would pledge himself for their return to the ship?—he replied simply in the negative, which a little startled Captain Rikord, who in a moment of heat said to the two Japanese, 'Then tell the governor from me, if he prevents your returning, and permits me to receive no information, I will carry your chief back to Okotzk, where some ships of war will this very year be fitted out, and armed men put on board them, to demand the liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer.'—This message, thus hastily given, developed the noble and energetic character of this extraordinary man.

'At these words Takaytay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness,—"Commander of the Imperial Ship," (he always addressed me thus on important occasions,) "thou counselest rashly. Thy orders to the Governor of Kunashier seem to contain much, but, according to our laws, they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk:—but of that hereafter. But, tell me, whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?"

'"Yes," said I, "as Commander of a ship of war, I cannot, under these circumstances, act otherwise."

'"Well," replied he; "allow me to give my sailors my last and most urgent instructions as to what they must communicate from me to the Governor of Kunashier, for now I will neither send the promised letter, nor any other written document."

'After this conversation, during which he sat, according to the Japanese custom, with his legs under him, he rose up, and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms:—"Thou knowest enough of Japanese to understand all that I may say, in plain and easy words, to my sailors. I would not wish that thou shouldst have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs." He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and, hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He then reminded them, circumstantially, of the day on which they were carried on board of the *Diana;* of the manner in which they had been treated on board the

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the ship and in Kamtschatka; of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for; of the death of their two countrymen and the Kurile, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed on them by the Russian physician; and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his own health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care which I had taken of him at sea and on land. He then sank into a deep silence, and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre which he called his *paternal sword*, to be presented to his only son and heir. After the whole of this solemn ceremony was finished, he stood up, and with a frank and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and accompanied them on deck without giving them any further charge.—We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, towards the fortress.

'All that passed between Kachi and the sailors who were separated from him, together with the significant words—"It will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk," gave me much anxiety. The return of the sailors appeared to be very uncertain. I could retain their sick master as a hostage, but I could not prevent his rash speech from being realised. Whether I should put him ashore was a matter of difficult deliberation, and yet, all circumstances considered, that appeared to me the course likely to prove most beneficial to our imprisoned comrades. In case he should not return, I resolved to proceed immediately to the fortress. I knew enough of Japanese to make myself understood, and I thought, if our companions were still alive, such a proceeding could not render their fate worse; while, in case they were dead, the whole affair, together with all my anxieties, would be speedily brought to a decision. I communicated my ideas to the senior of my officers, as it was necessary for the service to give him early information, in consequence of the execution of some duties remaining yet incomplete. As he concurred with me in opinion, I told Kachi, that he might go on shore as soon as he pleased, and that I would trust to his honour for his return. If he did not come again it would cost me my life.

'"I understand," answered he. "Thou darest not return to Okotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen; and, for my part, the slightest stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life. I thank you for the confidence placed in me; I had before resolved not to go on shore on the same day with my sailors; that would not become me, according to our customs: but now, since thou hast no objection, I will go ashore early to-morrow."

"'I will convey you thither myself," answered I. "Then," he exclaimed, with transport, "we are friends again! I will now tell thee what I meant by sending away my portrait and my paternal sword. But I must first confess, with that candour which I have invariably observed towards thee for the space of three hundred days, that I was much offended by thy message to the Governor of Kunashier. The menace

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menace of sending ships of war here during the present year did not concern me, but on hearing thy threat to convey me to Okotzk, I believed that thou didst regard me to be as great an impostor as Gorodsee (Leonsaimo)—I could, indeed, scarcely persuade myself that thy lips had uttered such an injury to my honour. For three hundred days thou hadst never spoken an unkind word to me; whilst I, owing to my fiery temperament, had frequently yielded to fits of passion without any cause. But, on this important occasion, anger overcame thy reason, and, in a moment, didst thou dispose me to become a criminal and a suicide. That a man of my rank should remain a prisoner in a foreign country is repugnant to our national honour: yet thou wouldest reduce me to that condition. I willingly accompanied thee to Kamtschatka; and my government was informed of that circumstance; for I sent a message to Kunashier explaining thy reasons for visiting my ship. The sailors alone were compelled to accompany thee against their inclination. Thou wast the strongest party; but, though my person was in thy power, my life was not at thy disposal. I will now disclose to thee my secret design—I had resolved to commit suicide in case thy purpose remained unchanged! I therefore cut the central tuft of hair from the crown of my head, (he shewed me the bald part from which the hair had been removed,) and laid it in the box which contained the portrait. This, according to our Japanese customs, signifies that he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends has died an honourable death; that is to say, has ript open his bowels. His hair is then buried, with all the ceremonies which would be observed at the interment of his body. Thou callest me friend, and therefore I conceal nothing from thee. So great was my irritation that I would have killed both thee and the senior officer, for the mere satisfaction of afterwards communicating what I had done to thy ship's crew."

'What a strange sense of honour according to European ideas! But the Japanese consider such conduct most magnanimous. The memory of the hero is preserved with respect, and the honour of the deed descends to his posterity. If, on the contrary, he should fail to act in this manner, his children are banished from the place of their birth. Yet I had lived in the same cabin with a man possessing these terrible ideas; and had slept tranquilly near him, in the confidence of perfect security. While shocked by the discovery of the danger from which I had escaped, I could not help asking him why he would have so limited his vengeance, as it was in his power, by setting fire to the magazine, to destroy us all. "No," said he, "what bravery would there have been in that? A coward alone would satiate his revenge in such a manner. Dost thou imagine that I would have killed thee in thy sleep, while I honoured thee as a valiant chief? No! I would have gone more openly to work."'

On the following day (for we must now hasten to a conclusion) Kachi was set on shore, where, by exhibiting a formal declaration which had been procured, by his advice, from the governor of Irkutzk, that the proceedings of Chwostoff were wholly unauthorized;

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rized; and bearing testimony to the good disposition which he found among the Russians towards Japan, he succeeded in negociating the liberation of the captives with his tardy and cautious countrymen.

On the 22d June Golownin and his companions in misfortune received letters from Captain Rikord; and Alexei and one of the seamen were allowed to visit the ship and return; three days after which, namely, on the 16th August, they were finally set at liberty. All were elated with joy except Moor, whose face was frequently bathed in tears, and who uttered so many incoherent expressions, that the Japanese kept a strict watch over him, apprehensive that distress of mind might tempt him to commit suicide. The kind attention bestowed by Captain Golownin on this unhappy young man, and the feeling manner in which he speaks of his conduct and situation, exhibit his character in a very amiable point of view.

'If (says he) I unfold his errors, it is not that I wish to dwell on the description of the horrors into which he plunged me and my unfortunate companions. No! may his example prove a warning to all young men whom fate may hereafter overwhelm with misfortunes such as we were doomed to endure. May it serve to convince them, that no wretch is visited by remorse so insufferable as he who renounces his faith and his country. If, like the unhappy Moor, whose history is as instructive as memorable, he has previously been a man of rectitude and extreme sensibility, how dreadful must be his torments when he returns to the paths of virtue, and looks back upon his past conduct. I entreat the reader not to condemn this unfortunate officer:—if he accompanies me to the end of my Narrative, his indignation will be converted into pity, and he will, perhaps, shed a tear over the sad memory of this poor miserable youth.'—pp. 128, 129.

On reaching the Diana at Chakodade, the officers eagerly thronged round their long-lost companions, but Moor remained motionless and apparently insensible to all that was passing. On their passage home, every thing was attempted to amuse his mind, but in vain. He neglected his dress, associated with the common sailors, or shut himself up in his own cabin. At Petropawlowska, his old shipmate, Lieutenant Rudakoff, took him into his house and shewed him every attention—but all was in vain; he called himself a traitor and an outcast, wept aloud, and deprecated his unhappy fate. Golownin assured him that every one wished to bury in oblivion what had passed, and that young as he was, he would have many opportunities of atoning for the errors into which he had been driven by despair. This seemed to give him a temporary return of spirits; but he seized the first favourable moment that presented itself, and shot himself through the

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the heart. His companions erected a monument over his grave, on which, with a feeling that does them honour, was inscribed the following epitaph—

'Here rest the ashes of
LIEUTENANT FEODOR MOOR,
Who terminated his career in the harbour of Petropaulowska, on
the 22d of November, 1813,
In the Flower of his Age.
In Japan
He was abandoned by the Protecting-Spirit, which had hitherto
been his Guide.
Despair
Precipitated him into Error;
But his faults were expiated by bitter Repentance and Death.
From the Feeling Heart
His Fate claims
A Tear!

Many very curious traits of character are developed in the course of Captain Golownin's narrative, which shew no deficiency in strength of intellect, in generosity of sentiment, or benevolence of disposition among the Japanese: a jealous and despotic government however has done its utmost to repress every good feeling, and to reduce man to a mere machine, the movements of which are directed by prescriptive custom, and into which no additional wheels or springs are ever admitted, to give it new or increased powers of action. In this respect the government of Japan closely resembles that of China. The people, however, generally speaking, have more energy of character than the Chinese.

A third volume has been published in Captain Golownin's name, under the title of 'Recollections of Japan.' It should rather have been called *Collections* from Kæmpfer, Thunberg, and the earlier voyagers: as such we do not consider it worthy of further notice.

ART. VI.—*An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy. Vol. II. Containing Physical Astronomy.* By Robert Woodhouse, A.M. F.R.S. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo. Cambridge, 1818.

WE are indebted to Newton for the science of physical astronomy. Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Horrox, Huygens, Hook, and others, had before his time indeed attempted to connect the motions of the celestial bodies with physical causes; some of them with considerable ingenuity; but others, mixing together wild fancies and sober reasoning, excited only a temporary notice. Whatever traces they left, however, were almost entirely effaced by the mag-

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nitude of Newton's discoveries; whose advances in this science were so great that even the additions which have been made within the century that has now nearly elapsed, since his death, may be considered as only adding a few links to the chain which he formed.

Sixty years had passed away from the publication of the 'Principia' before the exertions of mathematicians were directed in extending what Newton had left. The memorable adjudication, in 1740, of the prize to D. Bernouilli, Maclaurin, and Euler for their Essays on the Tides, may be considered as the commencement of the second class of improvements in physical astronomy. These have since been continued by a succession of distinguished men, and embodied in the 'Mécanique Céleste' of Laplace, to whom some of the most important advances in this science are due.

It appears to be the object of the author of the work before us to enable the student to become familiar with all the principal discoveries in physical astronomy from that time to the present day: and, in our opinion, he has not laboured in vain. A person possessed of the mathematical knowledge obtained by many of the students, who graduate each year bachelors of arts at Oxford and Cambridge, will readily master the contents of this volume, and when he has so done, he will feel himself competent not merely to understand, but to read with facility the 'Mécanique Céleste.'

Mr. Woodhouse commences his treatise with some historical notices, and intersperses many others as he proceeds. In this, we think, he has acted judiciously.* It has always appeared to us, that, for want of them, some of the first works on physical astronomy lose a considerable portion of their interest. The illustrious author of the 'Mécanique Céleste' promised that, at the conclusion of his work, he would, in a distinct division, assign to each of the inventors in this science their respective improvements. It is now fifteen years since the fourth volume was published, and we are not aware that this promise has been fulfilled. This is certainly to be regretted. That the name of Lagrange would make a very conspicuous figure in the 'Mécanique Céleste' was naturally to be expected; and, under the circumstances of the case, it must appear more extraordinary, that in the new edition of the 'Mécanique Analytique' of Lagrange, the name of Laplace only once, we believe, occurs.

Mr. Woodhouse, in his preface, gives a brief view of physical

* We had, on a former occasion, received much pleasure from a similar mixture of mathematical history in another work of Mr. Woodhouse. We allude to his treatise on 'Isoperimetrical Problems and the Calculus of Variations,' published in 1810. In the part of mathematics belonging to isoperimetrical problems, the modern improvements have so far surpassed the first attempts, that these attempts would now scarcely deserve notice, were they not made interesting by a judicious detail of the difficulties and progressive steps of the first discoverers.

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astronomy as created and left by Newton. He connects it with the subsequent labours of the 'first set of Newton's successors,' as he calls them, of Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, T. Simpson, and Mayer. He does justice to the memory of our countryman, T. Simpson. The merits of this ingenious man have not been sufficiently remembered among us, and, in some publications we have seen, he appears to have been entirely overlooked, and the merit of extending the discoveries of Newton assigned exclusively to foreigners. It was therefore with much pleasure we read the following,—

'The tracts of Thomas Simpson were published in 1754 (1757), and its author, in his own way, without (it would so seem) any help from his countrymen, or communication with foreigners, deduced the several lunar equations, and, rightly, the progression of the lunar apogee. With better opportunies he would have been, at the least, not inferior to any of the first set (as we have called them) of Newton's successors. But Clairaut and D'Alembert had several advantages over him; they were distinguished members of a learned academy, in continual intercourse with men of science, ambitious, emulous of each other, and patronized, on account of their abilities, by the great. There was very little, if we may rely on his biographer, to stimulate or aid the efforts of our countryman. From an obscure station he was transferred to a laborious occupation, with little leisure, and that melancholic, or made less by the influence of bad habits.'

At the conclusion of his preface, Mr. Woodhouse observes, that 'the mode by which gravity *causes* its effects is beside the scope of the physical astronomer.'

'It is, nevertheless,' he continues, 'a circumstance extremely curious that effects, such as are those of gravity, should be produced; that, apparently, so small a body as Mars, for instance, should be able sometimes to impede, and at other times to expedite the earth in its course. The more we reflect on this matter the more mysterious it appears. It is truly wonderful that planetary influence should exist, and that the ingenuity of man should have detected it. Astronomy reveals things scarcely inferior in interest to the mysteries of astrology. It does not indeed pretend to shew that the planets act on the fortunes of men, but it explains after what manner and according to what laws they act on each other.'

We are here tempted to add a remark or two. This mysterious power of gravity, emanating from the source of all power and incessantly acting, furnishes us with an impressive illustration of a never-failing Providence. *Each* particle of matter, *every* instant shares in the superintending power of the Great Being who wills that the system of the world shall be upheld by the principle of universal attraction. By whatever agency he has ordained the

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operations and laws of gravity to be executed, we cannot but ultimately refer them to his immediate care.

Men, in general, know nothing of this interesting power. They consider the sun as dispensing merely light and heat. They perceive that our earth, without its benign influence, would be a dark lump of matter, barren and desolate. Few know that, besides the effects of light and heat, we derive from the sun another source of preservation. Solar gravity is as essential to our welfare as light and heat. The effects of the latter, indeed, we feel instantaneously, but the former is not perceptible by our senses. It silently and incessantly operates in preserving to us all that gladdens our existence here. Nor would its suspension be immediately observed. It might for weeks cease* to act without being noticed by the mass of mankind. But a continued suspension would inevitably be followed by a complete annihilation of the human race, and that under circumstances the most deplorable that the mind of man can imagine.

Mr. Woodhouse in the first chapter deduces the differential equations of motion caused by the action of accelerating and centripetal forces. Here and in a few of the following chapters he uses the illustrations afforded by geometrical figures; this, although not necessary, must be advantageous to the student; it serves to connect, as it were, the learning he brings with him from the 'Principia' of Newton with that which he is to attain by studying this and other treatises on physical astronomy. We would wish the 'Principia' to be always made the ground-work on which this science is to be built.

It has been objected to the modern application of mathematics to physics that the want of seeing every distinct step renders it much inferior to processes by geometrical reasoning and geometrical schemes. This is not just. The art of analysis has been so improved, that we can use it with unerring certainty to deduce conclusions dependent upon so many steps that the mind could not possibly embrace them in the manner it embraces the steps of geometrical reasoning. If we object to this, as well might we object to the machine of the mechanist, that produces with speed and unerring exactness the most difficult work, because each part is not successively subjected to the inspection of the eye and the slow operation of the hand. Newton, than whom no one knew better

* It may not be uninteresting to consider the result of calculation respecting the effect of a *suspension of solar gravity for a few months.* Suppose this suspension to commence in the height of our summer, and to last for three months only; the effect would be to make our year about *thirty* times as long as at present. The first apparent effect would be to protract the duration of summer. During the actual suspension we might appear rather benefited; but the resumed action of solar gravity would not remedy the mischief in store. The consequences of which need not to be stated.

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or extended farther the powers of analysis, preferred, it is true, to exhibit his investigations and conclusions in a geometric rather than in an analytic form: but the former is better adapted to the outlines of physical astronomy than the latter; and it was also better adapted to call the attention of the world to his great discoveries. When it was attempted to extend them, the resources of the analytic method were found absolutely necessary. Lagrange, speaking of his Mécanique Analytique,' says, 'On ne trouvera point de figures dans cet ouvrage. Les méthodes que j'y expose ne demandent ni constructions, ni raisonnemens géométriques ou mécaniques, mais seulement des opérations algébraïques, *assujéties à une marche régulière et uniforme.*'

In this first chapter Mr. Woodhouse gives the differential equations of motion relative to three rectangular co-ordinates, and also relative to the longitude, latitude, and projected radius vector. After which he remarks,—

'If we were immediately to press forward to those most commodious and perfect forms, which the ingenuity and labour of mathematicians have given to the differential equations of motion, we should conduct the student, in the outset of his career, over too extended a field of apparently barren speculation. It is better to stop for a while and endeavour to collect some useful truths.'

In the 2d, 3d, and 4th chapters he investigates the consequences that follow from these equations when applied to two bodies acting on each other, and deduces the principal phenomena of the planetary system. They appear to answer admirably the purpose for which the author doubtless intended them, to familiarise the student with the uses of fluxions in physical astronomy, and thus to prepare him for the more difficult computation of the effects of the perturbations. We have nothing particular to remark except that in page 37, it is said, 'I must now *resume* the three differential equations which are,' &c.; now we have not been able to find any previous statement of these equations, and therefore imagine that, by some oversight, the author omitted them.

The fifth chapter prepares for the solution of the problem of the three bodies. It principally consists in the valuation of the perturbating force of one body on the motions of the other two. Mr. Woodhouse here deduces, with much perspicuity, the expressions of the perturbating forces by means of partial differential coefficients of a function of the distance, longitude, and latitude. This may, at first, appear to the reader an unnecessary refinement, and one that occasions difficulty and delay in his progress. But he will afterwards discover its importance.

In the seventh chapter we find the commencement of the solution of the problem of the three bodies. With reference to na-

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ture, the approximate solution, (and this only is within our reach,) has two cases. One refers to the sun, moon and earth, and the problem to be resolved is the investigation of the motions of the moon, as seen from the earth. The other case refers to the sun and two planets, and the problem to be resolved is the investigation of the effects of the one planet on the motion of the other revolving about the sun. The perturbation of the motion of one planet by another is very small indeed, compared with the perturbation of the motions of the moon by the sun. The former can only be discovered by the exactest observations with the best instruments, or after the lapse of a long interval of time. But the perturbations of the motions of the moon are very considerable, and require to be expressed by many different *equations*, as they are called. Some of them were discovered in the infancy of astronomy, and long before any explanation of their causes could be given. On these accounts, we think, that Mr. Woodhouse has judiciously made the investigation of the lunar precede that of the planetary irregularities.

It would exceed our limits to remark very diffusely on the steps by which Mr. Woodhouse proceeds. They are of such a nature that they will enable the student to follow him with ease.

The principal point in the investigations of Clairaut and of all subsequent authors is the integration of the equation,

$$\frac{d^2u}{dv^2} + u - \frac{1}{h^2} + \varphi(u, v) = o^* \quad - \quad - \quad (1)$$

where $\varphi(u, v)$ designates a function of u and v, originating solely from the perturbating force: u is the reciprocal of the moon's distance from the earth, and v is the longitude of the moon, considering for simplicity the orbit of the moon coincident with the ecliptic.

Mr. Woodhouse follows Clairaut's method, which is certainly best adapted to a student. For the interesting circumstances connected with Clairaut's first attempts, we must refer to the volume itself. We shall only add a few brief observations.

The integration of the above equation deprived of its last term

* Authors in general do not seem aware, that Euler had arrived at and integrated a similar equation, long before Clairaut commenced his investigations on the lunar theory. It occurs in Euler's Essay on the Tides, section 77. The mode in which he integrates it is deserving of notice, as containing the germ of the method of making the constant arbitrary quantities vary. Perhaps a richer page cannot be found in the works of mathematicians than that of Euler here referred to. In it he first denotes the sine of an arc by sin. z. It also seems worthy of notice, that Euler avails himself of the integration of the equation $dp + pZdz = Sdz$, in which Z and S are functions of z; which equation had been integrated by James Bernoulli not long after the publication of the 'Principia.' Thus the progress of physical astronomy was not impeded by the want of analysis.

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or the simple elliptic theory, gives, as is well known, $u=\frac{1}{h^2}(1+e\ cos.\ v)$, e being the eccentricity. By substituting this value of u, in $\phi\ (u,\ v)$ of equation (1), we find that $\phi\ (u,\ v)$ may be expressed by the form $A\ cos.\ m\,v+B\ cos.\ p\,v+$ &c. This substitution being made, the integration of equation (1) is easily performed, excepting the case of m or $p=1$. In that case the integration introduces arcs of circles, and the orbit resulting would be entirely different from the orbit of the moon. This difficulty must have soon occurred to Clairaut, and he obviated it by assuming $u=\frac{1}{h^2}(1+e\ cos.\ cv)$ a form either suggested to him by the ninth section of the 'Principia,' or by the actual motion of the lunar apogee.

In consequence of this substitution, almost the next step furnished, as he conceived, a test of the Newtonian theory of gravity. The integrations of the resulting equation furnished a new value of u, which compared with the substituted value afforded an equation for determining c, and $1-c$ would express the mean motion of the apogee, that of the moon being unity. To determine c, the coefficients of $cos.\ cv$ are equated. Now it will easily appear by a reference to the coefficient of $cos.\ cv$ in the value of u deduced from integration, that the tangential force does not enter into it, and that therefore it is precisely the same as if Clairaut had considered only the perturbating force in the direction of the radius vector, and consequently the result ought to be the same as Newton had before found from the consideration of a perturbating force in the direction of the radius vector only. The mean motion of the apsid appeared to be only half of that shewn by observation. Mr. Woodhouse, after his account of the failure of Clairaut, remarks—

'This is a brief notice and description of that notorious error, which, on its first appearance, caused (if we may so express ourselves) so great a sensation in the mathematical world. In one of the most remarkable of the heavenly phenomena, the progressions of the aphelia of the planetary orbits, theory and calculation were erroneous to the amount of half the real quantity. So erroneous a defalcation seemed to portend to Newton's system, that fate which, not long before, Descartes's had experienced.'—p. 147.

But it appears to us that Clairaut rather precipitately called in question the accuracy of the Newtonian law of gravity. He, as we have observed above, could, from the nature of his process, find the *same result* only as Newton had found. Newton himself had not from thence deduced an argument against the accuracy of the law of gravity, although the difficulty must have appeared in full force to him.

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Clairaut's method of treating the subject, however, had greatly the advantage over that of Newton, in affording an easy solution of the difficulty, one simple in the outline of the process, although tedious in the detail. The first approximate value of u, from the integration of equation (1), afforded among its terms one of the form $A\,e\cos.(v-2mv)$, or rather of the form $A\,e\cos.(2v-2mv-cv)$, in which the coefficient A was much greater than in any of other new terms, depending on the perturbating force. He might have remarked, that on this term principally depended the variation of the eccentricity of the lunar orbit. Newton had shewn, Cor. 8. 9. Prop. 66. 1 Lib. Princip. how much the variation of the eccentricity and motion of the apogee were connected. Consequently Clairaut might, *à priori*, have concluded, that the substitution of the value of u, containing this new term, in $\varphi(u, v)$, would sensibly affect the resulting motion of the apogee. He was fortunate, after having excited considerable notice, by the annunciation of the failure of the Newtonian law of gravity, to be the first to correct his own error.

Mr. Woodhouse refers also to the methods used by D'Alembert, Simpson, and Laplace.

'Laplace, in his Mécanique Céleste, (tom. iii. pp. 191, &c.) although in the main he follows D'Alembert's suggested method, yet follows it not so closely as Simpson has done. He first, on the assumption of the *elliptical* value of u, deduces the values of the coefficients of the terms of the differential equation, and expresses them by means of the quantities, m, e, $\acute{e}$, c, &c.'

It is not, we conceive, strictly correct to say that Simpson *followed* D'Alembert's 'suggested method.' He states* himself that what he did was done in 1750, and he refers to an intimation at the conclusion of his Fluxions published in that year. D'Alembert's 'suggested method' appeared in 1754. We would willingly give the priority to Simpson, but we are not certain that we should be justified in so doing. With respect to Laplace, however, the passage above is certainly incorrect; and we think Laplace himself, by the inaccuracy of his expression, contributed to lead our author into the mistake. It is not the elliptical value of u that Laplace first assumes. He says indeed,† 'Supposons que δu soit la partie de u, due à la force perturbatrice,' &c. &c.

The value of u then becomes $\frac{1}{h^2(1+\gamma^2)}\left\{1+e\cos.(cv-\pi)+\&c\right\}+\delta u$.

The former part of this value depends upon the perturbating force, as well as the latter, δu. The quantities h, e, &c. are modified by the perturbating force, and c differs from unity on account of the perturbating force.

* Preface to his Tracts, 1757.

† Mécanique Céleste, tom. iii. p. 200.

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The substitution of this value of u being made in the differential equation, equations are obtained for determining the respective terms of δu, by help of the constant arbitrary quantities m, e, &c. as determined by observation, as they actually exist, not as they would have existed, without the perturbating force of the sun. In fact, then, there is little difference between the outlines of the two methods of Simpson and Laplace; but there is the greatest difference in the finishing. Simpson only professed to mark outlines, and Laplace has, with exquisite skill, equally finished every part.

In their method, by indeterminate coefficients, the student may not see clearly the connection between the constant arbitrary quantities of the elliptic theory, and the same quantities modified by the perturbating forces. The connection clearly appears in that adopted by Mr. Woodhouse. But the method of indeterminate coefficients is much to be preferred for a complete investigation of the lunar irregularities by help of the constant arbitrary quantities determined by observation.

Several distinguished mathematicians have given investigations for determining the mean motion of the lunar apogee by considering the mean centripetal force only, and considering the tangential force (or rather the force in the direction perpendicular to the radius vector) as producing no effect. The intricate calculations that arise in the successive approximations for solving the differential equations of the problem of the three bodies may have in some measure tended to perpetuate this error, by not affording a simple refutation. Dr. Matthew Stewart's investigation of the mean motion of the lunar apsis has recently been referred to as exact, although only the mean disturbing centripetal force is considered. Had the periodic time of the moon been different from what it is, observation would have pointed out the error of his result. Had the moon revolved about the earth in one day, Dr. Stewart's theorem would give the motion of the lunar apogee nearly twice as great as it would have been found by observation.

As we are not aware, that the separate effects of the respective centripetal and tangential forces have been distinctly stated by any writer, we give them here; more particularly as Clairaut's method, which Mr. Woodhouse has judiciously followed, does not readily furnish them.

Let $m = \frac{per.\ time\ of\ the\ moon}{per.\ time\ of\ the\ earth} = \frac{1}{13}$ nearly. Then, the mean motion of the moon being unity, the effect of the centripetal force on the mean motion of the lunar apsid $= \frac{3}{4}m^2 + \frac{135}{64}m^3$ nearly.

The

The effect of the tangential force, or rather of the force perpendicular to the radius vector $=\frac{315}{64}m^3$ nearly.

It is evident, that the smaller m is, the nearer the sum of these quantities approaches $\frac{3}{4}m^2$, the quantity found by Newton in the 9th section of the 1st book of the Principia.

In the 14th chapter, Mr. Woodhouse proceeds to the integration of the differential equation expressing the relation between the mean longitude (time) and the true longitude, which equation is obtained by the substitution of the expression for the radius vector in the expression for dt. No particular difficulty occurs in this part. The author shews how by reversion of series the true longitude is determined in terms of the mean longitude. The sources of the principal equations are clearly pointed out. The origin of the apparent acceleration of the mean motion of the moon, that difficulty which had so long tormented mathematicians, is also shewn, as deduced by Laplace. This is afterwards more minutely considered.

Mr. Woodhouse next shews the manner of computing the disturbances in the elliptical motions of a planet, occasioned by the action of another planet.

The method adopted for the moon might at first be supposed readily applicable to the planets; and that nothing further would be necessary than to substitute in the differential equations the expression for the disturbing forces of the planet. But there are two circumstances that occasion a very considerable difference in the process.

1. The effect of one planet disturbing the orbit of another is much smaller than that of the sun disturbing the motion of the moon. We are enabled therefore to proceed by a much shorter road to obtain the equations of longitude, and of the radius vector, than in the case of the moon. In the moon we first compute the radius vector in terms of the true longitude, then, by help of the radius vector already found, the mean longitude in terms of the true, and thence by reversion of series the true longitude in terms of the mean. For a planet, we obtain at once $\delta r =$ a function of the time, by help of the integration of a linear equation of exactly the same form as (1), and then δv is easily had. δr and δv are variations arising from the perturbating forces.

This is the method used by Laplace,* which, as given by him, may appear difficult to a student, but he will find in Mr. Wood-

* Mécanique Céleste, chap. vi. 2 liv.

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house's 16th chapter, an excellent simplification of Laplace's method of proceeding.

2. The second circumstance is one, that at first occasioned considerable embarrassment in computing the perturbations of a planet's orbit. The distance of the disturbing from the disturbed body is $\sqrt{r'^2 - 2rr' \cos.\omega + r^2}$, r and r' being the distances of the planets from the sun and ω being the angle at the sun. It became therefore necessary to expand $(r'^2 - 2rr' \cos.\omega + r^2)^{\frac{s}{2}}$, s representing 1, 3, &c. The expansion becomes of the form $A + B \cos.\omega + C \cos.2\omega +$, &c. Now in the case of the moon $\frac{r}{r'} = \frac{\text{moon's dist.}}{\text{sun's dist.}}$ and therefore the expansion may be made by help of the binomial theorem, the powers of $\frac{r}{r'}$ rapidly converging. But when $\frac{r}{r'} = \frac{\text{Venus distance}}{\text{earth's distance}}$ the convergency almost ceases, and the binomial theorem becomes of less value. Notwithstanding, however, the ingenuity exhibited by several mathematicians in developing this quantity, it was long considered necessary to be satisfied with the convergency of the powers of $\frac{r}{r'}$. In fact the convergency of the series given by Laplace is not much greater. But another branch of mathematical science, apparently quite unconnected with our subject, has afforded a solution as convenient as can be desired.

Defined integrals have of late been applied to many most interesting purposes, and here also they have been singularly useful. The difficulty of which we are speaking is reduced to find A and B in the expansion of $\frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - 2\rho \cos.\omega + \rho^2}} = A + B \cos.\omega + C \cos.2\omega +$ &c. where ρ is a fraction not differing much from unity. Now it is easily shewn that A = the defined integral $\frac{1}{\pi} \int \frac{d\omega}{\sqrt{1 - 2\rho \cos.\omega + \rho^2}}$ the limits of the integral being $\omega = 0$ and $\omega = \pi$ = the semicircumference, radius unity. The reduction to this defined integral is however only a step in our process, a step that was known to D'Alembert, and further, it was known to him, that this integral depended on the arcs of conic sections. But the most ingenious method of Lagrange by which he approximated to all integrals contained in the form $\int \frac{P\,dx}{\sqrt{a + bx^2 + cx^4}}$ did not then exist.* That method developes a computation for our defined integral as convenient as can be desired.

* Vide Lacroix, Calcul diff. et integr. tom. 2.

For

For the detail of computation of the defined integral for A and also for B, we refer to Mr. Woodhouse, Chap. 18. For the case when r and r' are very nearly equal, as for Ceres disturbing Pallas, Mr. Woodhouse himself gave in the Philosophical Transactions for 1804, a method of computation derived from the same source, which furnishes all that can be wished for as to that case.

Mr. Woodhouse enters minutely into details of calculations in the 18th Chapter and actually deduces that part of the variation of the earth's longitude (δv), independent on the eccentricity, which arises from the perturbations of the Moon, Jupiter, Venus, and Mars. From the method of integration here adopted, by which δr is found, there arise certain terms such as $M\ nt\ sin\ (nt+\varepsilon-\pi)$. 'Such terms as the above, existing in the value of the radius vector and longitude, would, by increasing with the time, materially alter the elements of the orbit.'

A similar circumstance occurred in the investigation of the lunar orbit, and the method of obviating it furnished, as we have seen, a ready determination of the mean motion of the lunar apsids. Terms like the above are got rid of by a process that enables us to compute the small variations (*secular variations*, as they are called) which take place in the eccentricities and places of the perihelia, &c. and are only sensible after a long interval. Mr. Woodhouse briefly shews how this happens, and very properly reserves for a subsequent chapter the investigation of the secular inequalities. This interesting part of physical astronomy has been much improved since the first volume of the Mécanique Céleste was published, and Mr. Woodhouse has availed himself of the latest improvements. In a note at the conclusion of this chapter he remarks:

'The subject of the secular inequalities was treated of after the manner alluded to in the text, by Laplace in the *Mém. Acad.* 1785; and subsequently, with greater refinement of calculation, but much less perspicuity, in his *Mécanique Céleste.*'

The substance of this note is certainly exact, yet we have always admired this part of the Mécanique Céleste, and it appears to us that the author has no where more successfully exerted his extraordinary mathematical powers. The subject is very abstruse, and his first method (that in the Mém. Acad.) does not appear to go to the bottom of it. In the method inserted in the Mécanique Céleste,* a long abstract investigation produces, in its application to physical astronomy, the most interesting results. A short account may explain it. Suppose $y=X+tY+t^2Z+$ &c. - - (1) to be the integral of $\frac{d^2y}{dt^2}+P+a\ Q=0$ arising from successive

* Tom. i. pp. 243, &c.

approximations.

approximations. X, Y, Z, &c. are periodical functions of t, containing c, c', &c. (i) arbitrary quantities. In which also a is a very small quantity, and when $a=0$, y is expressed entirely by periodic functions.

It is evident that if, by any modification of the quantities c, c', &c. relative to the small quantity a, we can make the terms $tY + t^2Z$, &c. disappear, we shall have $y=X$, and y will thus be expressed by periodic functions, in which the (i) constants c, c', &c. have undergone a small modification.

Now Laplace shews, that if instead of t, in the above value of y, we substitute $t-\theta$, θ being any constant quantity, the differential equation will still be satisfied, and thus y will appear to contain $i+1$ arbitrary quantities. This cannot be. But the equation $y=X+(t-\theta)\,Y+$, &c. - - - (2) will give the constant arbitrary quantities c, c', &c. in functions of θ. It necessarily follows, therefore, because there cannot be $i+1$ arbitrary quantities, that if these functions of θ be substituted in the equation, θ must disappear, and the equation resulting coincide with equation 1. From this consideration Laplace deduces from equation 2.

$$y=X+(t-\theta)\left(\frac{dX}{d\theta}\right)+\frac{(t-\theta)^2}{1.\ 2}\left(\frac{d^2X}{d\theta^2}\right)+, \text{ \&c.} \quad - \quad - \quad (3)$$

X in equation (1) is a function of t and c, c', &c. and therefore in equation (2) must be a function of t and of the modified values of c, c', &c. but these latter are functions of θ. Hence X in equation (3) is a function of t and θ. Consequently if in this equation we make $\theta=t$ we shall have $y=X$ a periodic function of t. To do this it is necessary to deduce X in terms of t and θ, and this will be done if we determine c, c', &c. in functions of θ; after which it is only necessary to substitute t for θ. The values of c, c' as they exist in X, Y, &c. of equation (1) furnish the means of obtaining the new values functions of θ. We must refer to Laplace for the remainder of the process, which in itself furnishes great facilities for obtaining the new values of c, c', &c.

On a first view it might be imagined that, abstracting from these secular inequalities, the other perturbations of all the planets would be obtained by a comparatively simple process. But in the case of Jupiter and Saturn attracting each other, a new difficulty occurs, not arising from the magnitude of these bodies when compared with the other planets in the system, but from a circumstance which appears, as far as we know, accidental; and which is occasioned by the proportion that exists between the mean distances of Jupiter and Saturn from the sun. We call this an accidental circumstance, by which probably we only acknowledge our own ignorance. It is not likely that the relations between

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tween the respective distances of the planets from the sun should come under this description.

Mr. Woodhouse has devoted a chapter to the consideration of the great equations of Jupiter and Saturn.

'It would seem then (he says) that the solution of the *problem of the three bodies*, for Venus, the earth and sun, would be virtually and in substance, the just solution, when Jupiter, Saturn, and the Sun should be the three bodies.

'But here, as frequently in intricate investigations, it happens that general views and analogies are altogether fallacious. The theory of the perturbations of Jupiter and Saturn contains very distinct peculiarities. It differs, in certain respects, not only from that of the perturbations of Venus and the earth, but from every other planetary theory. The only points of resemblance to it are to be found in the system of Jupiter's satellites.'

Even before the publication of the 'Principia' it was discovered by Flamstead that Saturn's motion was retarded and Jupiter's accelerated, by comparing their actual places with those deduced from the tables founded on the observations of Tycho Brahe. Nothing similar was observed with respect to the rest of the planets.

'The retardation of Saturn's mean motion, and the acceleration of Jupiter's were first noted by Flamstead, who in 1682 observed a conjunction of these planets. Halley, the contemporary of Newton, found also the tables of Jupiter and Saturn to be incorrect. But the great founder of physical astronomy, whether he considered the anomalous phenomenon of Saturn's retardation as not sufficiently ascertained, or whether he wanted leisure for the research, has no were adverted to that phenomenon. He certainly did not view it as forming an exception to his system; for in speaking of the perturbations of the planets, he merely says that the action of Jupiter is a thing not entirely to be passed over, "actio quidem Jovis in Saturnum non omnino contemnenda est." On the subject of these two planets he does not notice that peculiarity of their theory, which for a time seemed to form an exception to his system, but which afterwards became one of its strongest confirmations.

'But the mathematicians who succeeded Newton and followed his system, were greatly embarrassed with the retardation of Saturn's mean motion. As a fact of observation it was anomalous; and theory, so far from exhibiting it as a result of calculation, gave a result directly opposite. For, in the year 1774, Lagrange, by means of a remarkable theorem, proved the invariability of the mean distances of the planets. If the mean distances remained the same, or were subject (as is the case) to periodical inequalities, the mean motions, if Newton's theory were true, must be so also. They could admit neither of *secular* retardation nor acceleration.

'The academy of sciences of Paris proposed as the subject of their prize for the year 1748, the theory of Jupiter and Saturn. This produced

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duced two fruitless, although in other respects excellent, disquisitions from Euler and Lagrange, which obtained the prize, but left the difficulty as they found it. The subsequent investigations of Laplace had better success.'

There appears a slight inaccuracy here—Lagrange's Memoir might indeed be occasioned by the subject having been proposed by the academy: but it could not have been written much before 1766, when it was published in the 3d Vol. of the Turin Memoirs.

It may seem rather singular that the non-existence of secular equations should have been proved, before the existence of periodical equations sufficient for solving the difficulty were discovered. The expression for the value of δv (variation of the longitude) consisted of terms of the form $P \sin.(i'n't - int + a)$. Now the convergency of these terms depends on the value of P; when P is very small, such terms are rejected. P depends partly on the powers and products of the eccentricities and inclinations of the orbits. The first cultivators of this science imagined that they might neglect the terms involving the squares and cubes of these quantities.

'Nous pouvons (says Euler in an ineffectual essay to explain the irregularities of Jupiter and Saturn) hardiment négliger les termes qui renferment le quarré et les plus hautes puissances de l'excentricité. They are the very terms, however, as we shall soon see, that require, in the theory of Jupiter and Saturn, particular consideration.'

How inconclusive this reasoning of Euler must be, will easily appear, if we consider the other quantities involved in P. Now P has *a denominator* $=(i'n' - in)^2$. There is no immediate connection between the eccentricities and inclinations and this quantity, it is evident therefore that it *may* be so small as to counteract the smallness of the squares and cubes of the eccentricities, and therefore P may be of a magnitude not to be neglected. When P has a factor, products of three dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations, then $i' = 5$ and $i = 2$. We are therefore to consider the value of $(5n' - 2n)^2$, now n' representing the mean motion of Saturn and n that of Jupiter, these are nearly in the proportion of 2 to 5, consequently $(5n' - 2n)^2$ is a very small quantity, which on examination will be found to counteract the smallness of $e'^2 e^2 e'^2$, e'^2, $e'^2 \gamma^2$ and $e'^2 \gamma^2$ and make P of a magnitude not to be neglected.

It seems almost impossible but that this must have early occurred, and the only explanation that can be given why it was not sooner attended to, seems to be, that the labour of computation was too great to allow of its being undertaken till the non-existence of secular equations was satisfactorily proved. The effect observed

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served might have been partly from this cause and partly from a secular equation. The appearance of the latter, however, was occasioned only by the great length of the period in which $in't - int$ becomes equal to 360°. In one year $5n' - 2n$ does not amount to quite 25′ and thus the period exceeds 900 years.

Mr. Woodhouse has computed, with much detail and great perspicuity, the *principal* part of the *great inequalities* of Jupiter depending on the products of three dimensions of the eccentricities. This is all that could be expected according to the limits which he had prescribed to himself. The parts depending on the products of three dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations jointly, on the square of the perturbating force, (almost the only case with respect to the planets, in which it is necessary to consider it,) and on the products of five dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations, have been given by Laplace. The computation of the last, 'pénible par son excessive longueur,' was achieved by Burckhardt, to whom we owe the best tables of the moon.

'The solution of the problem of three bodies, it is sometimes stated in the sweeping clauses of indolent generalisers, comprehends every case of lunar and planetary disturbances. How delusive such a statement is, may be understood from the preceding pages. The methods of solutions used in the lunar theory will not apply, without considerable modification, to the planetary; which modifications amount in some instances to the invention of new methods. Again, the methods which apply to some of the planets will not apply to all: if we use the same formulæ, to the same extent, for Jupiter and Saturn, which are sufficient for Mars and Jupiter, we shall be sure of being wrong; or rather there will be produced results so anomalous as to make Newton's theory appear inadequate to the explanation of all the planetary phenomena. In fact, the *natural* complication, if we may so express ourselves, of the subject is such, that we cannot safely predict what cases are strictly similar. Each requires a separate examination, during which new methods are continually suggesting themselves. Analysis has been furnished, with some of its excellent formulæ, from the difference found to exist between the lunar and planetary theories. Although, therefore, we have gone through the lunar and planetary theories, we are not warranted, by the experience of what has preceded, in supposing that the methods there used will strictly apply to the system of Jupiter and his satellites, or to that of Saturn and his.'

This leads Mr. Woodhouse to the consideration of the theory of the satellites of Jupiter, which he has comprised in a short chapter. He has however given what is sufficient to enable us to form an adequate notion of the manner in which this subject has been treated by Laplace, to whom we owe the first tables of the satellites freed from empirical equations.

The 21st and 22d chapters we consider as the most interesting in

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in the volume. The former contains the investigation of the periodical and secular variations of the elements of the orbits considered as elliptical. Mr. Woodhouse, from his plan, makes no particular use of the formulæ he deduces with respect to the periodical variations, as they may be considered as already comprised in the method explained in the eighteenth chapter. Laplace indeed, in the eighth chapter of the second book, to which these of Mr. Woodhouse may be considered as corresponding, deduces some interesting conclusions relative to these periodical variations; but, in other respects, Mr. Woodhouse is here far preferable to Laplace. The difference between these variations as they stand in the Mécanique Céleste, and in Mr. Woodhouse, is remarkable. In the former work, the variations of some of the elliptic elements are given by help of partial differential coefficients of a function (R) of the co-ordinates, taken with respect to the co-ordinates themselves, and multiplied by functions of those co-ordinates. In that of Mr. Woodhouse *all* the variations are given by partial differential co-efficients of the same function (R), but taken with respect to the elements themselves, and multiplied by functions of those elements.

Mr. Woodhouse has availed himself of the latest improvements in this science. Lagrange discovered a method of investigation by which all the variations of the elliptic elements so expressed may be deduced, and communicated it to the French Institution in 1808; and we believe, on the same day, M. Laplace made a communication of another method, by which he had arrived at the same expressions somewhat more simply. This he has published in a supplement to the Mécanique Céleste. Mr. Woodhouse appears to have been very successful in the composition of these two chapters. In page 404 he has collected the different formulæ which he has deduced, and which we strongly recommend to the attention of the reader, as well as the formula in page 416, containing the constant part of R, on which the secular variations chiefly depend.

After shewing the numerical values of some of the secular variations, Mr. Woodhouse refers to the variation of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and shews its effect in producing the accelerations of the moon's mean motion. The explanations of the phenomena of the apparent alterations of the moon's mean motions, and of those of Jupiter and Saturn, are entirely due to Laplace, and are in themselves sufficient to preserve his well merited fame to the latest posterity. The cause of the variation of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn might easily have been conjectured, but the labour and skill required to verify that conjecture were great indeed. On the contrary, to conjecture the cause of the variation of the motion of the moon required great penetration, but when conjectured

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was easily verified. The moon's mean motion, as modified by the action of the sun, contains a term depending on the square of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit; consequently a variation of the latter must occasion an alteration in the former. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit therefore being subject to a secular variation, the moon's mean motion must be subject to one. But when we consider the minuteness of the effect of the eccentricity itself in modifying the mean motion of the moon, it would seem, at first, very unlikely that a trifling variation of it could produce any sensible effect. The effect of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit on the mean motion of the moon, we believe, does not much exceed the four hundred thousandth part of the whole motion. How small then must be the effect of the minute changes that this eccentricity undergoes!

After computing the effect on the moon's mean motion, and shewing its conformity to observation, Mr. Woodhouse remarks—

"There is in this explanation of the phenomenon of the moon's acceleration a strong proof of the truth of the law of gravity; and the proof is of the refined kind: for the perturbations of the planets are not communicated immediately to the moon, but transmitted by means of the earth. The *acceleration* is, as it has been called, a reflected effect. The reflected effect, we may also further remark, is greater than the direct: in 2000 years the diminution of the eccentricity would not exceed 3′ 7″: whereas in the same period the moon's mean motion would be increased nearly by 1° 11′.

Laplace having discovered the source of the apparent acceleration in the mean motion of the moon, immediately saw that secular equations of the perigee and nodes also existed; and these have been confirmed by a comparison of the ancient and modern observations. Perhaps the commencement of chapter 21 might be a little simplified by considering the matter somewhat as follows. Supposing the planet moving in the ecliptic, the equations of the co-ordinates r (dist.) and v (the longitude) are

$$rd^2v + 2dr\,dv + \frac{1}{r}\cdot\frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dv}\,dt^2 = 0$$

$$d^2r - rdv^2 + \left(\frac{\mu}{r^2} + \frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dr}\right)dt^2 = 0$$

where $d\mathrm{R}$ is introduced by the disturbing force. When the disturbing force is absent, these equations are integrated by multiplying the first by $\frac{rdv}{dt^2}$ and the second by $\frac{dr}{dt^2}$, and adding the results, from which a complete differential is obtained, so that in the present case we have

$$\frac{r^2dv^2 + dr^2}{2dt^2} - \frac{\mu}{r} + \frac{\mu}{2a} + \int\left(dv\frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dv} + dr\frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dr}\right) = o$$

where a is the semi-axis major of the ellipse, when the disturbing force

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force does not act. Now it is evident, if the part of this equation under the sign f be equal to the differential of the remainder of the first part, taken supposing a variable, we shall have $\frac{r^2dv^2+dr^2}{2dt^2}-\frac{\mu}{r}+\frac{\mu}{2a}=0$, in which a is variable as well v and r. And to determine da we have $-\frac{\mu}{2}\frac{da}{a^2}=\frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dv}dv+\frac{d\mathrm{R}}{dr}dr=d\mathrm{R}$, as R is a function of r and v. Hence $da=-\frac{2a^2\,d\mathrm{R}}{\mu}$.

This is the celebrated formula by which it is proved that, regarding only the first power of the disturbing force, the greater axes of the orbits of the planets are subject to no secular variations. d R contains only periodical terms. The invariability of the greater axes of the planetary orbits is one of the most interesting results that has been obtained in this science. As far as regards the first power of the disturbing force the proof is sufficiently easy. When we consider the second power, the process becomes very difficult, but it has been executed with great ability by M. Poisson.* Who will prove it generally?

That the eccentricities of the orbits are also only subject to variations included within narrow limits, is another conclusion that has been deduced. This is conceived to follow from an equation first discovered, we believe, by Laplace. This equation, given by Mr. Woodhouse, p. 460, is $m\sqrt{a}\,e^2+m'\sqrt{a'}\,e'^2+m''\sqrt{a''}\,e''^2+$ &c.$=$K, in which K is a constant quantity, and very small on account of the magnitude of e, e', e'', &c., and it is thence inferred that all the values of e, e', &c. must always continue very small. But it is obvious that such reasoning cannot apply if one of the bodies, m', be much smaller than another m'', because it may require a great change in e' to compensate for a small change in e''. This escaped the notice of several writers on physical astronomy. Lagrange first appears to have remarked it, and it has been recently noticed by Mr. Bowditch, in the fourth volume of the American Transactions.

Lagrange states the objection very clearly:

'Il suit de là que si les excentricités des orbites qui appartiennent à des masses très grandes sont une fois très-petites, elles le seront toujours, ce qui est le cas de Jupiter et Saturne; mais celles qui appartiennent à des masses fort petites pourront croître jusqu'à l'unité et au-delà, et on ne pourra déterminer leurs véritables limites que par l'intégration des équations différentielles, comme on le verra ci-après.'—*Méc. Analytique*, tom. ii. p. 147.†

* Journal de l'Ecole Polytech. tom. viii.

† This great man only lived to complete a few more pages of his valuable work.

If the solution of the problem of the three bodies be not yet complete in all its parts, if we cannot by approximations shew the places of the bodies of our system during an indefinite period, we can do that which, if it be well considered, must place this science among the first that do honour to the industry and ingenuity of man—we can calculate the motions and predict with unerring certainty the relative positions of these vast bodies for thousands of years to come—by applying the laws of matter and motion to the result of modern observation. These laws we collect from a few simple phenomena principally terrestrial. With respect to the astronomical tables as belonging to the present age, nothing can be conceived more accurate than the results deduced from the most intricate calculations:—even the tables of the new planets have already arrived at a great degree of exactness. We may instance those for the planet Vesta. The perturbations of this planet by Jupiter, Saturn and Mars have been computed by M. Daussy: the perturbations by the earth are too small to require notice. Those by Mars only become sensible from the relation of the mean distances of Mars and Vesta; as the relation of the distances of Jupiter and Saturn produced the great equations of these planets. The results of the great labour of M. Daussy were published in 1814. Thirty different equations or corrections arising from the perturbations are required for deducing the longitude of the planet, some of them amounting to several minutes; yet such is their exactness, that in May, 1818, as we happen to know, the computed differed from the observed place by less than one minute.

It is unnecessary to add any thing further to shew the estimation in which we hold Mr. Woodhouse's work. We hope that the student will not be deterred from entering on it by a notion that the books which he has been accustomed to read, at Oxford or Cambridge, are not sufficient to enable him to become, readily, master of its contents; and that those who have not had the advantage of an university education will not suppose for a moment that the elementary treatises on mechanics, and fluxions, in English, are not fully competent to assist them in understanding this volume.

To the university student we would certainly recommend that he should defer the study of Mr. Woodhouse's book till he has made himself acquainted with the 'Principia' of Newton; if this be too much, he may, if he please, enter on it after he has mastered the doctrine of motion as given in Wood's Principles of Mechanics, and with whatever knowledge of fluxions he may have obtained from Vince's or Dealtry's treatises. He may, perhaps, suppose that it is required he should know the method of *partial differences* and the *calculus of variations*. We intreat him not to be

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be frightened at mere sounds. Let him examine for himself. He will find that in the application of these branches of mathematics in Mr. Woodhouse's book, he will have little more to do than to understand a simple notation. With regard to the calculus of variations, he will easily comprehend that if V be a function of a, b, e, x, y, z, dx, dy, &c., and that any circumstances should make it necessary to find the fluxions of V arising from a and y having varied, it is convenient, in order to distinguish the new from the former fluxions, to denote them by δa, δy; and if, in consequence of the variations of these quantities, e, x, and dx should also have changed, that their new differentials are to be expressed by δe, δx, δdx. The rules of the fluxional calculus obtain in finding the fluxions of V; also $\delta dx = d\delta x$, which is easily proved. This contains almost all of the calculus of variations that is applied to physical astronomy.

The notation of partial differences, all that is used by Mr. Woodhouse, is so easy that it almost explains itself. He refers, (but the reference is almost unnecessary,) for the explanation of the term 'partial differential co-efficient,' to his Principles of Analytical Calculation, published in 1803. The *integration* of equations of partial differences is indeed a difficult subject; but the knowledge of this is scarcely required even for reading the Mécanique Céleste. The integration of only two or three (we believe) equations of partial differences occur in that work; from none of which the student will find any difficulty in his progress.

In giving this volume to the public, Mr. Woodhouse has preferred a new claim, we think, and that no small one, to the gratitude of his country. We owe him much for his former works, and we trust that the estimation in which the present must be held will insure the production of another volume on those subjects which he has led us to hope will 'furnish matter for further speculations.'

ART. VII.—*Eastern Sketches, in Verse.* By Henry Gally Knight, Esq. Second Edition. 1819. London. pp. 207.

MR. Gally Knight is a traveller as well as a poet; and seeking to combine utility with pleasure, he has employed his poetry as a vehicle for imparting to his readers whatever is most striking in the customs and manners of the countries which he has visited. His 'stories,' he says, 'are not merely fables; they are intended to be portraits faithfully representing the features of the respective countries in which the scene of each is laid.'

This plan, though perhaps attended with an increase of difficulty to the writer, is productive, we think, of considerable advantage to the reader. The accuracy of an observant traveller, and

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the ardent imagination of the bard, are qualities of so distinct a nature, that, in general, the absence of the one is almost a proof that the other will not be found wanting. The reader, therefore, who is disappointed in the poetry, may throw himself boldly on the instruction which it is intended to convey; and with a fair chance of being entertained as well as informed, he, or his author, must be singularly unfortunate if neither should take effect in the course of their acquaintance.

Mr. Knight appears to us to have attained considerable success in both departments. The general tone of his poetry, and more especially the succinct and picturesque notices collected in the preface, (which is drawn up with singular neatness and elegance,) bear testimony to his merits as an observer of national manners; and, if we are not mistaken, he performed his travels at an age when discrimination and judgment could have derived but little assistance from experience. His Muse also, though not of that daring description which penetrates to the sources of our feelings, and rouses and hurries along our imagination at the very moment when most repudiated by our taste, has many attractions of the milder and more amiable kind. Her song gives no indications of a spirit disturbed by moody passions, or scarred and scathed by painful recollections, which take their gloomy tinge rather from conscience than from misfortune. When she deals with vice or suffering, with the wicked or the unhappy, the distressing images naturally raised by such pictures are pleasingly softened by the glimpses of a gentle and benevolent turn of mind, which, like the moon-beams in Abdallagh's bower, (p. 3.) continually steal through the darker colouring, and produce an agreeable effect of contrast.

The countries in which Mr. Knight has, respectively, laid the scenes of his 'manners-painting' fables, are Syria, Greece and Arabia, all of which, as he justly remarks, are abundantly stored with objects that speak to the imagination, and are calculated to make up by their poetical fertility for that inherent liberty which the Muse, in confining herself to certain localities, has for a season voluntarily surrendered. 'The Muse,' says our author, 'is, perhaps, never so much at her ease as when she sports in the regions of pure fancy; but in touching upon the countries of the east, truth and poetry may still be united.' There is indeed a strength of genius capable of extracting honey from every weed—a power, of which the potent distillations effected by Mr. Crabbe's minute and searching pen may be adduced as lively examples. But it is true, at the same time, that there is a line of beauty for the imagination no less than for the eye, and that class of common undistinguishable objects, which lie confounded in the same plane, and do not stand

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stand forward, as it were, to the senses, are no less unaccommodating in poetry than the straight, the formal, and the angular in painting or sculpture. The bard who 'sits and thinks with his Muse' on the banks of a Dutch canal must import his whole stock of imagery, and conceal the native poverty of the spot with exotic foliage; but to name Syria or Greece is to awaken the choicest and most agreeable ideas that nature, whether living or inanimate, is capable of suggesting.

The opening of 'Ilderim,' the first tale in the series, affords a favourable specimen of Mr. Knight's poetical powers. He is describing the luxurious garden of Abdallagh, a Syrian chief, residing at Balbec, the scene of his guilty, and as yet triumphant usurpation.

——— 'There eastern art display'd
All that enchants beneath the burning sky;
All that belongs to coolness or to shade;
Gay, brilliant hues, or such as soothe the eye
Dazzled with light; rich odours that supply
The balmy spoil which wandering zephyrs bear;
Sounds that refresh with cooling melody:
Yet, matchless Nature, in that scene so fair,
Thine were the choicest gifts, though Art combin'd them there.

'The branching walnut, prodigal of green,
The feather'd palm, the cypress dark and old,
Tower'd there on high; with myrtle woods between
Or bowers of citron, that at once unfold
Their flowers of silver, and their fruits of gold;
Aloft its giant leaf Banana spread,
Waving in air, like Mecca's flag unroll'd,
Or purple clusters woo'd from overhead,
Or yellow cassia bloom'd, and spicy fragrance shed.'

We have not room (nor indeed is it necessary) to give the details of the story, in which there is not much of novelty; but we will present our readers with another extract from it of considerable force and beauty. We have marked one or two careless expressions which might easily have been avoided. The passage is towards the close of the poem, where the ladies of Abdallagh's seraglio, on the point of being murdered in pursuance of a precautionary order given by the tyrant to his Moorish slaves before the engagement in which he lost his life, are unexpectedly rescued by the hero (Ilderim) and his followers, who suddenly burst into the Harem by a secret way.

'Their chieftain held the torch; long aisles of gloom,
Cautious, yet swift, they pierced; where reign'd around
The silence and the chilness of the tomb—
The cavern ends—but spiral steps they found,

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That, flank'd by massive walls, ascending wound:
" Are ye prepared?"—" The destin'd scene is near."
Nor long ere, from above, a *distant* sound
Confirm'd his words—with shrinking hearts they hear
Faint cries of *distant* woe, and shrieks of female fear.

' " On,—or too late,"—from hapless Azza's bower
Arose the piercing clamour of distress—
Assembled there, but in no festive hour,
Throng'd all the harem's pride and loveliness—
Victims forewarn'd, that round their mistress press:
Calm in despair the sister maids were seen,
Doom'd like the others, *but bewilder'd less*—
In prayer they knelt—with pale but constant mien,
Majestic in their woe, and in their fears serene.

' The doors are *burst*—the dark assassin train,
Who scarcely gave the promis'd time for prayer,
Advanced to strike!—An instant—and in vain
The near assistance that the victors bear.
Round the first victim's wildly-streaming hair
That savage hand its dusky grasp has twin'd:
The lifted steel—oh! moment of despair—
When, *bursting* through the yawning wall behind,
Rush'd in with furious shout, the aid by heav'n assign'd.

' Amazement, panic, stay'd the lifted steel;
Short time had those to work their lord's command,
Who now themselves the stroke of carnage feel,
Subdued, or ere they fought—the saviour band
Let loose the furies of each armed hand,
Hew'd those who fled, and slaughter'd those who stood.
Remorseless raged the just, unsparing brand—
Death had his feast—but tasted other food
Than stern Abdallagh meant, and drank of other blood.'

The name of Ali, the celebrated Pasha of Albania, introduced into the Grecian poem entitled ' Phrosyne,' at once announces it to be founded on fact, and gives it a particular claim to our interest at a period when the crimes and intrigues of that ambitious chieftain ' less than a king, yet greater,' have come under public notice.

The story of the unfortunate Phrosyne,—whose name, be it remarked *en passant*, is not to be pronounced as if it were a fraction of the good old Greek appellation *Euphrosyne*, but with its penultima long,—may be told in few words.

' Thron'd on a height above th' Albanian lands,
The Grecian city, Callirete stands:—
Parent of hardy sons! who long withstood
The rushing progress of the Othman flood;

And

And still protected by their rocks, retain
Blessings unknown to Grecians of the plain.'—p. 72.

In this mountain-city, of apparent, though, as it proved in the sequel, of unreal security, flourished, in the virgin freshness of youth and innocence and beauty, the heroine of the tale. Demo, her betrothed lover, prepares, according to the annual custom of the Calliretians, for a distant voyage, which is to last through the summer; and on the eve of his departure, while Phrosyne, also according to custom, is engaged 'with the maidens that be her fellows' in a dance meant to give a semblance of festivity to what is in fact a melancholy moment, the Pasha suddenly makes his appearance at the head of an army which he is leading home on the close of a bloody and successful expedition. He is thus described:

'Ali with gracious mien, and specious art,
That feign'd a virtue foreign to the heart,
Smil'd on the crowd—for well he knew to win
With angel looks, and hide the fiend within.—
His snowy beard beneath his bosom fell,
And prov'd the years his port dissembled well;
His eye shed mercy—and his tranquil air
Diffus'd around the peace he seem'd to share.
But all was false—for all conceal'd within
A heart by passion torn, and clogg'd with sin,—
Relentless cruelty, and fitful rage,
And savage lust amidst the frost of age.'—p. 85.

The Pasha courteously commands the dance, which had been broken off on his approach, to be resumed, and Phrosyne, somewhat, perhaps, too willingly for a young lady in her delicate situation, takes part in it with the success that might be expected.

'A wild rebellion throbs in Ali's breast,
With pain conceal'd, and by no curb represt:
Love is not his—to so accurst a flame
'Twere impious e'er to give so fair a name;
His the fierce rush of passion's lawless tide:
With such a love the tyger woos his bride.'—p. 91.

The 'Lord of Albania' is not a man to fall in love to no purpose. He inquires with an air of careless indifference into Phrosyne's circumstances, treasures the reply, as matter for a future plot, in his memory, expresses a warm and benevolent interest in the happiness of the young bride, and leaves the assembly much moved, and marvelling at so unwonted a display of kind and generous feelings.

Demo now sets out on his voyage, and Phrosyne is left to while away the hours in doubtful surmises and tender anticipations till

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till his return; and the town, bereft for a time of nearly all its male population, assumes a most dismal appearance. Time, however, runs on, and the season of hope is rapidly advancing, when early one morning Phrosyne and her mother are alarmed by a violent knocking at the gate. It turns out to be a band of Albanians with a message from the Pasha, the purport of which is to demand Phrosyne for the tyrant's harem. The consternation within may be easily conceived. The frantic parent pours forth in vain all the passionate eloquence of grief for the protection of her ill-starred daughter. Even gold ceases to be a temptation when offered on the side of virtue.

> 'Speed thee to Ali! tell him all we own,
> The fruit of years, shall fall before his throne.
> Return'd, Phrosyne's sire shall haste to pour
> His gain at Ali's feet—a golden store.
> This town, (for well I know, to save the maid,
> All Callirete's race will lend their aid)
> This town its little wealth shall freely drain,
> And bring a ransom kings might not disdain,
> All shall be his—such gifts have oft inclin'd
> Our Turkish Lords to ponder and be kind:
> Oh! tell him this—and haply will he spare
> An only child, and earn a mother's prayer.'—p. 110.

The grant of a single hour, and only a single hour, is at length extorted from the brutal soldiery, for the silent mingling of hearts and tears preparatory to the most cruel of separations. This is almost exhausted, and the Albanians are clamorous for their prey, when despair suggests the only remaining way of escape: the trembling and broken-hearted maid herself prefers death from the hands of her surrounding companions and kindred, to the love of Ali, and the debasing pleasures of his harem. This dreadful sacrifice being completed with more than Spartan determination, the soldiers are informed that the damsel is on the point of joining them; the doors are thrown open; the lifeless body, concealed beneath a veil, is borne forward slowly in procession;—

> ——————— 'nor tear nor sigh
> Disturb'd the still and stern solemnity;
> The pride of conquest there with grief unites,
> And blends a triumph with funereal rites;
> Severe each look, and fortified each face—
> Mourners,—but mourners of a Spartan race!'

The pale but lovely burthen is finally deposited at the feet of Ali's banditti—the veil is withdrawn, and Helen, the fond and faithful friend of poor Phrosyne, closes the poem with these bitter words:

> ——— 'Now,

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——— ' Now, servants of a tyrant's word,
Now bear Phrosyne to Albania's lord;
And tell Albania's lord, that thus alone
The Calliretian maids approach his throne !'

' Alashtar,' the Arabian tale, stands next in succession, and favourably as we feel towards its precursors, we are disposed to give it a decided preference over them, both in point of plan and of composition. The story turns on the passion of revenge, the indulgence of which is not, as in modern European cases, the result of a strong and malignant hatred working in a sullen bosom, and ever haunted by a consciousness of guilt, but springs from a generous, though passionate and savage determination to discharge what is deemed a sacred duty at every personal risk, and accompanied with a morbid and self-accusing impatience of every thing which delays the moment of execution. In the notes to this poem, Mr. Knight relates a curious instance of the sense which the Arabs entertain of their duties on this head. ' During our journey in the desert (he says) we were one day waiting under the shade of a rock, till the remainder of our party came up. When they arrived, we observed emotion and disorder in their countenances. We inquired the cause, and, after some hesitation, the Arabs expressed a hope that we should not think the worse of them for not having killed a servant of ours, who, it appeared, had given one of them a blow. The Arab, whom he had struck, had been riding behind him on the same camel, and amusing himself with causing it to play tricks, to the discomfort of the European.'

Upon the principal personage, whose name gives a title to the poem, devolves, according to Arab practice, the bloody office of doing to death' Mohareb, the chief of a neighbouring tribe, who some time before had slain Alashtar's brother. The scene is entirely confined to the desert, and the fond partiality with which the houseless Arab clings to his sandy and sultry home is happily described in the following lines, which, though in fact little more than an expansion of the same beautiful idea in Goldsmith's Traveller, as applied to the ' Swiss,' derive from their Arab dress a pleasing air of freshness and originality.

' Children of Ishmael! a rugged home
By fate is yours; but let the favour'd race,
Through fertile meads and water'd groves who roam,
Or flowery paths in groves of verdure trace,
Declare if happiness depends on place.
Can crystal rills or waving woods supply
Sweet solace to the wretched, or the base?
Alas! bright scenes are lost on sorrow's eye,
Careless of verdant shades, and streams that murmur by.

As

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As bounteously the dews of bliss descend
On the lone Desert as on Tempe's vale;
True joys are of the soul—on mind depend,
Nor influence own of scene or veering gale.
The sons of Greece tell sorrow's bitter tale
Beside the rill, beneath the spreading tree;
In citron groves the Grecian maids bewail;
While speeds o'er sands the Arab blest and free,
And loves his native home—the home of Liberty.'

Alashtar is described in some stanzas of considerable strength and harmony; but we are better pleased with Zora, the hero's sister, a most amiable character, who is judiciously introduced to supply the place of an enamoured heroine, which modern practice has rendered almost indispensable in all tales, whether prose or verse, English or Arabian:

' She, like Alashtar, mourn'd a brother slain,
But Zora bade her sorrows seem to sleep;
And, bent alone to sooth Alashtar's pain,
Smil'd in his presence, and withdrew to weep;
And, when she saw the cloud of passion sweep
Dark o'er his changeful brow, when rankling hate
Drove to his heart the goading arrow deep,
Fix'd at his side would Zora fondly wait,
And press his burning cheek, and bid the storm abate!
Or when, in milder sorrow's thoughtful gloom,
Alashtar sate, absorb'd in waking dream;
Then Zora, bending o'er her Arab loom,
Or spreading fruits to catch the sunny beam,
Alone on maiden's task intent would seem;
The while her eye would dart its cheerful ray;
Her voice would fall like ear-refreshing stream;
Artful, but innocent, her looks that play,
And from himself at length the mourner steal away.'—p. 160.

The chance arrival of the wounded Mohareb in Alashtar's tent, —an incident which may be considered as far from improbable among the wandering tribes of the desert,—affords a good opportunity of displaying the characteristic virtues of the Arab. It will of course be anticipated that so deadly a feud, as that between Alashtar and Mohareb, cannot be extinguished but by a mortal meeting between the rival chiefs. They meet, in fact, towards the close of the third canto, in single combat, and fight with a proper degree of wrath and obstinacy. We ought, perhaps, to call Mr. Knight to account for the somewhat equivocal circumstance of his combatants being lost for a time in the dust raised by their own struggle; but such is our gratitude to him for having dispersed the cloud previous to the catastrophe, and refrained from

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from dissolving his hero in aqua-fortis, or stowing him away in a quicksand, that we are inclined to allow all due consideration to (what our great lexicographer calls) the 'sabulous nature' of the scene.

But while we deal thus gently with our author in one particular point, and confer upon him that portion of commendation which we think he has fairly merited, we must not conceal our observation of some defects, to which we attach the more importance as they tend to affect the general tone of his composition, and may, perhaps, be less willingly tolerated, as they appear most capable of correction in that modest unassuming style of poetry which he has chosen to adopt. We think, for instance, that Mr. Knight is sometimes too easily contented with the first expression that comes to hand; as well as too prone to take up metaphorical forms of speech, which though hacknied and worn down by frequent use, are, originally, of too strong a cast to admit of being employed on light occasions. The Muse would be too much indulged, if, with a free range over the whole region of metaphors, she were not compelled, as the condition of that liberty, to employ them with the most scrupulous propriety.

Mr. Knight must also pardon us if we suspect him of giving way occasionally to a little secret weakness in favour of prettinesses, such as '*in the east display'd, shone warning blushes*'—'*kind as morning's tear*,'—to say nothing of a '*dread illumination*' to be mistaken, by inattentive observers, for '*an extension of the starry sphere*.' The frequent inversion of the verb and substantive may be traced, we suspect, to the same cause.

We could wish that Mr. Knight had been as attentive in marking the shades of difference between individuals of the same moral class, as he has been careful to seize the less delicate distinctions of national peculiarity. Abdallagh and Ilderim, Azza and Elmyra, Mohareb and Alashtar, when considered with respect to each other, have, in our opinion, too many qualities in common to allow of standing out respectively with that degree of boldness which is necessary for the arresting and enchaining of the attention. It may be objected that in less refined stages of society, although the simple passions and dispositions may be more strongly pronounced, and the difference, for example, between the brave and the timid, the impetuous and the gentle, more striking, yet nicer varieties of character calculated to distinguish different individuals of the same general class are hardly to be found. In fact, wherever the modes of life are simple, and the prevailing ideas less intricate, the human character is at one and the same time both less controuled and less modified, and consequently, more prominent in its grand divisions, and less various in the smaller

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smaller ones. Our author is welcome to the full advantage of this metaphysical defence; but we shall nevertheless continue to regret the want observable in several parts of his volume, of that particular sort of sustained discrimination, which we have just pointed out, as we are convinced that it involves one of the principal means of exciting pathetic feelings, and attaching interest to fictitious circumstances.

ART. VIII.—*Political Essays, with Sketches of Public Characters.* By William Hazlitt. London. 8vo. pp. 439.

THIS writer 'cloys with a sameness.' He might have owned of, nearly, all his volume what he owns of one leaf; that 'it is strange, but not new; and that he has said it all before.'—It is seldom, however, that something may not be learned by observing the insects of the moral world as well as those of the animal kingdom, and it is fortunate that they are tempted to exhibit themselves. It would be worth any money to our farmers if the turnip fly would shew itself before it settled on the plant; or to the inhabitants of either India, if the white ants would make their attacks without covered ways. Happily our author has no relation to either of those families; the *sphinx atropos*, or death's head hawk-moth, a less powerful creature, bears some resemblance to him. Its favourite object is, always, the plunder of a hive, and its sole safeguards in accomplishing its purpose are its startling appearance and disagreeable noise. This process of attack is evidently imitated in the alarming account which the author gives of the properties of the *genus* to which it is his boast to belong.

'To be a true Jacobin a man must be a good hater; but this is the most difficult and the least amiable of all the virtues; the most trying and the most thankless of all tasks. The love of liberty consists in the hatred of tyrants. The true Jacobin hates the enemies of liberty as they hate liberty, with all his strength and with all his might, and with all his heart and with all his soul. His memory is as long and his will as strong as theirs, though his hands are shorter; he never forgets or forgives an injury done to the people, for tyrants never forget or forgive one done to themselves. There is no love lost between them. He does not leave them the sole benefit of their old motto, *odia in longum jaciens quæ reconderet auctaque promeret.* He makes neither peace nor truce with them. His hatred of wrong only ceases with the wrong. The sense of it, and the barefaced assumption of the right to inflict it, deprives him of his rest. It stagnates in his blood—it loads his heart with aspics tongues deadly to venal pens. It settles on his brain—it puts him beside himself.'—p. 167.

This display seems to us to be sufficiently hideous to drive from him even the kindred swarms that, like himself, are on the wing

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wing for mischief. If indeed there was any bond of union amongst these bad things they would threaten us with serious calamities; but a wise providence limits them to paltry mischief, by introducing amongst them a confusion of evil purposes. This is felt, and bitterly felt, by Mr. Hazlitt. Franklin said that he met persons in the world whom he conceived to be already placed in a state of damnation.* Dante mingled with the infernal crew the spirits of some whose bodies still walked the earth; and there is a convulsive agony in the view which this writer takes of the peaceful security of those whom he would pull down, and of the dissolute abandonment of those from whom alone he can hope for alliance, which might induce a belief that the fiction of the poet, and the fancy of the philosopher have some foundation in reality.†

We believe that since we last noticed Mr. Hazlitt, he has manifested great wrath against us; and, as we are not conscious of any growing desire to conceal the unqualified detestation which we have always entertained, and which we still entertain, for the spirit which pervades his volumes, it is probable that the quicksilver of his feelings will stand as much above *temperate* after he shall have read these pages, as before. How this may be we are not very solicitous to know: we mention his indignation for the purpose only of pointing out, with more effect, the ludicrous egotism which has driven this forlorn drudge of the Examiner into a belief that it is his prerogative to abuse whom he will, and the privilege of all the world to submit in silence: he lays claim to an autocracy of malediction. His delusion upon this point is the nearest approach which we have observed, amongst persons who go at large, to the straw crowns and sceptres of Moorfields. There are few characters in England of distinguished eminence whom he has not slandered; and yet he is thrown into a transport of fury if he is told that he is wrong; if he is reasoned with, laughed at, or reminded of what he is doing and of what he is. We are unable to account for this hallucination in any other way than by supposing that Mr. Hunt, who revived the Institution of King Arthur's Round Table, and who seems, at length, to have fought his way to the undisturbed possession of the Throne of Cockney, has erected the ward of Billinsgate into a sort of county palatine, for this his 'chivalrous' squire; and that the ceremony of investiture has turned the new dignitary's brains. Some instances of the freaks to which we have alluded will be found in our review of the Round Table.‡

We thought, at one time, of forming a complete list of those

* Private Correspondence, vol. i. p. 82.
† Page xx. and xxx. *note.*
‡ No. XXXIII. p. 134.

whom

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whom Mr. Hazlitt has traduced; but we soon found that an illustration of it would exceed the limits which we must assign to these remarks. The following names occur to us at once: Pitt, Fox, Burke, the Marquis Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, and all other ministers of course; Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Paley, Mr. Malthus, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Southey, Mr. Coleridge. That we may not be accused of doing him any injustice, we must add the list of those on whom he bestows his admiration. It will not take up much room, and comprizes, we believe, only Buonaparte, 'the very god,' Mr. Hazlitt says, 'of his idolatry,' Murat, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. John Hunt, Mr. Leigh Hunt, and one other whom we should wish to see in more respectable company. For the general complexion of this man's slander we must refer again to our review of the Round Table; but we will here add a few instances to those before adduced. The subject of the first extract is the kind-hearted and venerable Paley; for Mr. Hazlitt, as we know, wars with the dead.—Listen!—

'This same shuffling divine is the same Dr. Paley who afterwards employed the whole of his life, and the whole of his moderate second-hand abilities in tampering with religion, morality, and politics—in trimming between his convenience and his conscience—in crawling between heaven and earth and trying to cajole both.'—p. 298.

The subject of the second is He, who was the first to confound the armies of Buonaparte;—who rid Spain and Portugal of their devouring enemies;—who led the English forces across the Pyrenees;—who marched them in triumph into Paris;—who fettered the Tyrant;—who saved the world at Waterloo.—Listen again!

'We are glad the Duke is not an Englishman. Let no country go about to enslave another with impunity: for out of the very dregs of rottenness and debasement will arise a low creeping fog of servility—a stench of corruption to choak the life of liberty wherever it comes—a race of fortune hunting, dastard, busy, hungry, heartless slaves and blood suckers, eager to fawn upon power and trample upon weakness, with no other pretensions than want of principle, and a hatred of those who possess what they want. Ireland has given us Castlereagh, Wellington, Burke:—is she not even with us? Ireland, last of the nations, repose in peace upon thy green western wave. Thou and the world are quits.'—p. 182.

When Mr. Hazlitt can no longer find individuals on whom he may lavish the language of his palatinate, he bespatters parties and professions.

'A Tory is not a man, but a beast. He is styed in his prejudices—he wallows in the mire of his senses—he cannot get beyond the trough of his sordid appetites, whether it is of gold or wood. Truth and falsehood

hood are to him something to buy and sell: principle and conscience something to eat and drink. He tramples on the plea of humanity, and lives like a caterpillar on the decay of public good. Beast as he is, he knows,' &c.—p. xxvi.

'A Whig is properly what is called a Trimmer—that is, a coward to both sides of the question; who dare not be a knave nor an honest man; but is a sort of whiffling, shuffling, cunning, silly, contemptible, unmeaning negation of the two.' 'He stickles for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, and abandons its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute.'—p. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Of the abstract character of a lawyer he says,

'His soul is in his fee. His understanding is upon the town.' 'He will not swear to an untruth to get himself hanged, but he will assert it roundly by the hour together to hang other persons——if he finds it in his retainer.'

'What a tool in the hands of a minister is a whole profession habitually callous to the distinctions of right and wrong, but perfectly alive to their own interest; with just ingenuity enough to be able to trump up some fib or sophistry for or against any measure, and with just understanding enough to see no more of the real nature or consequences of any measure than suits their own or their employers convenience.'—pp. 151, 152.

In the midst of these effusions we confess we were surprized, notwithstanding our previous experience, at the sight of the following veracious assertion. '*We do not wish to say any thing illiberal of any profession or set of men in the abstract.*'—p. 153. Truth is represented naked. Her antagonist resembles her so far, at least, that she too is sometimes barefaced.

'Man,' says Mr. Hazlitt, (and it must be allowed, that he is a competent witness as to the taste and propensities of one individual of the species,) 'is a toad-eating animal.'

Any of our readers who will bear in mind this charitable definition, and what the author has in other places said of Burke, may, by turning to p. 361. of these valuable essays, amuse themselves by an instance of that uniformity of thought, which, as Butler remarks, 'we may always expect to meet with in the compositions of the same author, when he writes with simplicity and in earnest.' They will there find a long and laboured eulogy on Burke, in which it is made one of the chief articles of praise, that 'he thought nobly of his fellows.'

The character of Murat is another instance of the same sincerity of heart, and clearness of spirit. 'Murat was *senseless* enough to believe that he, who had been made a king by Buonaparte, would be cordially received in the list of kings by those who were so by divine right: and he was *base* enough to turn against *his benefactor, his country and the human race:* but *in himself*,

he appears to have been a *gallant, generous, and heroic-minded* man.'—p. 175.

That so misty a brain should be disturbed by spectres, is not to be wondered at: and there is one which seems to torment our author to a degree, that must make his bitterest enemies pity him. Poor Tom never saw the foul fiend in so many or such fearful shapes. Some of our readers may be learned in dæmonology, and for their sakes we insert the most striking descriptions given by Mr. Hazlitt, of his Phantom, which he calls 'Legitimacy.' It is 'an ugly spider'—'a new Jaggernaut'—'a foul blatant beast, breathing flame and blood'—'an old lady, with a tissue of patches and of paint, and a quantity of wrinkles, and of proud flesh'—'an old hypocritical hag—a vile canting, mumbling witch;—an old rotten demirep; who towered above the conflagration of Moscow, dressed in a robe of flame coloured taffeta;' and who 'exenterates' Mr. Hazlitt 'of his affections.'—p. 308. We wish the fiend joy of her prize.—There is something, however, in these wanderings of the author which is symptomatic of mania, and rather tragical. It is time to look for the farce. At the close of another publication, in which he is more than commonly ridiculous, we are favoured with the writer's own opinion of himself, and he therein gravely informs the world that the object of his literary labours is the fame 'of a Pascal, a Leibnitz, or a Berkeley!' and plainly intimates that he expects to be classed with them after his death. There is something beyond all farce or caricature in this angry buffoon's self-satisfied assumption of a seat amongst these three great men, whom Religion, Genius, Philosophy and Science raised almost above the nature of mortals—and this too, immediately after a more striking display than we remember to have seen elsewhere of Mr. Hazlitt's peculiarities. We doubt whether a Dutch sign-painter would make his own apotheosis equally ludicrous: even if he were to depict himself recumbent at the table of the Gods, with trunk hose, grasping a tobacco-pipe with one hand, and striving to purple his lips in nectar with the other.

Having got this slanderer of the human race in an attitude, in which it is possible to smile at him, we willingly leave him there. He ought to feel obliged to us. Many will think that we have, on this and other occasions, wasted more time on him than he deserved. We are ourselves of that opinion: but when the Hazlitt first appeared within our province, it struck us that it was of a new species; its activity, disagreeable hum, and glittering blackness—but, above all, the value of the objects, which it seemed to be its nature to defile, excited our attention. We did not know, moreover, but that it might then be only in its *larva*,

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larva, or grub state; and there was no saying to what extent, if it should change to the perfect *image*, it might increase its numbers. We confess, however, that we wanted skill in entomology. It is plain that it had reached its perfection when we first noticed it; that its powers of mischief hardly extend beyond the making of some dirt and some noise: that it does not belong to our climate, nor can multiply here; but that its presence is owing to the late extraordinary seasons, which have brought us so many new plagues. Its minutes were nearly over, and it would have perished as the heats declined. Yet, perhaps, it may not be entirely without advantage that we have fastened it down upon a sheet of paper amongst our other specimens.

ART. IX.—*Essays on the Institutions, Government, and Manners of the States of Ancient Greece.* By Henry David Hill, D.D. Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews.

THEY who are conversant with that dark and gloomy period, when it was granted, as a peculiar privilege, to the school of Osnaburgh* to unite instruction in the Greek and Latin languages with the studies intended to advance theological knowledge, can best appreciate the advantages of that powerful reaction in society, which, after suffering for centuries the evils of complete ignorance and the still greater miseries of a partial and imperfect knowledge, concluded by making the study of languages, and more particularly the two just mentioned, the basis of all higher education throughout Europe.

The benefits derived from this system have been too often discussed to render it necessary to repeat them here: but, as persons interested in the question, we may be permitted to add one not always included in the estimate.—The nightingales, which sang near the tomb of Orpheus, felt it incumbent on them, according to the testimony of Pausanias, to sing with more sweetness and force than other birds of the same species; and a similar sort of feeling generally leads men, who have grown up with the appalling models of perfection of ancient literature before them, to prefer a prudent silence, where they cannot elicit from themselves something of more than common excellence. With few authors therefore, there exist, among this class of men, admirable judges of authorship, and severe and even fastidious readers, from whose minds the fallacies which dazzle or confound the intellects of the half-learned roll 'like winter-drops from eaves of reed.' Critical journalists, who have so many webs of ignorance and

* Brucker De Philosoph. Christ. Occident.

deception to unravel and expose, may safely leave then the underraters of the advantages derived from an acquaintance with the Greek and Roman writers, to enjoy their own triumph. It was a triumph confined for some time, in our own country, to a sect, whose tenets in religion are as offensive to the understanding as the phraseology in which they are conveyed is repulsive to the taste. But the same opinions seem now to be taken up by a different set of men. A political party, which has yet its fortune to make in the world, has found out that the youth of this kingdom have been villainously corrupted by the erection of grammar schools. Cordery and Huntingford have accordingly become to these men what the retainers of Lord Stafford, who talked of such abominations as a verb and a noun, were to Jack Cade: and were they possessed of equal authority with that sturdy rebel, we believe the fiat of condemnation with some of them would be precisely the same—*Away with him, away with him, he speaks Latin!*

We turn gladly from persons of this stamp, whom the contempt of the well-informed will always keep in the place to which they belong, to those who, grateful for the advantages derived by themselves from early initiation in classical knowledge, endeavour to make others participators in the same benefit. The piety of the Chinese lights up a perpetual lamp in the tombs of those whom he recognises as the authors of his existence. The scholar feels bound in the same way not to let the shades of night enter those sepulchres, where repose

> 'The dead but scepter'd sov'reigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns.'

The little publication before us has been framed in the spirit of this principle. It contains the substance of some lectures delivered to the professor's academical pupils, and is the effect of more reading than the unpretending manner in which it is communicated might at first lead to imagine. To young persons who are just entering upon the higher classics, and to studious men who are desirous of repairing, by their own industry, the accidental defects of an imperfect education, a more useful assistant, we think, cannot well be furnished. In the first six essays, the author treats of the heroic age, and those institutions which concerned the Greeks generally; in the subsequent ones he confines himself to the manners and customs of those two leading states in Greece, which, as intellect or morals, a taste for the arts of peace or war, have severally most influence on men's minds, will command a corresponding effect on nations and individuals throughout all ages. An Essay on the Government, Manners and Religion of the Persians, a people whom the more brilliant history of the Greeks has been suffered to throw too much into obscurity,

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scurity, very properly concludes the work. The style throughout is neat, easy and perspicuous; the text (as we always wish to see it in elementary works) is undisturbed by notes; but at the end of every Essay is subjoined a list of authorities, confirming the opinion which the author has advanced in it, and affording references to works in which the subject of each essay may be still further prosecuted.

We believe we have now said all that is necessary on this publication; it aspires to no novelty of communication, and on the subject which more particularly induced us to take it up, it is almost entirely defective. The professor will, of course, plead the nature of his audience for the omission; and, in truth, a treatise on the state of female society in Greece was a delicate subject to handle before persons, whose age requires no additional ferment, and who might not reason quite so sensibly on the state of their minds, as Pantagruel did on the frame of his body. 'When *he* saw that the scholars of Thoulouse had a trick of burning their regents alive, like hed herrings, he had the prudence to decamp instantly; for, said he, I am by nature sufficiently dry, and there is no occasion for my being heated any further.' A work, however, addressed to general readers, lies under no such restriction. Wine and women, says a Spanish proverb, are what men chuse to make them; and both enter too much into the daily calls of life not to render it a matter of anxiety to collect all the receipts that can be found for the composition of such important articles: we shall therefore contribute our mite to supply what we should consider a deficiency in any other than an elementary treatise.

Whoever has given much attention to the affairs of Greece, and more particularly to the affairs of that country which comprehended the most important part of it, viz. the Athenian, cannot fail, we think, to have been struck by a principle, running very strongly through all her relations both natural and acquired, domestic and foreign, and which may be called the principle of contrast. It began with that which, in the opinion of the author of the Spirit of Laws, almost decided at once the character of a nation, viz. the climate. Beautiful in her springs, when all the enchanting* descriptions of her poets were more than realized, the summers

* See the Ευιππου, ξενε, τασδε χωρας, in the Œdipus Colonæus of Sophocles, and the beautiful chorus, Ερεχθειδαι το παλαιον ολβιοι, in the Medea of Euripides. A diseased mind (and the lessons of the sophists had evidently disordered the mind of Euripides) which cannot throw itself back upon a moral beauty within, repairs its flagging powers at the altar of nature; and no worshipper was ever more sincere than this poet. The golden sun of Greece absolutely burns in his verse, and *to live* is, with him, more particularly, 'to see the light, which the fiery chariot of the God of day throws over his starry road,' (in Helenâ, v. 340.) He revels in his country's climate, and her magnificent

summers of Athens, like those of Greece in general, were excessive in their heat, her winters rigorous in their cold. The cool breezes of the Cephisus were succeeded by the pestiferous blasts of the Sciron, or Sirocco; and sudden and awful tempests recalled very sensibly the past pleasures of vernal serenity. The Athenian, who, in the summer season, exposed himself naked at the public games, wore a long mantle of wool in the winter, like his neighbour the Bœotian, who, in a latitude more southern than Naples, was obliged to fence out the cold by a dress not very dissimilar to that worn by the Laplander and the Samoyede. A difference of soil formed the same contrast to the eye, as that of climate to the senses. Deep vallies, receiving and transmitting, like mirrors, the heat of the sun, and high mountains, some of them covered with perpetual snow, formed the general aspect of the continent of Greece; and Attica did not much differ, in this respect, from her neighbours: though there were numerous points of contrast peculiar to herself. On a space of land, not exceeding two of our largest counties, might be seen three distinct races of men, forming in their habits, pursuits, and inclinations, almost as great a diversity, as with Athenian ingenuity for its common basis, might be found between a Swiss, an Englishman, and a native of Paris: these were the Diacrian, or man of the mountain, the Paralian, or native of the sea-shore, and the Pedian, or inhabitant of the plain. The metropolis, which belonged to this varied people, presented varieties as striking as any which the surrounding country afforded; a free population and an enslaved; the latter in proportion to the former as twenty to one: a native population and an alien; the latter to the former as one to three; public buildings, most magnificent, and private edifices as despicably mean; temples and statues in profusion, and no supply of one of the most necessary conveniencies of common life, water; porticos crowded with paintings, and a stream which the citizens were obliged daily to wade through for want of a bridge! That the citizens of such a metropolis should present no very consistent appearance was in the very nature of things; and

cent scenery floats ever before his imagination. For the nightingale he has all the passionate fondness of Milton, and, like him, he usually represents its notes as the notes of mourning. He has transplanted into his dramas all the picturesque scenery of Greece; and that amplification of geographical knowledge, which conveys the idea of a poetical omnipresence, exists in him as it does in the author of Marmion and the Lady of the Lake. A mixture of the sombre and the gay in natural objects runs through his choral odes, with the most delightful variety—deep grottoes and limpid streams—dark pines and white swans—the Eurotas with its yellow waters and green flags—fauns chasing nymphs,—the sound of flutes upon the mountain-tops—aërial beings dancing by moon-light—heads and bosoms adorned with flowers, and roses gathered to form the chaplets of the gods, are images forever occurring in the songs, where Euripides takes leave of his often impertinent and sometimes mischievous dialogue.

accordingly

accordingly we find that it is difficult to speak of the common Athenians (the class best known to us) without deviating into antitheses, which might appear almost affected: lordly beggars who were glad to earn three obols a day, and who dethroned the Great King; patriots who insisted upon ribaldry from their comic writers, and put the interpreter of the Persian king's ambassador to death, because he had defiled the Greek language by explaining the orders of a barbarian; ferocious sentimentalists who wept, as Isocrates declares, at the fictitious woes of the tragedians, and in the severest calamities of war felt more exultation in witnessing the distresses of their neighbours, than pleasure in a sense of their own blessings!

The love of contrast engendered by these peculiarities, nature seemed determined to call into complete action, by bringing the Athenians into contact with two nations as opposite in government, natural dispositions, and acquired habits as the conception can well frame to itself. Sanguine, restless, and impatient; acute, lively, inquisitive, and loquacious; keenly susceptible of all those pleasures which are derived from the interchange of thought, and exquisitely alive to the beautiful productions of genius and art, the native of Attica saw himself placed by the side of the cool and calculating Lacedæmonian; and affected to view with surprise a nation which in conversation used no more words than were absolutely necessary, wrote no books, had no theatrical entertainments, tolerated neither poets nor actors, neither musicians nor philosophers, and, far from seeking opportunities of introducing foreign refinements among them, like their neighbours, made the exclusion of strangers one of the most binding of their statutes. If the wit of the Athenians could turn some points of the character of such a nation into ridicule; if they could make merry with a people who carried a degree of ferocity into their virtue, and of pedantry into their military science; and whose government was injured by the inconvenient virtue of inflexibility; yet—sober-minded, measuring their virtues by their duties and their desires by their necessities; never displaying that spirit of vanity, which after exhausting admiration, is sure to end in the exaction of the most submissive deference; never wanting in that regard for public opinion, which supplies the place of higher feeling, enough remained on the side of the Spartans, to command the respect of a state, which, thoughtless and conceited as it often shewed itself, wanted neither that soundness of understanding which grasps the right, nor that delicacy of sentiment which frequently so well supplies the place of it. Whatever, therefore, there was of difference between these two nations in a more exclusive preference of letters or arms, of

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naval or land dominion, of democracy or monarchy, and without attempting to strike the balance of superiority between them, it may be observed that, after all the animosities and jealousies which such a difference excited, the Spartan was regarded by the Athenian with something like the feelings which, even at the public games, made him be considered as the great object of attraction, as the being who cherished in his breast all the loftier feelings of emulation which invigorate and dignify existence.

But for the third of the ruling powers, which, turning upon Epaminondas as a fulcrum, was one day to upset Greece, and to give a memorable instance that if matter for a time prevail over mind, the victory is but a temporary one, no such redeeming qualities existed in the mind of an Athenian. To the native of Attica the Bœotian was an object of unmitigated contempt. His large limbs and easy digestion, his numerous feasts, and his full feeding, together with his foggy atmosphere and his coarse dialect, were, to a genuine Athenian, sources of inexhaustible merriment. He ridiculed and abjured his hateful music, he travestied his gods,* and in the most pathetic of his country's tragedies found some consolation for his tears, that it was the crimes and misfortunes of his enemy the Theban, which had caused them to flow. These contrasts of political relations at home were carried to their height by the relations of the Athenians with foreign powers, or, to speak more properly, with the one foreign power which commanded their attention abroad. European skill, discipline, and fortitude have, in all ages, been proverbially opposed to Asiatic numbers, ignorance and effeminacy; and if ever nation had occasion to know and feel the difference between the terms, it was surely the Athenian. The first book which was put into their hands imparted the sensation which the growing knowledge of subsequent life must every day have stamped more strongly on the mind; and we may well imagine the truth of what Isocrates assures us, that the Iliad of Homer was particularly acceptable to an Athenian, because it fed and supported all those feelings of contrasts, which his pride led him to discern between himself and a Persian. Well-informed and more discerning minds saw, perhaps, other differences besides these vulgar ones; but the tranquillity and security of a Persian subject compared with the turbulence and inquietude of Grecian democracies, the moderate assessments of Persian taxes, compared with the heavy contributions levied on the wealthy Greek, and the rewards which, in the one country, attended superior merit, so different from the exile and the

* Hercules, the favourite divinity of the Thebans, was generally the *gourmand* of the Greek comic stage.

ostracism

ostracism which depressed it in the other; formed points of contrast on which it was not safe to dwell much in the suspicious metropolis of Attica. We shall not trace this principle in the Athenians through the contrasts of their music, their metaphysics, their general system of education, their government, and a multitude of others which will suggest themselves to the reader; —but on those of their dramatic entertainments, which, as being more peculiarly their own growth, afforded the Athenians such a mixture of pride* and pleasure, we must be allowed a few words.

When we consider the deep sensibilities of the Athenian character, it often becomes a matter of surprise, that her tragic poets should have made an instrument, which was so easily put in motion, vibrate to tones of such solemn and sober sound, as they commonly did. To give a Muscovite sensation, says a sprightly French writer, you must flay him alive. In intellectual sensibilities, we suspect, that we are all Muscovites, in comparison with the Athenians.† The corpse-bearers of Orlando were known to be angels *by the trembling of their wings*; and as far as mere susceptibility is considered the natives of Attica were of something more than earthly mold. Yet to a people thus nicely organized, were offered dramatic fables, which, from their general construction, must have produced feelings the most gloomy and distressing. The poet told them (and his sentiments were conveyed through a numerous CHORUS, whose strong and nervous voices, melting into one key of common sympathy, left none of these forcible remarks unimpressed on the audience) that man was an ephemeral being, the shadow of a shade, a dream, a nothing. The little span of life, allowed him, was pronounced to be one entire scene of misery, without respite, without remission; or if a passing gleam of hope was occasionally held out, it was with a warning of its delusive-

* Plato somewhere observes, that a person with any talent for the drama was as well received at Athens, as a man distinguished for military skill was at Sparta.

† A story recorded by Athenæus (lib. ix. 407.) will set this in its proper light. When the news of that terrible defeat which the Athenians sustained under Nicias in Sicily, first arrived in Athens, the people were all assembled in the theatre, where one of those dramatic pieces, more particularly called Parodies, was performing. It was by a favourite author, (Hegemon,) and the spectators were indulging in all those transports of gaiety which the humour of the play provoked. Suddenly the performance stopped; it was announced from the stage, that the armies of Athens had sustained a defeat which would cover half her citizens with mourning. What a moment! and how did the audience behave on the occasion? They remained fixt in their places: they covered their faces with their mantles, and dropt a few silent tears to the memory of fathers, brothers and friends now no more: they then ordered the piece to proceed, and, it is to be presumed, entered into it with the same ungoverned transports of delight as before. It should in fairness be added, that many strangers were present, and it was not thought proper to expose the dignity of Athens before the citizens of rival and tributary states.

ness,

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ness, and with an admonition that joy and sorrow tread in a perpetual circle, like the stars which wind their eternal course round the Polar Bear. When the poet looked upon that inextricable maze of events, which we call existence, he declared that he felt all his calculations defeated,* and all his views baffled; the ocean in its stormy convulsions supplying the only picture to his mind, which could parallel a scene so vexatious and harassing, and in that troubled element the storms of life were declared to blow from all points of the compass;† and the auditor of these discouraging sentiments was accordingly advised to sail with the stream,‡ and not to oppose the prow of his vessel to the shock of such conflicting waves. Nor did man in his collective body afford more consoling views. The dreadful pictures, which the Greek republics too often furnished, were grouped into one overwhelming canvass: murders, insurrections, jealousy, battles and seditions occupied the foreground, while in the distance was dimly descried the dreadful pause, which often succeeded to this agitated and feverish being,—old age, powerless and imbecile, impotent to derive comfort from itself, and without attractions to draw consolation from others. The soothing consolation, which Christianity offers by means of a Mediator between human infirmity and Eternal perfection, was unknown to antiquity. The Greek mythology bound the half-divine being, who attempted to alleviate the lot of humanity, to a rock, and scorched and blasted him with consuming fires.

The general construction of the Greek drama rather aggravated than soothed the feelings which such views of the condition of life were calculated to produce. Tragedy, among the Greeks, constituted, indeed, part of a religious ceremony; but religion with them, however it might administer to the senses, offered no relief to those disquieting thoughts, which perplex and harass the human mind. The gods of a Greek were little more than deifications of his own passions, and his mythology was but his philosophy translated into imagery. With a being, subjected to such physical and moral contrasts as we have shewn the Greek to be, the ruling principle would be some hidden and capricious power which seemed to sway the world without any fixed principles of action, and made its own will the standard for happiness and misery, for error and for crime. Destiny accordingly became the predominating genius of the Greek tragedy. This mysterious and arbitrary influence, to which gods and men were alike subjected, was held for ever over the awe-struck auditors,

* Eurip. in Hippol. 1102.
† Soph. in Œdip. Col. 1245.
‡ Eurip. in Troad. 103.

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and as her subordinate ministers, were added those avenging powers, whose very name the trembling Greek hesitated to pronounce,* and whose temples he passed without daring to direct his eye towards them. A tragic stage, thus agitated, required points of relief to an audience so susceptible as the Athenians; and their poets acted accordingly. The two greatest of their dramatists, whose fables lie almost exclusively within the circle of Destiny,† have thrown the repose upon the CHORUS; and what to unreflecting minds has seemed mere phlegm and apathy in that body, was in fact the suggestion of a consummate knowledge of the dramatic art. Prescient of what is to happen, yet dealing out only dark and short hints—confirming gradually what the victim, often of unintentional guilt, begins to suspect, and confirming it out of his own mouth—in all the contrast of comparative innocence and security from those evils which are soon to burst in thunder upon the devoted heads of the higher persons of the drama, the chorus stands in its repose and security to the mind, what the chef-d'œuvre of Smeaton does to the eye, amid the shock of conflicting elements. Euripides, who trod a less elevated walk of the drama than his predecessors, could allow more agitation to his CHORUS; and he has thrown the repose upon situations of unspeakable beauty. Sometimes it was conveyed in mere description. In deeper tragedies, the repose is frequently sustained by characters perfectly mute. The children of Medea are brought before her: they say nothing; but they smile for the last time. The lovely Astyanax in the Andromache is equally silent, but he grasps his mother's hands and her robes; and maternal feeling can never go beyond that burst of undefinable affection, ω χρωτος ἡδυ πνευμα!

Such were some of the reliefs which the Greek tragedy furnished: that they were insufficient for an audience so susceptible, will be easily imagined. The agonized spectator, therefore, rushed from the 'dreadful deeds‡ and dreadful compensations' of his country's tragedy, to the 'devices quaint, and frolics ever new,' which trod on each other's heels in his country's comedy. It was a quick transition from the dark dreams of Destiny to the certainties of physical enjoyment; from what was ideal to what was tangible—from the heroic life to the ordinary—from elegance and sublimity, if the reader will, to coarseness and buffoonery; but previous agitation requires that the comic stage should be the

* Sophocl. in Œdip. Col. 128.

† In Æschylus and Sophocles Destiny is the animating principle of whole plays; Euripides rather delights to talk of it, than to act upon it.

‡ Επραξε δεινα, δεινα δ' ανταδικα. Eurip. in Electr. 952. This line contains a complete definition of the Greek tragedy.

flight

flight of life and not its regulation: the best music, a
of a tragic tetralogue, was the sound of an Oberon's
Old Comedy, therefore, from the Athenian love of
naturally out of the elevation and sombre views
We now hasten to apply this principle to the subj
mediately before us.

The eccentricities of a certain noble family gave
liar expression, that there were three sorts of cre
the world; men, women, and the particular family
Athens, from the time of Pericles, there might
same manner to be three distinct races of beings;
and what, for want of a more appropriate name, w
sent call courtezans. In this division of the sex, to t
were consigned, with the usual Athenian love of c
ment, constraint, ignorance, and—legal respect;
freedom, education, accomplishments, and—contem
the business of the subsequent remarks to justif
these two positions.

Of the first and better sort of women, we have no
gathering any thing more than a mere negative know
is the institutions of their country which have left
in abeyance. The best woman, says Thucydides, i
of an Athenian, is she of whom least is said eithe
good or harm. The greatest ornament to a wo
theatre proclaimed, is silence. 'My wife abroad!'
theatre, in the language of common life; 's'death a
does she from home?'*

The following dialogue between an Athenian
a reforming female, of whom more notice will be t
paints, no doubt, to the life the behaviour of the c
nians in their domestic relations.† The reader
goodness to accept our version, (for the play w
lated,) in which we have been chiefly solicitous to
lity with as much of the spirit of the original as
with the respect due to national manners.

Lys. Last war,—
Whatever your resolves—(can you deny it?)
Still to our husbands' pleasure we submitted:
'For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.'
Our tongues indeed were lock'd; 'twas made a
Almost to breathe;—ill suited this a sex,
Who every action scann'd with nice observance.
Well—ever and anon we heard it rumour'd,
That matter of high import was before you,

* Arist. in Thesmoph. † Lysist.

And still 'twas added, that ill counsel won
The prize from purposes of better moment.
Though sick at heart to hear it—we put smiles
Into the face, and frequent question'd you—
'The House, if I mistake not, met to-day:
How went the votes?—shall we have peace?' "Bah! Silence!"
Was the rough answer—"peace or war, what matters it
To you?" Silence was bid, and I kept quietness.

Female Ch. So had not I, though I had choak'd for it.

Mag. And choak thou hadst, hadst thou exchang'd one syllable.

Lys. Well, sir, I kept my house, and kept—my tongue.
Worse counsels followed these, and worse, and rumour
Still bore them to my ears; then I: "What humour
Pricks you, my gentle husband, to this fashion,
That all your actions bear the stamp of folly?"
He, with his eyes askew, made answer thus:
"Look to your distaff, dame! or worse will follow—
Leave war and its concerns to men."

Mag. By Jupiter!
His answer stood with reason.

Lys. So does not thine, vile puckfist! Reason! quoth-a?
No; reason would have taught a better lesson.
'Who counsels ill himself,' she says, 'should drop
The trade, and gather wisdom from another.'
At last it was the common talk o'th' streets—
'The city's wholly gone—the race of men
Is obsolete—extinct—not one is left us!
Reports like these begot new thoughts among us—
We met in congress—'twas decreed, *nem. con.*
That if salvation yet remain'd for Greece,
Our hands must compass it; and that the deed
Allow'd nor breathing time, nor dallying.
And now resolve me,—you, sir, with the grave
And sapient face—will you be counselled?
Are you content to gather wholesome wisdom,
And take her at our hands; and practise silence
As we ourselves were wont? for this alone,
We have resolv'd, can save your town from ruin.'

The artist copied the man of letters, and the celestial Venus with her foot upon a tortoise, in opposition to the Venus Popularis mounted on a ram, reminded the Grecian beauty of what in male eyes constituted her chief excellence. Even the tomb was no refuge from the persecuting emblems which admonished woman of her domestic duties. The bird of night, a muzzle and a pair of reins, so often seen upon Grecian sepulchres, were emblems which at once recorded the merits of the accomplished housewife interred within, and reminded the indolent, that the main excellencies to which a virtuous woman could aspire, were—to emulate the

the owl in watchfulness,—to keep her mouth guarded, and to rule her family with the same dexterity as the charioteer guided his wheels at the public games.

Had home been the scene of complete dominion, unbounded sway might have compensated for the absence of other privileges; but whatever was the authority vested in the mistress of a family over the numerous slaves, who composed an Athenian establishment, the utmost deference which she exacted from them, was only a pattern to herself of the submission which she was bound to pay to her imperious lord. How far a thorough-paced wife thought herself bound to concede to her husband in actions, Euripides has enabled us to judge by some curious examples: his great predecessor had previously laid down the duties of her feelings, in images which are now grown somewhat trite to modern ears, but which, at any rate, will better bear repeating than those to which we have just alluded.

> Faithful—as dog, the lonely shepherd's pride,
> True—as the helm, the bark's protecting guide,
> Firm—as the shaft that props the towering dome,
> Sweet—as to shipwreck'd seamen land and home,
> Lovely—as child, a parent's sole delight,
> Radiant—as morn that breaks a stormy night,
> Grateful—as streams, that in some deep recess
> With rills unhop'd the panting traveller bless,
> Is he, that links with mine his chain of life,
> Names himself lord, and deigns to call me—wife.*

Such were the virtues inculcated in Grecian women—such the language in which Grecian husbands were pleased to be addressed. The admonitions recommending privacy and retirement were received with so much docility, that, but for a little treatise left us by Xenophon, it might almost be thought that the wish of the tragic misogynist had actually been accomplished, that a complete annihilation† had fallen upon the female sex, and that heaven had found out some means of continuing the human race without their intervention. We think we can command the reader's attention to a short analysis of this treatise, by premising that it comes recommended to us under the authority of Socrates. A descent from such lofty speculations as usually occupied his thoughts to a disquisition upon household affairs might well justify the antique gem, which, as typical of his power to grapple with the largest as well as the minutest objects, represented this great master of wisdom with an elephant's trunk.

Socrates, it appears from this interesting little work, had heard much talk in Athens of one Isconiachus. Men, women, citi-

* Soph. Agam. † Eurip. in Medeâ, 574. in Hippolyto, 616.

zens

zens and strangers, all agreed in opinion that this person (would that to his other merits, he had added a name somewhat more euphonious!) was a perfect gentleman. The character was by no means common in Athens, and to a philosopher, like Socrates, every peculiarity in the species was of course an object of curiosity and speculation. He accordingly lies in wait for an opportunity of conversing with this mirror of gentility, and a lucky accident at last throws him upon the object of his search. To accost him, to address him by name, and in a moment to be putting questions, which it might be supposed a long acquaintance only could have justified, were either traits of character peculiar to Socrates, or belonged to that republican freedom of speech which overleaps the fences of modern politeness and reserve. The conversation therefore soon slips into the channel into which the philosopher wished to direct it,—viz. the domestic establishment of Iscomachus. The answers elicited give us more knowledge on the subject of female education than any other work of antiquity with which we are acquainted. It appears from the dialogue that the lady of this Athenian with the hard name was barely fifteen when she took upon herself the duties of a mistress of a family; that till the time of her marriage, she had lived under a *surveillance* which the severity of a nunnery could hardly exceed; the organs of sight, hearing and speech having been strictly restrained, and the whole care of her friends, as she ingenuously confesses to her husband, confined to letting her see as little, hear as little, and ask questions as little as possible.

A young person, whose education had been thus negative, was not likely to bring with her a dowry of many accomplishments, and the merest boarding-school girl will accordingly hear with contempt, that all the qualifications of this promising bride consisted in being able to make a vest when the materials were put into her hands, and to overlook her maid-servants when they were set to their tasks. She was temperate however, and sober, or, as these rough republicans expressed it, 'in matters which concerned the belly, she had been well disciplined;' and out of these slender materials was to be framed the head of a wealthy Athenian family. A modern householder might have been thrown into despair; but Iscomachus was of an active turn of mind; he was not easily discouraged by difficulties, and he accordingly set his shoulder to the wheels. Conscious that he was undertaking a task of no common magnitude, he begins his labours by a sacrifice to the gods, and a prayer for assistance; arguing, like a wise and pious man, as he was, that no better means existed for ascertaining what was fittest for the preceptor to teach and the pupil to learn. The bride assisted in the solemn

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solemn rite, and, as Iscomachus acknowledges, was all that her future instructor could desire;—anxious to fulfil her duties, full of promises to use her best endeavours, and inspired with all proper feeling of obsequiousness to the person who thus late in life undertook to teach her young ideas how to shoot. (The listening Socrates here professes an extreme anxiety to know how the labours of the preceptor commenced, and declares with warmth, that the sight of the best possible exhibition in the gymnasium or the race-course would afford him much less pleasure.) It is to be presumed that Iscomachus took his pupil in hand, while her mind was yet warm with the imposing ceremony at which she had been present: his own answer, however, certainly refers to a later date, and such was the degraded estimate of female character in Athens, that we fear it was not merely from association of ideas, that his answer is conveyed in terms of the manege or menagerie, and that he speaks of his wife as we should speak of a young colt.* 'When I found her well in hand, supple and tractable, and so as to be conversable,' (to be *produceable* was a labour which the fashion of the times did not impose,) 'I put to her,' says the husband, 'the following question: Tell me, my dear wife, have you ever reflected on the causes, motives and reasons, which induced your parents to consign you to me, and induced me to accept you as a wife from their hands?' A person, whose education had been so confined as we have stated, might with dramatic propriety be painted rather as a listener than a partaker in a discourse, which ran upon topics of this kind. The young lady accordingly hears, but gives no sign that they had ever made part of her thoughts. It is one of the properties, however, of that delightful sex, who, as it has been well said, expose their own lives to give birth to others, to commence a new existence with the maternal duties, and to feel wants for their offspring, of which they had not been sensible in themselves. Her husband accordingly has a very willing listener, while he enters into a philosophical inquiry, as to the causes of that nuptial yoke, which brings two people together, and which, accordingly as it is borne, contributes so much to the happiness or misery of the joint bearers of it. To continue the succession of inhabitants in the world—to provide solace and support for that long malady of life, old age; to procure sustenance and shelter for those two-footed beings, whose appetites are more varied and whose architectural retirements require more solid materials than their four-footed fellow-creatures, are principles of domestic economy, which are pretty visible to

* The Letters of Alciphron use the same language. See p. 195.

the

the meanest capacities; and it must be owing to the young pupil's extreme inexperience, that the husband enters into so prolix an account of them, and of the peculiar wisdom with which Providence has shaped and organised the two sexes for the better furtherance of them.

Having delivered a long lecture on the common duties of the two sexes, the husband-preceptor returns to that which he thinks more peculiarly the duty of a woman, that of not gadding abroad; and he concludes with proposing the queen-bee, in all its qualities, active, sedentary, public and private, as an admirable example of the disposition, which should belong to the mistress of a family. The young lady, however, was not much versed in apiaries, and when the properties and cares of this industrious little animal are explained to her at considerable length, she exclaims with an evident feeling of alarm, 'and must all these duties fall upon me?' The duties, which must fall upon you, replies the husband, entering into the whole economy of a Grecian housewife, are to abide *within doors*; to send to their labour such of the servants as have out-door occupations, and to superintend those whose labours are confined to the house. All that is brought in, you must receive; what is necessary for immediate use you must distribute; and where there is an overplus, it will be left to your foresight and caution to beware, that what ought to be the consumption of a year is not made the waste of a month. It will further rest with you to see that the wool, which is brought in, be converted into clothes, and that the corn be in a proper state to furnish the family with provision.'—The pupil listens, it is to be hoped, with attention, but certainly in silence, to these *injunctions*; but nature and the sex immediately break out, when to this catalogue of duties is added that, which the harder mind of her husband seems to think will sit least easy upon her—the care of the infirm and the indisposed, who considering the immense number of slaves, often comprehended in the establishment of a wealthy Athenian, must frequently have amounted to a considerable number. 'So help me God,' she exclaims with a pardonable vivacity, 'it is the most pleasing of all occupations, and I look for no other reward than the gratitude and increased good will of those who fall under my care!' This burst of feeling was not lost upon her husband; but man reasons rather than feels, and *Iscomachus* returns to his apiaries and his queen-bee.—It was time however for the first lecture to come to a conclusion; and as that speaker ill knows his duty, who does not endeavour to finish with a favourable impression on the mind of his hearer, Iscomachus proceeds to state the various gratifications, which were to make these duties less irksome to his wife. We feel that

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we should consign the lecturer and his pupil to the contempt of modern fine ladies, if we entered into too minute a detail of them; and our limits forbid us to follow him through his second campaign: his discourse upon order, his detail of the various causes, by which a kind of beau ideal of the beauty of arrangement had been gradually fostered in his own mind, and the ingenuity, with which a sort of dignity is thrown over the meanest branches of household ecomony, and the wife intrapped into her lowest duties by the application of names to stew-pans and pottery, which belonged to the most important political investigations;—all these deserve more notice than we can now give them. The young Iscomacha, instead of resenting some of these instructions as a fastidious modern female would infallibly do, grows absolutely high-minded in the contemplation of her duties; and her magnanimity even stands a test, which we believe formed with many of her countrywomen the only consolation, that their retired habits allowed.

Whatever degree of beauty nature had conferred upon a Grecian woman, she was by no means unwilling to call in art for an accessory. This indeed was not altogether a matter of choice; for a negligence of dress brought the fair sloven under the notice of a magistracy, especially appointed to prevent such offences. The rigour of this tribunal was extreme. A thousand drachmæ were levied for the sin of an head-dress ill arranged; a robe that was not strictly *comme il faut*, incurred a similar penalty; the name of the offender was inscribed on a tablet exposed to public view, and such an exposure was equivalent to a complete loss of character. With such a stimulus it will readily be supposed that the women of Athens rather exceeded than fell short of the views of the legislature on the subject of personal appearance. The catalogue which Plautus gives of the artisans who contributed to the complete adornment of a Grecian lady of fashion, is absolutely formidable; and a fragment of the great comic writer of Athens has bequeathed to us a list of articles, which were to be found at a lady's toilette, many of which, it is to be hoped, are grown obsolete, not merely from lapse of time. Iscomacha, the jewel of housewives, does not appear to have been less guilty on these points than her neighbours. Her husband, to use his own expressions, had found her daubed with much *fard*, 'to make her appear whiter than she really was,' and with much *rouge*, 'to make her appear redder than she really was;' and as a beauty in Greece was the more valuable for being on a large* scale, she had added to these abominations a pair of high-heeled shoes, 'that

* Aristotle de Rhet. Lib. i. c. 5. Homer passim.

she

she might appear taller than she really was.' From the docility, which this exemplary woman has displayed on more important points, the reader will easily believe that she was not invincible even in this:—her abjuration of the practice was indeed almost the immediate result of a proper exposition of its perniciousness, its disingenuousness, and its easiness of detection.

We have left ourselves little room for descanting on the moral and political effects of such a system of education as this; for we may be sure that the routine, to which the wife of a wealthy man, like Iscomachus, was confined, was not enlarged for the wives and daughters of citizens of more moderate fortunes. A writer, (M. de Pauw,) who is accused of being more poetical than philosophical in his researches into ancient history, assures us, that both misogynism and misanthropism prevailed to a considerable extent in Greece. The mode of conducting the education of the two sexes at Athens was entirely calculated to produce both these aberrations of feeling; and if we are not mistaken in our construction of a passage in her great comic poet, these feelings were even fostered by the little tales of the nursery. We shall translate these precursors of the Tabart establishment, some of the materials of which were traced in a former number of this Journal. The leader of the misogynists was one Melanion; Timon, the head of the other party, has long been proverbial among us. It is from the respective taunts of two rival chorusses in the Lysistrata, that we collect the confirmation of the critic's opinion.

Chor. of men. I have a tale to tell—I learn'd it, ladies,
When I was yet a youngster, and it runs
Unto this tune:

There was a youth in days of yore,
Melanion was he hight;
This youth no love to women bore,
Nor took therein delight.

And all to shun their hated sex,
He sought the forests wild;
His feet the mountain-tops did vex;—
He was a lonesome child.

He wove him nets, he snar'd him game,
He pierced the scudding hare;
One dog he had, and for the same
Shew'd mickle love and care.

But time ne'er render'd him less coy,
Nor woman would he see;
What was of yore that lonesome boy,
The same this day are we.

The female chorus, composed of much brisker persons than this old driveling rhymester, return the taunt by another.

Who has not heard of Timon tell?
His cheeks were a hedge-row wild:
It were matter of grace
To call them a face;
So the Furies nam'd him their child.

And ever he shunn'd man's odious race,
Nor with them would he dwell;
If he met them loath,
It was with an oath,
And a wish they were all—in hell!

But 'twas not so with woman fair;
To her his love was given;
The light of her smile
His heart could beguile,
And he call'd it the day-spring of heaven.

On the side of letters, the effects of this system were not more favourable; it has indeed rescued the Greeks from that mawkish gallantry, which writers, who court the favour of second and third-rate women, so much affect; and sentiment, as the term is understood in novels and romances, is a word not to be found in their productions. These are solid advantages: but at the same time it has confined the circle of their literature, and left it, to a certain degree, without variety. Even in their comedy there is little relief. It is all men—all business—all public matters. We have ever before us the gymnasium, the senate, the general assemblies, and the courts of law; there is bustle, pursuit, energy, and activity; how indeed should it be otherwise in a country, where man was defined* to be 'a political animal,' and where the first of deities was Jupiter or Political Wisdom? but there is none of that floating drapery which modern manners have thrown over society; none of that pleasing variety, which wanders from the camp to the court, from philosophy to the boudoir, from the enterprises of the field to the courtesies of domestic life. These were combinations which, among the Greeks, (at least while the democracy was in full vigour,) met neither in actual life nor in manuscript.

But the more serious effects remain yet to be told. Whatever shape men may assume it is their right to give to female character, a strong reaction will always take place upon themselves; and the outrage done to the sex in Greece was terribly avenged. But the pollutions of Grecian literature, and the consequences which ensue, when the glaring fires of genius are not

* Aristotle in Ethicis.

tempered

tempered by the mild influence of female beauty, innocence, and delicacy, are not lightly to be meddled with. Je devois dire, says the admirable Montesquieu, mais j'ouis la voix de la Nature crier contre moi.

The consequences of this system on the side of Grecian women themselves must not be dismissed quite so hastily. The eloquent author just quoted, assures us that the Grecian women were conspicuous for their virtue. But Montesquieu (as we could readily shew) had not studied the Grecian democracies so accurately as he has the Roman republic; and it may be safely affirmed that the Greek writers by no means bear him out in this flattering testimony to the merits of their countrywomen. The philosophers, indeed, seldom speak of the sex, or if they do, it is evidently with a strong feeling of their inferiority. The tragedians occasionally produce an Antigone, a Macaria, an Alcestis, an Iphigeneia, like blessed spirits, to temper the dark views of Grecian mythology; but the poet generally hurries them from the stage as quickly as the business of his drama will allow, or dashes their noble aspirations with some disgraceful sentiment, which materially enfeebles or destroys their effect. When such opinions were held of them by the philosophers and the tragic poets, we may readily believe that the comic writers did not spare them, and certainly the comedies of Aristophanes, who, however, amid all his raillery pays more compliments* to the sex than any other Greek writer, give us no reason to conclude that ignorance and seclusion are better safeguards to female virtue, than a fair participation of the instruction and freedom which men have in all ages claimed to themselves. A short analysis of any one of his comedies, relating to the female sex, would set this in a clearer light than any remarks which we can offer. They are impudent

* Besides more direct commendations, his opinion of their general virtue (malicious wags will say their simplicity) is indirectly manifested in the perfectly Utopian constitution, which the Radicals of the sex are allowed to draw up in his Ecclesiazusæ or Female Parliament. *Athens*, under their direction, was to exhibit a complete picture of concord, integrity, sobriety, &c. upon a scheme which went far beyond the narrow plans of Mr. Spence or Mr. Owen.—The legislative assemblies were more particularly to be put on a better footing;—they are thus stigmatized by these female patriots, at a time when no Reel-book existed, to sharpen acrimonious feelings.

When the stipend and price for their time and advice, | one obol sufficed, sirs, to close,
The rogues could sit quiet without any riot, | and soberly chatter and prose.
Now they struggle and roar; for the times are no more, | when Myronides wont to preside;
When he had been bold, who for silver or gold, | public measures had ventur'd to guide.
Our senators then, grave and reverend men, | to the council were seen to repair,
Each with morning repast, in a bag treasur'd fast; | olive, onion, brown loaf and a pear.
Our greedy desires, o'ershooting our sires, | fee and stipend and salary ask;
And matters of state are conducted of late, | like a mason's work done by the task.—
Eccl. 301.

productions, it is true; but there is a curiosity almost approaching to pleasure, as M. Sismondi somewhere remarks, in seeing how far the human mind dares venture. Ganellone, the arch-traitor of Italian Romance, in spite of his enormous transgressions, is familiarly and almost affectionately called Gan by the writers; and from some such feeling Aristophanes may perhaps retain his favour with us in spite of his impertinence. We shall select the opening scene of the Lysistrata, the coarsest but certainly not the least humorous of his plays, as a specimen of the ridicule which the stage occasionally threw upon the sex.

The comedy derives its name from the female who performs the principal character in it. This patriotic lady, shocked at the long continuance of the Peloponnesian war, and the evils which it brought upon the state, had summoned, it appears, a meeting of her countrywomen, and other reforming females from different parts of Greece, to whom she proposes to submit a plan for bringing this calamitous conflict to a conclusion. True herself to the time appointed, she advances upon the stage, and finds it empty. This solitude begets some reflexions on the sex in general, and more particularly on the party who had thus betrayed their own agreement. Had it been any of our religious meetings, says she,

> Had Bacchus' orgies* or the feast of Pan,
> Or Venus, (and it matter'd not what rite,
> Colias or Genitalis, gave the name,)—
> Had these gay festivals requir'd their presence,
> The roads had groan'd beneath the swarming multitudes;
> Our ears been deafen'd with the din of timbrels;
> While now,—none harbours here but I—and solitude!

The arrival of a neighbour, Calonicë by name, interrupts this angry soliloquy. The new-comer sees instantly that something had disturbed the exquisite Lysistrata, and, in the true spirit of her sex, tells her of the effect it has upon her looks.

> Believe me, friend, it sits but ill upon you
> To draw your brows and arch them like a bow;—
> 'Tis misbecoming in so fair a face.

Lysistrata passes off her emotion at first as a fit of chagrin and heart-burning at the little estimation in which her sex was held by the men—'they consider us (says she) as made up of nothing but trick and deception.' The complaint, however, meets with

* The orgies of Bacchus were commonly celebrated by night, and their consequences are pretty significantly hinted at by Euripides in one of the most spirited of his dramas, The Bacchæ. (v. 185.) It was a subject, indeed, just suited to his taste;—the thyrsus, the floating faun-skins, the disheveled hair, the sharp tones of the flute, and the shrieks and shouts of disordered women, were precisely the materials in which his Muse delighted; and the spirit of the god is accordingly upon him.

little

little consolation from the person to whom it is addressed, for Calonicë bluntly replies, 'why in truth, my dear, we are nothing else.' She is then fain to ascribe her vexation to its real cause, viz. the non-attendance of her friends at the time appointed.

> They were possess'd with most sufficient notice,
> What time and where the meeting would be held,
> And what the matter was in hand—how grave,
> And how important! Yet supinely spread
> On beds of down, they pass the time in sleep,
> And the balk'd meeting waits its loit'ring members.

Husbands to attend—servants to scold—the nursery—the bath—the kitchen—form, in Calonicë's opinion, satisfactory excuses for a little procrastination. 'But when an object of such magnitude, my sweet Calonicë —.' The nature of this object and the plan for effecting it, now become the subject of conversation. It was very subtle and recondite, and had caused the author many sleepless nights before it had been brought to maturity: it was, in short, to put the future destinies of Greece into the hands of the women, and it involved the fates of all the men of Peloponnesus and Bœotia. The intended proselyte does not discover all the rapture that was probably expected of her at the first broaching of this notable scheme:—the destruction of the Peloponnesians she hears with much composure, and when the fate of Bœotia is mentioned, she merely introduces a saving clause for the eels of that country, a species of food particularly grateful to an Athenian palate;—for the rest, she contents herself with insinuating that the destinies of Greece must be in a very bad way, if they are henceforth to be vested in female hands. Besides, as she intimates in conclusion, a project of this kind comported but ill with the duties of a sex, whose whole concern it was to sit idle, and whose most important occupations extended only to the composition of a cosmetic, the shape of a shoe, or the colour of a robe:

> 'Can such conduct themselves
> With honourable bearing, or give forth
> Matter of high and glorious report?'

The mind of the hearer was just brought to the right point—it was on these simple weapons, on which Calonicë laid so little stress, that the success of this mighty project depended: it was washes, essences and dresses which were to be the great instruments in effecting the projected revolution: the men's swords were to fall powerless before a saffron-coloured robe—and a javelin was to become pointless, when encountered by a tunic of transparent fineness! 'But how,' exclaims the wondering Calonicë, already half a convert, 'is all this to be effected?' She does not

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wait for a distinct answer:—a project which was to give sovereignty to the females, and peace to the country, by so easy and delightful a process, was not to be submitted to the cold calculations of reasoning, and her eagerness now becomes as apparent as her former indifference. She will send her saffron-coloured robe instantly to the dyer's—she will clothe herself in the finest tunic —she will purchase a pair of the valuable shoes called *peribarides.* Lysistrata sees her imagination kindling, and the finishing stroke is put to her character by the following hint.

Lys. A cause so noble might have won, methinks,
An earlier presence from our sex.
Cal. (emphatically.) Had they
Out-stripp'd the wind, they yet had been too late!

The two ladies now indulge in a little scandal; the tardiness of Athenian women, always doing every thing but what they ought, with obscure hints at a certain incorrectness of taste in the ladies of Salamis, furnishing them with sufficient topics, till the arrival of company puts an end to this agreeable tête-à-tête. As the Congress pours in pretty rapidly, Calonicë gives way to her satirical disposition. Here's a whole legion advancing, says she to Lysistrata, whence do they come? From Anagyrus, is the reply. I thought as much, she rejoins, applying her handkerchief to her nose;—for Anagyrus was not only the name of an Attic borough, but also of a plant of very offensive qualities. Among the newcomers one only is specified by name, Myrrhina, who excuses her tardiness by the difficulty of finding her girdle in the dark.

Nothing now was wanting for the opening of the meeting but the arrival of the female deputies from Peloponnesus and Bœotia, who, in concert with these Athenian patriots, were to have the honour of revolutionizing Greece. They did not tarry long: in such an assembly, it will easily be imagined, that the entrances are not made without some comment; and as the ladies stand for their respective countries, the allusions are, of course, political and local as well as personal. The presence of the Spartan deputy (Lampito by name) seems particularly acceptable to the head of this reforming party. Her complexion and her person are warmly eulogised; but a modern fine lady will shudder when, among other commendations, she hears this fair Laconian complimented as possessing strength and vigour sufficient to strangle a bull. Lampito, however, takes it in very good part, and ascribes the blessing (under Castor and Pollux) to the prodigious exercise which she took, and to her continual practice in a dance, one of the principal characteristics of which consisted in striking the hinder part of the body with the heel; an exhibition which those who have formed their opinions of Spartan women on the romances

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mances of Plutarch, will think but ill suited to wives and daughters of so lofty a character as he has given them.

The question soon naturally introduces itself,—Who had called them together, and what was the object of their assembling? Lysistrata stands forward as the person who had convoked the meeting; the purpose of it required a little more address and circumlocution. The speaker artfully prepares the company for it by leading them on to lament the distant countries into which the military service had drawn their husbands, the long periods of their absence, and the privations to which themselves were consequently subjected. '*My* husband,' says the president, 'has been six whole months at Pylus;' 'and mine,' rejoins Calonicë, 'nearly as many in Thrace, on the look-out for* what is likely to slip through his fingers;' 'and if mine returns for a few moments,' says the Spartan, 'his buckler is soon fastened to his arm and he is off again in a hurry.' A fit opportunity is thus found for introducing the question,—What if a plan could be devised for putting an end to the war altogether, and of course to those miseries which were the necessary consequences of it—Would the ladies join heart and hand in it? The thing could not be doubted. Myrrhina declares, with an oath, that to forward so desirable a purpose, she would not hesitate to pawn the cloak on her back, and drink out the value of it in one day. Calonicë professes her readiness to be cut into two like a turbot, and to surrender one half for a consummation so devoutly to be wished. The Spartan deputy, to whom bodily labour cost nothing, would clamber to the top of Mount Taÿgetus to gain but a mere glimpse of Peace. The president, it should seem therefore, had only to propose her scheme, to see it carried by acclamation;—yet a doubt apparently hung over her that the sacrifice was too great to be expected. She was right. A proposition which involved in it the most absolute divorce between the two sexes so long as the war continued, was not to be heard with indifference. The satirical malice of the poet has surrounded its rejection—instant and absolute rejection—with all that his wit could furnish; ridiculous it is indeed, in the original, to the highest degree; but there are feelings to be respected of much more value than the enjoyment of any mirth whatever. 'The war must continue,' said Myrrhina, after a pause,—'There can be no peace,' said Calonicë, after another. This was rather too much from a person whose former protesta-

* The original says—for Eucrates. This person, when treasurer of Athens, made off with a large sum of the public money. His escape passed into a proverb, and to look after Eucrates signified what is said in the text. By transporting Eucrates to Thrace, the poet alludes to the fear, which the Athenians entertained, that this country would revolt from them, as it was much inclined to do after the calamitous events in Sicily.

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tions were so vehement, and the head of the party takes care to make her feel it; *And you too, 'turbot!'* is the instant and poignant retort! But the purpose of Lysistrata was not to be thus defeated: she therefore redoubles her caresses to Lampito; and a little flattery, aided by a laudable desire in the fair Spartan herself for peace, at last wins her over. Her assent is followed by the reluctant compliance of the rest; and the scheme of Lysistrata is temperately discussed.—It was certainly not a very profound one; but it discovered an unbounded confidence in the powers of the toilette, in the mysteries of which the Grecian women are understood to have been most deeply versed; but the lady shall speak for herself.

My life upon the scheme. Let rouge and fard
Adorn our cheeks. Then deck'd in purple* tunics,
Whose texture thin may aid not blunt the fancy,
Wait we our lords at home. They will forthwith
Be clapping cheeks and pinching fingers with us.
But dames indulge not their desires; ope not
Your pleasures to unmaster'd importunity,
Till bond and seal ensure perpetual peace.
Keep firm, and peace is yours.

Lamp. It was the case
With Menelaus—he discern'd the form,
The swelling bosom of th' uncover'd Helen;—
His upraised arm was palsied at the sight,
His sword dropp'd powerless.

As the Spartan women did not pique themselves on their learning any more than the men, Lampito, evidently afraid that this trait of scholarship might sit too gracefully upon her, qualifies it by adding, 'at least, I think that was the case.'

We cannot follow this congress through the whole of its proceedings, but the conclusion, as involving some of the lighter charges made by the comic writers against their countrywomen, deserves consideration. Circumstances transpire in the course of the debate, to make the scheme seem more feasible than was at first imagined,—the president takes advantage of this to propose the solemnity of an oath, as a means of inducing the members to abide more strictly by the new order of things. No repugnance is manifested, and Lysistrata is desired to prescribe the formula and the manner of it. The sprightly Athenian, apparently well versed in the dramatists of her country, calls to

* It has been somewhere observed, that the Spartan virgins did not run absolutely naked in the public games, and that the word naked merely applied to that sort of costume in which the Diana Succincta usually appears. The present passage of Aristophanes seems to confirm this opinion. The ladies in the text wear the χιτωνιον, or covering next to the skin, and yet they are said to be γυμναι (naked). See also the Andromache of Euripides, v. 598.

mind

mind the passage in the 'Seven against Thebes,' where the chieftains take an oath upon a shield into which the blood of a bull had been previously poured, and proposes to follow the same plan. This, however, is overruled, from a superstitious feeling: a shield had reference to war; the object of the present party was peace: there was therefore no analogy in the two proceedings. The substitution of a white horse is rejected upon other pretences. Lysistrata, however, is not to be driven from her Æschylus; instead of a black shield, she gaily proposes a black goblet: in the same spirit of parody, a pitcher of Thasian wine is to take the place of bullock's blood, and the first part of the oath to consist of an adjuration, which if the Athenian females have not been belied, would cost them very little pain,—that no infusion of water should pollute this precious liquor. The scheme being approved,—a cup, or rather a whole manufactory of cups, makes its appearance, and a wine-skin is brought forward as the victim: Lysistrata, after a short prayer to Persuasion, pours the liquor into the goblet, and Lampito, declares that it sheds a most delicious perfume. The whole party then solemnly lay their hands upon the goblet, the chieftain enunciates the oath, and Myrrhina takes it in the name of the rest:—it was no light one, and the assistant accordingly confesses at the second line, that her knees tremble under her.

Lys. Gallant and husband, both adieu!
Myr. *Gallant and husband, both adieu.*
Lys. I live, but, trust me, not for you.
Myr. *I live, but, trust me, not for you.*
Lys. Though love's commingled joys and pains
Send poison circling through your veins,
From me no med'cine may you buy;—
I keep cold house with chastity.
And yet to kindle warm desire,
To raise and not to quench the fire,
I'll paint my cheeks, I'll braid my hair,
And malice self shall make me fair.
Nor think that force my love may win;—
Twill add but labour to the sin. *[rest.)*
Now to my lips this cup I take: *(takes the goblet from the*
So may I ne'er this compact break;
If elseway thought or wish incline,—
May water mingle with the wine! *(drinks.)*

Such is a specimen of the humour which the chartered muse of Aristophanes was allowed to throw upon the women of Athens. Whether it be legitimate in its sources, the taste of the reader must determine: that it was neither manly nor generous in the Athenians to encourage even merited ridicule against a sex, whom their

their own regulations first tended to degrade, will, we think, be readily and universally allowed. It has been explained, however, that the old comedy is not to be construed too strictly; it belonged to a peculiar festival, where the author was obliged to carry his understanding, as it were, *incognito*, and was little more than those images of plaster, which after having served the purposes of a day, are broken up, and thrown aside.

But whatever range of humour the Athenians might allow to their comic writers, they were too wise a people not to know that the mothers of their children deserved respect; and that, however their mental cultivation might be disregarded, there was a still more valuable feature in the female character, around which too many guards could not possibly be thrown. The point of honour which was to be derived in future times from the same northern people, whose mythology has supplied us with no mean substitute for the fauns, and nymphs, and cupids of antiquity, the point of honour, which requires that sons should be brave, and that daughters should be chaste, this nice preserver of female modesty and virtue did not indeed exist; but that love of country, so predominant in the Greeks, and which throws a veil over so many of their errors and crimes, in some measure supplied its place. While self-vanity suggested, that to be a citizen of Athens was an honour which kings and potentates might envy, the claims to so proud a distinction were scrutinized by the law with the nicest severity, and the woman of character hence found a degree of respect attached to her, which made the preservation of reputation doubly dear, and taught her that the sole possession of this was more than an equivalent for the accomplishments and freedom which the privileged courtezan enjoyed. The law required that the pure blood of three generations should flow in his veins, who demanded to be considered as one of that nation which achieved the victories of Marathon and Platæa; and ample testimony remains to show that private jealousy enforced the mandate of the law, and that a pretender to the rights of Athenian citizenship had abundant necessity laid upon him to see that there was no defect in his claim. What desolation a sweeping enforcement of this law once carried into whole families, and with what difficulty the most favoured of Athenian statesmen saved himself from coming under its influence, the reader of the life of Pericles need not be informed. The son, whose father's transgressions had closed the rights of citizenship in his family, had one means of reprisal in his own hand; for that law, which compelled an Athenian to relieve the necessities of an indigent parent, was not imperative on him, whose birth, by the mother's side, was a reproach both to the parent and the offspring.

But

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But laws far more strict guarded the sanctity of the nuptial bed. The very inclination to trespass on domestic rights was, according to Maximus Tyrius, punishable by the law, and upon actual offence the honour of the injured party might be redeemed by various means of vengeance: by such satisfaction as money could afford; by punishments which worked upon the sense of ridicule as well as pain; by the extinction of sight, and by death. On the female offender the terrors of the law fell no less heavily: the power of instant death was in the hands of the injured party; and if life was granted, it was upon such terms as made the boon little desirable. Like the adulterer, she was debarred access to those sacred buildings where alone a guilty mind finds relief; and an intrusion into them made it lawful to treat her with every indignity short of death. Her dowry became the property of her husband; she was forbidden to wear any ornaments about her person, and whoever pleased might tear them from her; blows which did not amount to mutilation or loss of life, being allowed on the occasion: she might be set up to sale, and if no purchaser could be found for her, the husband was allowed to retain her as the lowest of his slaves. Such were some of the laws at Athens respecting women of character; they may seem severe; but self-respect rises in proportion to the apparent value that is set upon us, and a sensible woman saw more real regard in the restraints imposed upon the possession of virtue, than in the freedom and even knowledge, which in Athens rewarded the absence of it.

The writings of antiquity do not lead us to infer, that virgin chastity was guarded by such strict laws as wedded honour: our means of judging on the subject are almost wholly confined to such specimens of the new comedy of the Greeks as have reached us through the medium of latin translations, and in them it is by no means uncommon to find the denouement of the play turning upon the circumstance of an unmarried woman, who had become a mother during some of those licentious festivals, which occasionally withdrew both married and unmarried persons from the shade of domestic retirement, without being able to specify, on whom the rights of paternity were to be conferred. A heavy fine seems originally to have been the penalty for these offences. The injured party had afterwards, according to Hermogenes, the option of becoming the wife of the criminal without bringing him a dowry, or of demanding his life as a compensation. As the compassionate feelings of the sex very rarely enforced the last clause of the edict, Syrianus assures us, that the right of commutation was rescinded, and only the severer sentence allowed to remain in force.

We

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We have now to trace a different picture in the republic of Athens. In literature and in arts, she had found that to follow the dictates of nature was the course most likely to crown her efforts with success: and so wisely had her practice conformed with the observation of her intellect, that her productions often lead us to exclaim in the words of the grammarian of Alexandria, O nature and art, which of you two has imitated the other! She now dared to desert her guide, or rather to set herself up in opposition to it. Nature had cried with a voice almost audible to woman, 'to be respectable you must be chaste:' Athens had the audacity to say, 'to be prized and regarded among us, you must be unchaste.' In this bold warfare, the cunning Greek, we shall see, commenced his operations under the banners of the enemy with whom he contended; but even with this advantage, and with the conventions of society and even of religion in his favour, nature was too strong for him, and in spite of himself, he was obliged to submit to those eternal laws, which every where attach contempt and degradation to the loss of female virtue.

It was not with any ordinary person that such an attack upon the decency of manners would commence, and history accordingly justifies us in ascribing it to the first and most mighty of Athenian statesmen; to the man, who, with the powers of oratory common to the two greatest of our own statesmen, united that taste for literature and elegant retirement which distinguished the one, and *almost* that force of character which shone so conspicuously pre-eminent in the other. That licentiousness in its coarsest shape existed in Athens before the time of Pericles, the establishments of Solon,* and the curious four-in-hand† which Themistocles is recorded to have driven, in his youthful days, into the agora at Athens, sufficiently testify: but it remained for the lover of the beautiful and accomplished Aspasia to remove the odium which was attached to such conduct, and to reduce to a system, what modern profligacy has only dared to announce, that vice, by losing its deformity, loses half its guilt. It was an attempt worthy of him whose unruffled remorselessness of ambition broke down all the barriers which the wisdom of Solon had placed between the senate and the people, and thereby threw the whole of the Athenian government, deliberative, executive, financial and judicial, into the hands of the populace, thus constituting the most odious and terrible of all despotisms, the despotism of the mob. It was worthy of the man who filled the porticos of Athens with

* Grotius in Excerpt. p. 765. Agrippa, Vanit. Scient. cap. de Lenonia, ascribes a similar establishment to Pope Sixtus IV. Sed et recentioribus temporibus Sixtus Pont. Max. Romæ nobile admodum lupanar extruxit.

† Athenæus, p. 576.

paintings,

paintings, and left her frontier towns unguarded; who bribed his countrymen with their own money into dissipation, and with the common money of Greece into injustice; who made Athens a mere stage for venal and factious demagogues, by crippling the powers of that venerable court which had existed for more than a thousand years, without one complaint against the justice of its decisions, and which expired, as became its dignity, in directing its last appeal against these profligate and most fatal proceedings. —The pestilence which Pericles engendered by shutting up the population of Attica within the narrow limits of the metropolis, was a slight evil to the plague, which under his influence and example infected their morals;—but the blaze of his prodigious talents has too much blinded our eyes to his transgressions, and to the posthumous infamy which he deserved for bequeathing such a legacy as Alcibiades to his country,—without those fences of education which he had a right to expect from one who stood to him in the double relation of kinsman and of guardian.

It would not be long before the effect of such influence would become visible among the citizens of Athens; and accordingly we find that whatever restrictions they imposed upon themselves, with regard to those in whom estates and rights of citizenship were to be perpetuated, they made themselves ample amends with a class of females in whom the same motives for restraint did not exist—a class whose connexion with the arts, the literature, and even the religion of their country, independently of the peculiar education they received, has made them in some degree a subject of historical importance. For them, as well as for many other subjects of consideration connected with Greece, we have not a name properly naturalized in our language: in that of the country to which they belonged they were called Hetæræ, (ἑταῖραι,) or female friends; and the great orator, whose business it was to classify and arrange, has left us a clear definition of the rank which they held, and the purpose they were meant to serve among the female population of Athens. 'The courtezan,' says Demosthenes,* 'is intended only for the gratification of the senses. By means of wives we become the fathers of legitimate children, and maintain faithful guardians for our houses; the *hetæra*' (we must be allowed to continue the use of the word) 'was meant to promote the enjoyment of life.' In conformity with these views, the education which was denied to the woman of character was sedulously bestowed upon the woman who thus consented to purchase knowledge at the price of character. To sing, to dance, to play upon the lyre, to blow the single and the

* In Oratione pro Neærâ.

double

double flute, were accomplishments in which the hetæra was, from the tenderest years, carefully instructed; and though Grecian manners did not admit of her appearing upon the stage, the habits of private life afforded ample opportunity for the display of these talents, and for advancing the fortunes of the possessor of them. Though decent female society made no part of the charms of convivial or conversational meetings among the Greeks, yet the feast was thought incomplete, unless its enjoyments were heightened by a display of the talents which belonged exclusively to this class. The higher of the philosophers, indeed, professed* to find more pleasure in their own conversation than in the exhibition of the dancing-woman or the flute-performer; and judging from the grace and elegance displayed in the representations of persons of this description found at Herculaneum, it must be confessed that great self-denial was implied in the abstinence: but the young and the gay thought otherwise; the talent of the performer on the cithara or flute, coupled with those graces of society which this intercourse naturally promoted, and which contrasted so forcibly with the manners and acquirements of the more retired housewife, excited among *them* the highest admiration; and, as the Greek plays sufficiently testify, often gained her a splendid establishment† for life. But dancing and

* Plato's Symposium.

† It was her musical talents which procured the extravagant Lamia an introduction to the celebrated Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose prosperity was a golden harvest for the hetæra of Greece. A prince, a warrior and a scholar,—these were charms to captivate any heart—in woman's eyes the 'stormer of cities' was something more; he was cast in the mould of the most perfect manly beauty. The following epistle is from a collection of letters, which being derived, it is understood, from Greek comedies that have not come down to us, appear a fair criterion on which to form an estimate of some of the modes of life in Athens. Of their extreme indelicacy the letter itself contains internal evidence, which need not be pointed out.

Lamia to Demetrius.—'If there be any boldness in this proceeding, you must take the blame to yourself. Such a king as you are, and yet you permit an hetæra to write to you! And where indeed is the wonder after all! you that descend to my person, why should you not stoop to my letters!—My lord and master, when I see you abroad with your diadem on your head, in the midst of your guards and your retinue, your martial pomp and your ministers of state, Venus help me, if I do not tremble and feel terrified and confounded! I turn away my eyes as from the sun, lest they should fail me in the fiery splendour: then indeed I recognize Demetrius the stormer of cities. At the sight of that stern and martial air I distrust myself, and 'Lamia,' I say, 'is this the man who deigns to share your couch? Is this he to whom you pipe and blow the flute for a whole night together,—who has now condescended to become your correspondent, and who puts you on a footing with Gnathæna?' Abashed and confounded by my boldness I lose all powers of speech, and sit silently waiting for your presence. Is my wish gratified! Oh, then I fall at your feet and worship, till wrapt in your embraces and devoured with your kisses, I assume a different language, and I say to myself, 'Is this the stormer of cities? Is this the man of camps and war, the scourge of Macedon, the terror of Greece, the master of Thrace? By the powers of love! I will be the city-stormer to day, and with no other weapon than my flute, see what terms the enemy will make with me.'—I have a request for your royal ear. You will sup with me this evening,

and music are accomplishments which very ordinary minds can attain, and with which ordinary minds are contented to be satisfied: the hetæra, who aspired to rank high in her profession, and to emulate a Thargelia or an Aspasia, embraced a much greater range of education. The comic theatre, which appears to have been shut against the modest woman, was open to her, and opportunities were thus furnished for acquiring that knowledge of human nature which the monotony of domestic life forbad, and that conversational tact in which the mere housewife must have been entirely deficient. To the refinement thus acquired, was frequently added a knowledge of the powers of oratory. The Funeral Speech in Thucydides, which has been declared by an excellent judge* to defy either imitation or paraphrase beyond any composition that ever was committed to writing, we have the authority of Plato† for saying, was written by a woman;—by the Aspasia, with whom the class of persons we are describing originated, and from whom Socrates professed to derive his knowledge of rhetoric and erotics. The woman thus trained and educated became the companion of statesmen, of poets and philosophers; she lived and conversed with those who had the

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evening, and be my guest for the next three days. I am holding my annual feast to Venus; and it is a point with me, that the present celebration shall exceed all preceding ones. You will find in your reception all that tenderness and magnificence can bestow: your bounty has put the last into my power, and for the first—from that night—that sacred night—I have done nothing which should disgrace your benefits: I have never abused the indulgence which your generosity allowed me; my person, in spite of your permission, remains yours, and yours only. Fear no meretricious tricks or deceptions from me. Diana blast me, if from that sacred hour I have received either letter or offer; —who indeed would dare to make them in the face of your invincibility! Love, O King, is quick in his movements: hasty to come, prompt to depart: his wings grow upon hope, but without hope they soon fall away. And on this is founded the great art of our profession; the art to put off present enjoyment, and to keep a lover in play by his hopes. Accordingly, sometimes we have a religious ceremony to perform—sometimes we have a convenient indisposition: now we are at our notes, our flute-music or our dancing; now there is a feast to be celebrated, and now a house to be embellished:—obstacles are thus put in the way of pleasures, which are otherwise apt to fade and pall, and minds are kept in a state of proper inflammation.—But to the entertainment I am preparing for you. Be assured, that its fame shall not be confined to the house (and I propose to give it in our friend Therippidion's mansion) in which it is held: if all Athens and Greece be not full of it, may the dullest solitude be my portion! But more than all, the Spartans—(foxes as they have proved at Ephesus, they need something to give them an air of manhood)—shall talk it over on their cold mountains, and their dreary deserts: they will find no end, I warrant, to their invectives, and to the contrast they will find between your polished humanity and their Lycurgan rudeness.—Let them talk as they will, great lord.—Be you only observant of the day of our feast. The choice of the house I leave to you; and what you choose must be right.'—Alciphronis Epistolæ, lib. ii. epist. 1.

* Mitford's Grecian Hist. vol. iii. p. 103.

† In Menexeno, p. 403. From the continual banter in which the Platonic Socrates indulges, this declaration is not perhaps to be taken too strictly. But that this 'Ninon' of antiquity tempered the composition of Pericles by graces, which the severer precepts of Anaxagoras would not have imparted, there can be no doubt.

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gift of immortality in their hands; and accordingly, while the modest but unlettered housewife sunk into oblivion, the hetæra became the subject of history; her birth was made an object of curiosity; her fortunes were carefully traced; her bons-mots* and sallies of wit were diligently registered; and after wearing a diadem, perhaps, during her life, she was buried in a tomb which, from its unrivalled magnificence, a stranger to Athenian customs was apt to think dedicated to the most perfect of her heroes, philosophers or statesmen.†

This was surely an elegant superstructure;—it was raised on a foundation still more calculated to catch the common eye; and this war against nature was carried on, as we have observed, with arms furnished from her own magazines. It was made the first requisite in the class of persons we are describing, that they should eminently excel in the graces both of face and person. It is generally understood that the country which produced such exquisite models of manly beauty, was not so fortunate in its female productions; and it appears to confirm M. de Pauw's assertion of the general want of beauty in Attic women, that most of the more distinguished hetæræ at Athens were captives made in war, or strangers who found that metropolis the best market for their charms. As manners grew more corrupt, and the demand for women of this kind made the number of voluntary members insufficient, we find, in the later ages of Greece, a professional person‡ growing into great practice, who made it his business to search the neighbouring islands and shores for these desirable objects; and with all his diligence it was no easy matter to supply them satisfactorily. In a town where statues of the most graceful proportion abounded in every temple and in almost every street and house; and where porticoes were crowded with paintings, in which one beautiful object vied with another, provocations existed for the dullest imagination; and an Athenian might well be excused for being fastidiously nice on the subject of beauty. Tests indeed for trying its merits existed, which must have made the most perfect beauty shrink and feel fearful of the scrutiny. The Roxanë of Aetion, the Sosandra of Calamis, the Juno of Euphranor, and the Cassandra of Polygnotus, presented models which a

* The 13th book of Athenæus is full of them. We are no great admirers of Grecian bons-mots in general; but if there wanted any testimony to prove to us the low state of female intellect in Athens, it would be this collection of sayings, which from courtesy, it is to be presumed, were allowed to pass for pleasantries in that metropolis. To be grossly indecent and insufferably stupid, is almost peculiar to the female wits of Athens.

† Such, according to Dicæarchus, was the opinion generally excited by the appearance of the tomb of Pythionicë in the Road, called The Sacred.

‡ The character of the leno, or male slave-dealer, is admirably developed in the Pseudolus of Plautus, the female as admirably in the Asinaria. Act. 1. Scene 3.

Grecian

Grecian beauty might perhaps approach without any violent degree of alarm, and rather for the purposes of instruction than comparison. The comparison became somewhat more dangerous when she drew near the Lemnian Minerva of Phidias, the Amazon leaning upon her spear by the same sculptor, and the Campaspë of Apelles. The contour of the face and exact symmetry of the nose, she knew, would be critically examined by the former, and the opening of the mouth and the neck by the second; while the Campaspë with all its life and blood, and formed in the true genius of Grecian art, which threw a veil over nothing, left her no right to calculate on imagination supplying the deficiencies of reality. The Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles, and the 'Venus in the gardens of Alcamenes' completed the canons of criticism. The forehead, the *ευγραμμον* of the eye-brows, that mixture of quickness and brightness (*ὑγρον ἁμα τῳ ϛαιδρῳ*) which Grecian taste required in the eyes, were adjudged by the former; the cheeks, the turn of the wrist, the fingers, which diminish insensibly to a point, and that, which the writer on the Beautiful and Sublime declares to be the most beautiful object in nature, were estimated by the latter.

Though all these master-pieces did not exist at one and the same period, enough were in being from the earliest times to raise in the susceptible minds of the Athenians a very high idea of personal beauty; and among no people did it excite stronger emotions. Beauty was considered as one of the first gifts of heaven; prizes were instituted for ascertaining in whom it existed most in perfection; stories were circulated of the vengeance which fell upon the insulters of it, and its possessor in perfection was viewed with something like the reverence which belonged to the divinities of her country. A young beauty was scarcely safe even in her cradle; and when goddesses, according to the mythic tales of Greece, contended for superiority of personal charms, the females of the country might very well be pardoned for feeling jealous about a possession which attracted so much notice both from gods and men. 'Have you heard of the new beauty that is in *training* (*Ϛηριοτροϕηδεισα*) by Apelles?' write the sisterhood* of Corinth to their friends in Athens; and they use but the common language of the times. 'O prodigious ignorance, if you have yet to hear of it! There is but one woman in Greece, and Lais carries all before her. Lais is the theme of the perfumers' shops; Lais is the talk of the theatres; in the Ecclesia, in the courts of justice, and in the senate-house, nothing is heard but Lais. In all places and among all descriptions of persons nothing but

* Fragmenta Alciphronis, V. 2.

Lais;—the very dumb nod to one another the praises of her beauty,* and Lais is a tongue to those who possess not the power of speech.' Nor were these the opinions merely of the young and the susceptible. The gravest philosophers allowed that beauty was the most valuable and the divinest of all perfections; and idealists, who existed in Greece as well as in Germany, heard with no great repugnance the definition which declared virtue itself to be the most distinguished of all pursuits, merely because it was the most beautiful. An appeal from earth to heaven in favour of these declarations was unfortunately too well justified by the tales of mythology. While men admitted of no excuse for the aberrations of their consorts, the gods, it was declared,† had juster notions of the power of beauty, and readily forgave the delinquencies into which the sight of it in mere mortals sometimes led their too susceptible partners: while female divinities themselves were so far from considering these concessions as matters which required a veil of concealment, that they rather made them a subject of ostentation, and considered them as indispensable subjects of insertion in the hymns, which were sung to their honour.

We have entered into these details, (and we might have enlarged them by adverting to some religious‡ opinions of the ancients on the subject,) to shew, that if a woman could have risen superior to that law of nature, which enjoins chastity as the first of her virtues, it must have been in Greece; and we do not mean to deny, that with the conventions of society in her favour, the hetæra often united with accomplishments thus calculated to dazzle, qualities of the heart which raised her above the contempt that, in spite of all precaution, fell upon her situation. With the exception of one virtue, many of them are certainly exhibited, in the New Comedy, (the only means of reference we have for opinions on the point,) in colours the most amiable. There is a certain period indeed in female life, which even ignorance cannot render altogether uninteresting; but its beauty, like the odours of night-flowers, is rather felt, than capable of being brought under actual vision. Depending upon a certain mixture of artlessness,

* Lais was indeed a model for a painter. When dressed, say the writers of the times, or those who copied after them, her face was the most beautiful part about her; when undressed, she was all face. (A little sarcasm, not worth explaining, was aimed in this expression at another beauty of the day.) Neither too thin nor too fleshy, she exhibited that happy medium which unites delicacy with substance, and which combined the 'corpus solidum' of the ancients with the 'délié' of the French. Her hair, curled by the hand of nature, flowed softly down her shoulders. Her eyes were said by her admirers (and they swore it as well as said it) to be rounder than the full moon; blacker than ebony in the pupil, and whiter (than ivory) in the white which encompassed the pupil.

† Isocrates in Laudatione Helenæ. p. 142.

‡ See Athenæus, lib. xiii. 573.

and

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and unacquaintance with the world, while the passions yet slumber in their cells, its nice shades are so little fitted for the coarse feelings of a public audience, that scarcely more than two of the modern dramatists (Molière and our own Shakspeare) can be said to have attempted it. The Greek dramatists, however, if we may judge from the versions of Terence and Plautus, seem to have been fond of portraits of this kind; they were all drawn from the class of persons whom we have just been describing, and there is no reason for supposing that the Antiphila, the Silenium, and Philematium of the stage, were not actually to be found in society. The following letter, by collecting into one focus many of the scattered rays of the comedians, has partly destroyed the effect of simplicity, but it will help to give an idea of the character to which we have just referred.

MENECLEIDES *to* EUTHYCLES.

'I have lost her—she is gone—the beautiful Bacchis is no more. She is gone, my friend, and left me nothing but tears and the remembrance of a love, sweet beyond expression while it lasted, but bitter beyond sufferance in its conclusion. Never, never shall I forget her. What feeling, what sensibility, what humanity she possessed! Her life mightly justly be deemed an apology for the whole profession to which she belonged!—and the members of it would act but justly by placing a statue to her memory in the temple of Venus or the Graces. Her conduct, so admirably did she shape her manners, was a complete refutation of the vulgar charges urged against those of her vocation,—that they are mischievous and faithless—that they have an eye merely to their own advantage,—that they are the property of the best giver, and that those who consort with them, must only look for evil from the connexion. You remember that Mede, who lately landed here from Syria, his pomp, and his retinue; you have heard too, perhaps, of his ostentatious promises and offers to Bacchis:—eunuchs, maid-servants, dress and finery, nothing was to equal her establishment. To his great indignation and in despite of it, she would not admit the prodigal promiser. She preferred reposing under my little every-day mantle; and satisfied with my sparing and humble presents, she spurned the satrap and his splendid donations. The Ægyptian merchant and his mountains of silver fared no better. Never surely was there so excellent a creature! She had virtues which some good genius ought to have transferred to a more honourable condition of life. But she is gone—she has left me—she has made her bed, where she will have no bed-fellow! Shame on the Fates, who do not allow me to take my place by her side. And yet I survive! Nay I eat, and I drink, and I converse with my friends! I have lost the light of her eyes, and her smile, and her gentleness, and the sweet chidings of those delicious evenings,—and yet I exist! One little minute back, how apposite was her conversation! how sweet her look! how delicious her kisses! Her lips were the seat of persuasion, and when her girdle was on, it was as if Venus and the Graces had joined hands,

and united in the same person. And those little songs, which she sang among our cups—and the sounds of that lyre which her ivory fingers used to put in motion—they are gone, never to return! she who uttered them is deaf, dumb, mute; she is ashes, dust. And Megara the strumpet lives! Megara, the merciless, who pillaged poor Theages, till the wretch, from a man of fair property, was fain to betake himself to the wars with nothing but a mantle and a buckler. *She* lives; and Bacchis——Dearest Euthycles, my sorrows become easier as I pour them into thy friendly bosom—to talk and to write of *her* is sweet! Alas! the remembrance of her is all that I now have left.'*

It only remains to shew that whatever temporary glare the histories of an Aspasia, a Pythionicë, or a Neæra might throw over the condition just described; a closer inspection will convince us of the truth of what has been more than once asserted in the course of these remarks, that the great law of nature which determines chastity to be the first virtue in a woman, could not be superseded by the conventional agreements of society: and in fact, Athenian law, to a certain extent, went in accordance with the dictates of nature. To wear a dress of a particular description—to be debarred the use of certain ornaments—to be denied all servile assistance except from persons of the same class as herself—to be excluded from the services and sacrifices of the temples, and, what to female minds was, perhaps, a still more trying privation, to be excluded from the splendid processions which often preceded those sacrifices, were among the privations, to which, if the law was strictly obeyed, every offender against modesty was subjected in Attica. The great objects of Athenian ambition were, strictly speaking, shut against a young man, who owed his birth to such a connexion: for he could not exercise the talents of oratory in the senate, or the Ecclesia, or the various courts of law. The wit of a Timotheus might turn to the brighter side of the picture and feel grateful to a mother who had made him the son of Conon; but the tongue which found itself tied in the public assemblies, no doubt broke out sometimes into private invective against the cause of a privation, which to an ambitious and loquacious Athenian must have been peculiarly galling. The free-born Athenian woman, who embraced this profession, immediately lost all her rights and privileges: she ranked in future merely with the wife or daughter of a metic or sojourner in Athens; and a consciousness of the degradation thus incurred, generally led them, it appears, to change their names, and to annihilate, as much as in them lay, their previous existence.

The rest of our picture must be a little coarse. What we call

* Epistolæ Alciphronis, lib. i. Epist. 38. † Plaut. in Pœnulo.

a lady,

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a lady, that is, a woman, who to virtue and intellect unites the dignity of manners which is inseparable from the former, and the facility of manners which is a general result of the possession of the latter—was a being, which, so far from existing in Greece, does not appear to have entered in the remotest degree into the conception of a Greek. Some approximation to a *fine* lady his tragedy did furnish;* but it confined the character, and we think not unwisely, to the wife of Agamemnon,—an adulteress and a murderer. Where female reputation stood on this footing, we may imagine what licence of speech would be allowed against persons whose very situation presupposed a forfeiture of any title to respect. Athens, like Florence and modern Rome, was a country of nick-names; and, as its first consolation, private scandal took care to affix the most opprobrious appellations to persons over whom the favour of princes, poets, or philosophers had thrown an artificial lustre. Lamia, whose avarice† was as destructive to the inhabitants of towns, as the warlike machines of her lover Demetrius were to the towns themselves, derived her appellation from one of the most destructive of those which were used by her too bountiful lover. Gnathæna, whose wit was so often directed against others, became the subject of raillery in her turn, and was nicknamed 'the Cistern.' Lais, to whom Venus Melænis descended in a dream, and promised a plentiful harvest of lovers, was, for the severity with which she exacted the price of her favours, surnamed 'the Hatchet.' Nico was politely termed 'the She-goat:' Callisto was as gallantly nickname 'the Sow,' while her mother became proverbially known under the title of 'the Crow.' The love of wine gave a name to more than one of the class, with adjuncts in some cases, which could not well be specified, and may be left in the obscurity of the language to which they belong.

But the great place of correction for persons of this class was the stage; and they seem to have felt it. The Old Comedy had occasionally dealt them a side blow or two; but when, by a change of laws and government, the characters of public men were rescued from the hands of the dramatist, the Greek appetite for scandal was compensated by making the stage the vehicle of attack upon public women. The Thalatta of Diocles, the Corianno of Pherecrates, the Anteia of Eunicus, the Thais and

* Euripides in Electrâ.

† On one occasion, says Plutarch, Demetrius commanded the Athenians to raise immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and the payment was exacted with the utmost rigour. As soon as it was collected, he ordered it all to be given to Lamia and her companions to buy soap.—Life of Demetrius. It must be remembered, that a good story is never injured in Plutarch's writings, by any questions tending to affect its truth or its probability.

Phanium of Menander, the Opora of Alexis, and the Clepsydra of Eubulus were all dramas deriving their names from celebrated courtezans or hetæræ; and fragments enough of these comedies remain, exclusive of the translations of Plautus and Terence, to show in what spirit they were generally written.

The obscurity from which the hetæræ frequently sprang, formed a convenient topic of reproach for those whose faculty of observation did not extend far beyond mere exterior. The angry lover, who remembered in the Phrynë, whose wealth enabled her to offer to rebuild the walls of Thebes, the same Phrynë who in earlier days had earned a livelihood by a very humble employment, did not want an organ for expressing his disdainful reminiscences on the stage—

—— Wretch that I am,
She had my love, when a mere caper-gatherer,
And fortune's smiles as yet were wanting to her.
I never pinch'd nor spar'd in my expenses,
Yet now—doors closely barr'd are all the recompence
That waits on former bounties ill bestow'd!*

The reverses which persons of this profession were naturally apt to make to themselves, formed a more just topic of ridicule: and the lines† which commemorated the downfal of the once select and opulent Lais, coarse as they are, were, no doubt, in every body's mouth.

Alas for Lais!
A slut, a wine-bibber—her only care
Is to supply the cravings of the day,
To eat and drink—to masticate and tipple.
The eagle and herself are fittest parallels.
In the first prime and lustihood of youth,
The mountain king ne'er quits his royal eyrie,
But lamb, or straggling sheep, or earth-couch'd hare,
Caught in his grip, repays the fierce descent:
But when old age hath sapp'd his mettle's vigour,
He sits upon the temple tops, forlorn,
In all the squalid wretchedness of famine,
And merely serves to point an augur's tale.
Just such another prodigy is Lais!
Full teeming coffers swell'd her pride of youth:
Her person, ever fresh and new, your satrap
Was more accessible than she;—but now,
That life is flagging at the goal, and like
An unstrung lute, her limbs are out of tune,
She is become so lavish of her presence,
That being daily swallow'd by men's eyes,
They surfeit at the sight.

* Athenæus, p. 567. † Idem, p. 570.

She

She's grown companion to the common streets—
Want her who will, a stater, a three-obol piece,
Or a mere draught of wine brings her to hand!
Nay place a silver stiver in your palm,
And, shocking tameness! she will stoop forthwith
To pick it out.

As the line was not very nicely drawn between the mere courtezan and the hetæra, it will also be readily believed, that the same aberrations took place in the one, which the loss of honour is invariably found to produce in the other; and that the charges of mercenariness, extravagance, jealousy, deception, faithlessness, want of honesty, &c. could with the most perfect justice be ascribed to both. From numerous passages of ancient authors, substantiating the whole of these charges, we shall select one which is more particularly directed against the common want of principle in these females.

'Would to heaven,' writes Petalë to Simalion,* 'that one of my profession could support her establishment upon tears! I might then live in splendour; for you have an inexhaustible fountain, and they are wonderfully at the service of your friends. But, alas! we must have other accompaniments, money, dress, equipage, attendants: all these a person like me must have, or farewell to her trade. I have no little paternal estate in Myrrhinus, nor any share in the public mines: my whole support depends upon what I can wring from silly hair-brain'd boys. One whole year I have devoted to poverty and you: during that time not a single box of perfume has crossed my eyes, and my head is perfectly dry; as for the old tatter'd Tarentine mantle—s'death!— I feel my cheeks burn whenever I exhibit in it. . . . . What! *have you no such thing as a drinking cup at home? Is your mother without jewels, has your father no little bills or bonds, on which you can lay your hands?*— Happy Philotes! you were born under more fortunate stars! you have a lover indeed in Menecleides! not a day but he brings you a present —no tears, it is true, but something infinitely better. My lot is differently cast. *I* have a mourner for a gallant and not a lover; one who considers me as a corpse *in prospectu*; and sends me chaplets and roses accordingly, and then forsooth tells me he has spent the whole night in tears. I have but two little words: if you have any thing to bring me, come; but—observe—no tears; if otherwise,—be your own tormentor, and not mine.'

We take leave of a subject, which is beginning to be not very attractive, with a fragment, (*Athen.* p. 558.) whose vehemence of indignation will probably excite a smile. The writer had either been unfortunate in his connexions; or, he had the grace to feel that mothers, who discharge the first of all duties, and mistresses of families, who discharge by no means the last, deserved an occa-

* Epist. Alciphronis, lib. i. ep. 36.

sional

sional triumph over those, who often were neither mothers nor mistresses of families, and who in Athens, as elsewhere, must occasionally have made the ties of consanguinity both painful and odious.

'Away, away, with these same female friends!
He whose embraces have encircled one,
Will own a monster has been in his arms;—
Fell as a dragon is, fire-spouting like
Chimæra, like the rapid ocean-portent,
Three-headed and dog-snouted!——
Harpies are less obscene in touch than they:
The tigress robb'd of her first whelps, more merciful:
Asps, Scorpions, Vipers, amphisbenæ dire,
Cerastes, Ellops, Dipsas, all in one!—
But come, let's pass them in review before us,
And see how close the parallels will hold.
And first for Plangon: where in the scale place *her*?
E'en rank her with the beast whose breath is flame.
Like her she deals combustion round; and foreigners
By scores have perish'd in her conflagrations.
One only 'scaped the fair incendiary,
And that by virtue of his nimble steed.
He pack'd his baggage and turn'd tail upon her.—
Have commerce with Sinope, and you'll find
That Lerna's monster was no tale; for like
The hydra she can multiply her members,
And fair Gnathæna is the present offshoot:
Her morning charms for beauties in the wane
Compensate—but—the dupe pays doubly for't.
There's Nanno too:—Nanno and Scylla's pool
Bear close similitude: two swains have made
Already shipwreck in that gulph; a third
Had shar'd their fortunes, but the wiser boy
Plied well his oars and boldly stood to sea-ward.
If Nanno's Scylla, Phryne is Charybdis:
Woe to the wretch who comes within her tide!
Engulph'd in whelming waves, both bark and mariner
Are suck'd into th' abyss of quick perdition!
And what's Theano? bald, and bare, and peel'd
With whom but close-pluck'd Sirens ranks she? woman
In face and voice; but in her feet—a blackbird.
But why enlarge my nomenclature? Sphinx is
A common name for all: on her enigma
Is moulded all their speech:—love, fealty,
Affection,—these are terms drop clear enough
From them, but at their heels comes a request,
Wrapt up in tortuous phrase of nice perplexity.
(Mimics.)—"A four-foot couch perchance would grace their
chamber!

Their

Their needs forsooth require a chair—three footed,
Or, for the nonce, two-footed—'twould content them."
He that is vers'd in points and tricks, like Œdipus,
Hears, and escapes perchance with purse uninjur'd;
The easy fool gapes, gazes, and — hey! presto!
Both purse and person's gone!'

ART. X.—1. *The Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, as a Colony to Great Britain, independently of the Advantages it possesses as a Military and Naval Station, and the Key to our Territorial Possessions in India.* By Richard Barnard Fisher, Esq. The Third Edition, with Additions. 1819.

2. *Considerations on the Means of affording Profitable Employment to the redundant Population of Great Britain and Ireland, through the Medium of an improved and correct System of Colonization in the British Territories in Southern Africa.* 1819.

3. *Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope.* By William J. Burchell, Esq. 1819.

4. *The Cape of Good Hope Calendar, and Agriculturist's Guide; containing a correct Account of all the Public Offices, Military Forces, and other Establishments in that Colony. Together with a brief Description of its Soil, Agriculture, and Commerce. Intended for the Use of those Persons who may become Settlers.* As compiled by G. Ross, Superintendent of the Government Press in that Settlement. Illustrated with a correct Map of the Colony. 1819.

5. *An Account of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants. And an Appendix, containing the Offers of Government to Persons disposed to settle there.* 1819.

6. *A Guide to the Cape of Good Hope, describing its Geographical Situation, Climate, &c.* 1819.

7. *The Emigrant's Guide to the Cape of Good Hope, containing a Description of the Climate, Soil, and Productions of the Colony, from the latest and most authentic Sources of Information—with Directions to Emigrants in general. To which are added, a full Account of the Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, &c.* By John Wilson. 1819.

8. *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in* 1815 *and* 1816, *with some Account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren near the Cape of Good Hope.* By the Rev. C. J. Latrobe. London. 1818.

IT will not be necessary, for our present purpose, to take up the time of our readers in discussing the *cause* of that distress which, for some time past, has been pressing hard on certain classes

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classes of the labouring and manufacturing poor; it is enough to know that it exists;—and more than enough to apprehend, from the result of the active and anxious inquiries of men competent to the task, that the country does not, and cannot, under any circumstances, command the means of regular and permanent employment for its increased and increasing population. This important fact was only not sooner discovered, or, more strictly speaking, not sooner felt, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the war in which we were engaged—a war, novel in its character and unparalleled in its duration. That war having ceased, and with it the factitious provision by which multitudes had been supported, it quickly became manifest, that the supply of labour was greater than the demand; and that a large portion of the population, more particularly that part of it which was connected with the army and navy, to the amount of several hundred thousands, (Mr. Colquhoun says two millions,) being thrown back upon the public, must necessarily remain unemployed, and become a burden to the rest of the community.

In referring to past times and to the history of other countries, it will be found that, whenever population began to press severely against the means of subsistence, the remedy resorted to was emigration;—not by single families, but in whole hordes like the northern Tartars, or whole legions like the Romans; their invariable policy being to cast their swarms when the hive was full. China and Japan are, perhaps, the only exceptions from this practice. Of the latter country we know but little; but enough is known of the former to deter any civilized society from following its example in this respect; or from submitting, if possible to avoid it, to that last and most dreadful of its resources, famine, by which whole provinces are laid waste, and the population brought down to the level of subsistence.

If it should appear, then, that all other measures are little better than palliatives of the evil, wholly inadequate to afford any permanent relief, the only material point to be settled would be that of the *direction* into which the tide of emigration should be turned. The decision became the more urgent when it appeared that ship after ship was regorging on our shores loads of disappointed emigrants who, after fleeing to what they fondly imagined a land of liberty and plenty, but which, on their arrival, they found to be the abode of beggary, bondage, and disease, were returned, stripped of every thing, to swell the surplus population, and to increase the number of unprofitable consumers. That our own colonies claimed the preference could admit of no doubt; and among those which, on every account, might be considered as most eligible, there could be no hesitation in making choice of that which, from the

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the nature of its produce, the salubrity of its climate, and the advantages of its situation, should appear to hold out the most flattering prospect of reciprocal benefit to the mother-country, and to the individuals who might wish to leave it in search of better fortune.

The CAPE OF GOOD HOPE has always maintained a favourable hold on the public opinion. Long before it fell into our possession, the passing visitors of this celebrated promontory were lavish in their praises of its fine climate, equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold; of its beautiful flowers and choice fruits, some of which were always in season; of the excellent quality of its bread, and the variety and abundance of its vegetables; of the neat and cleanly condition of the capacious houses; and of the substantial comforts and the respectable appearance of every class of its inhabitants. It might be urged perhaps, that some little deduction should be made from the glowing descriptions usually given by persons landing at this 'half-way house,' (as it was called) after a long voyage; and yet, making every allowance, it must be admitted, that the excellence of that soil and climate cannot be greatly exaggerated which will produce, at the same time, and in boundless profusion, the apple and the orange, the peach and the pear, the grape and the apricot, the guava and the strawberry, together with a great variety of other fruits and esculent vegetables, the natural growth of countries situated both within and without the tropics. When, added to all this, we behold with our own eyes, the multitude of heaths of surpassing elegance and beauty, the endless variety of bulbous-rooted flowers, and a long list of the choicest flowering shrubs and herbaceous plants which are brought with some care to adorn our conservatories, but which are there scattered in wild and spontaneous profusion over the country, it cannot but enhance our good opinion of a spot favoured with so much beauty and elegance.

That such a feeling for the Cape of Good Hope, whether correct or not, does prevail, was very manifest when, at the close of last session of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the intention of his Majesty's government to extend the colonization of that settlement. The measure was not merely approved, but hailed with applause by every part of the House; so that instead of 50,000*l.* the minister might, we believe, with the same ease, have obtained, if he had thought it expedient, a much larger sum.

The same predilection was equally conspicuous in the crowds which daily thronged Downing Street, in order to await the decision of the Colonial Department on their applications to be enrolled in the number of those who were to add to the population

population of this happy country: and it may be inferred to prevail still more generally in the public mind, from the multitude of publications got up on the spur of the occasion, professedly for the guidance and instruction of the new colonists. The titles of a cluster of these productions we have prefixed to this Article, not so much for the sake of investigating their respective merits, which, with the exception of the last, are, in truth, but slender, as from a wish to warn the public, and more especially the emigrant, of the gross mistakes and the exaggerated statements which they contain. From these ephemeral shoots of the press, the sanguine but inexperienced emigrant would be led to conclude the influence of the climate and the fertility of the soil in Southern Africa to be such, that nature there yielded spontaneously her most valuable productions, and that the hand of man was required only to be stretched forth to gather them; in short, that the feast was prepared, the table spread, and that the guests had nothing more to do than to take their seats, and fall to the repast. If there be any (and we fear there are) about to embark under such extravagant notions, woeful indeed will be their disappointment!

To moderate the indulgence of unreasonable expectation, and to check the ardour of incautious adventure, a plain, concise, and correct view of the present state of that portion of Southern Africa, comprehended within the limits of the Cape of Good Hope colony, would be of great use in a two-fold point of view;—first, as it regards those who may already be on the eve of departure; and, secondly, the public at large; for we should deem it a most unfortunate circumstance, if the disastrous results of improvident speculation, or the disappointed hopes of artisans and labourers, should be the means of throwing a damp on a measure which, by common prudence, cannot fail, in no great length of time, to be of the utmost advantage both to the colony and the mother-country. We intreat our readers to believe that we come to the discussion of this interesting subject with many advantages; we happen to have some local knowledge of the country, and we have before us every thing, we believe, that has been written on it. In the absence, therefore, of such a work as we are deploring, a few observations from us may not, perhaps, be altogether without their value.

A word or two must be previously offered on the respective publications at the head of this Article. The first is that of Mr. Barnard Fisher, who, we believe, was paymaster to a regiment in Cape Town. It is intended, he says, to prove to England 'the importance of the Cape in a colonial point of view:' this we presume was sufficiently well understood in England before,—but what are

Mr.

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Mr. Fisher's proofs?—a few garbled extracts from the only book,* as he tells us, 'that affords real information, with amusement, on the subject;'—assertions, for which he has no authority;—and an extraordinary degree of ignorance respecting those very objects which immediately surrounded him. Scarcely a page occurs in which there is not some gross absurdity, some ludicrous blunder, or some false information. He thus gravely puts forward the profundity of his knowledge: 'Every nation or people on the face of the globe have a language, or mode of conversing with and understanding each other.' We have scarcely signified our assent to this simple truism, when he as gravely tells us that 'the Hottentots certainly have no such thing as language, and many of them have scarcely the power of articulation.' It would seem to follow, therefore, that these 'rational hinds' (as Don Armado called Costard) are neither a 'nation' nor a 'people.' Yet Mr. Fisher means no such thing; for he immediately subjoins that 'they do pronounce a *few words*;' but then, he continues, (as if alarmed at this concession in their favour,) 'those few words upon inquiry, will be found to be either Portugueze or Dutch.' How many hundred or thousand years previously to the arrival of these Europeans the poor Hottentots had remained dumb, Mr. Fisher does not condescend to inform us; but as he obligingly instructs us that 'the garrulity of the magpie, the solemn hooting of the owl, the chattering of the daw, and the cackling of the goose' are 'sounds or language,' in which all these creatures have a prodigious advantage over the Hottentot, who could neither speak nor cackle, hoot nor chatter, it is manifest in what rank of the animal creation he means to place him. (p. viii.) Then these hapless beings, whose harsh and wiry hair is described as 'woolly,' 'have little or no memory whatever; though' (wonderful to relate) 'a knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants, and poisons, is innate in them.' (p. ix).

The qualifications of Mr. Fisher might be settled from his prefatory matter; but as his blunders and absurdities have worked their way (if we may credit the title-page) to a *third edition*, and have been the cause of misleading the principal promoter of the measure for extending the colonization of the Cape, we shall notice a few more of them. 'The finest part of the year,' he says, 'is the winter, when it frequently rains in torrents for many days, and the houses and the whole town are deluged with water;' in this '*finest* part of the year' too, the 'cold damp is intolerable.' (p. 5.) We are then told of 'cascades and torrents from the dissolving of the snow' where snow was never seen, ex-

* Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa.

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cepting on the summits of the distant mountains, and even there very rarely. 'The soil,' he says, 'is very different in different places, but the most prevailing *are* a black peaty or boggy sort of soil, like that of the fens in Lincolnshire, or the bogs of Allen, in Ireland:' (p. 14)—or rather,—for we must take leave to adjust Mr. Fisher's similitude here,—like that of the mountains of the Hebrides! With regard to the products of the soil, he tells us that 'no indigenous vegetables were found, excepting the *article* of trees and grasses, some few fruits and roots;' (p. 15)—a pretty broad exception! Naturalists will hear with astonishment, or delight, perhaps, that 'sheep and goats are become so mixed in their breed that it will soon become difficult to separate them:' in corroboration of this extraordinary fact it is asserted that 'they are indiscriminately eaten as mutton.' This confusion of breeds seems pretty widely spread at the Cape, for we soon afterwards learn that ostriches, whom we have been taught to estimate principally for their tails, are 'very extraordinary and valuable birds, or rather animals, *in as much* as they partake of both!' (p. 81). When Mr. Fisher quits ostriches and goats, and comes to the local advantages of the country, he is not much more fortunate in his conceptions. Of Saldanha bay, he states that 'ships might not only be repaired, but built there; and that ships of all nations would most readily come in for the purpose.'—of being 'built,' we presume. This bay too, we are told, is *centrically* situated, and, therefore, most proper for the site of the capital of the colony.—Centrically! If Mr. Fisher means, as we suppose, centrally, Saldanha bay lies on the coast, distant from one extremity of the colony about sixty miles, and from the other about six hundred.—But enough of Mr. Fisher.

The next work, which bears the title of 'Considerations,' &c.; and which, though without a name, is ascribed, we believe justly, to Mr. Colquhoun, abounds with good sense in all that relates to the means of affording profitable employment to the redundant population of the empire; while the benevolent intentions of its author are every where apparent: but the erroneous information gleaned from Mr. Fisher has led him astray, especially on the subject of Saldanha bay, on the shores of which he has laid his plan for building a town for seven or eight thousand inhabitants, and for obtaining a grant of land from government of *one million of acres*, or a tract of country extending about forty miles in every direction, with a charter for the incorporation of a joint stock company, on certain conditions, which are detailed at full length. The absurdity of such a plan (which, however, we understand, was very seriously entertained, and even proposed to government) will be at once obvious, when we state, from our own knowledge,

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knowledge, that freehold and leasehold estates are held on the very margins of the bay, and that the portion of the colony which was to be included within these 'million of acres,' is, at least, as densely peopled, and as extensively occupied and cultivated as any similar extent of land in any other part of the colony; the districts of Zwartland, of Reebeck's Casteel, Groenekloof, and the Twenty-four rivers, the granaries of the colony, all lying within the limits proposed for the new settlement! 'The harbour of Saldanha bay (the author says, the finest in the world) lies in latitude 33° S. bearing nearly east and west, north and south, forming almost a circular bar, about five miles in extent, with a creek about five or six miles in length running parallel to the coast in a south direction towards Cape Town, in which ships and vessels are completely land-locked and protected:' (p. 19.) and this description, which is altogether unintelligible, is copied verbatim in every one of the pamphlets which the occasion has called forth! We are further informed that 'the eastern banks of Saldanha bay, *from the nature of the ground*, is admirably adapted for building a town.'—The 'nature of the ground' is a continued line of moving sand-hills, which we should humbly conceive to be very ill adapted for such a purpose.

In statements of this kind, Mr. Colquhoun has merely been misled: we find it more difficult to account for a person of his experience venturing to inform his readers that 'elephants and ostriches would augment as population increases,' (p. 17.); or that 'Indian corn or maize grows spontaneously without cultivation.' Of his eighteen articles of export which South Africa is to supply to an unlimited extent, we will take upon ourselves to strike off nine as wholly gratuitous.

Mr. Burchell, it seems, travelled far into the interior, and passed some years among the natives who dwell beyond the pale of the Cape government; and we are only surprised that, under such circumstances, his book should contain so scanty a portion of actual information. He was, we understand, a 'culler of simples,' and he certainly seems to have culled little else. The settlement which he recommends lies behind the Sneuberg, on or about the Sea Cow river, and on some of the branches of the Orange river. To this point, and farther, the colony may one day advance, but certainly will never begin there. Mr. Burchell might as well talk of planting a settlement behind the Himalaya mountains. He means well, however; but we do not see that his book can be of any use to those who are about to emigrate.

Mr. Ross, acting under the direction of government, as superintendant of the printing press at the Cape, is no doubt well

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qualified for printing the 'Cape Calendar,' and registering the hard and indigestible names of the Dutch functionaries. The queer appellations too of the districts and the streets of Cape Town, and the table of stamp duties, may be very correctly given by him; but when he ventures to dabble in botany, and talk about the '*protes argentia*,' and the '*nycanthis scambac*,' into which name he has tortured the Arabian jasmine, he must excuse us if we question both his knowledge and his judgment:—this, however, and his assertion that 'daisies are as numerous as in England,' in a part of the world where no 'daisy' was ever yet found in a wild state, are harmless blunders; which is more than can be said of those which he has committed in speaking of the depreciation of the paper currency. Having told his readers that a *rix-dollar* is equal to four shillings, and that *four rix-dollars* make *twenty shillings*, (a mode of arithmetic not to be found in Cocker,) he adds this notable piece of information, which is repeated by all the trumpery publications which we have seen on the subject, that 'the rate of exchange is exceedingly advantageous to the settler, being at this present moment about 110 per cent. in favour of England,—consequently, whatever property a person may think necessary to take with him, it will more than double its value on his arrival.'—(p. 19.)

Can Mr. Ross be so ignorant as not to know that the merchant who imports his goods into the colony must lay on them such a price as will cover the premium which he has to pay for his remittance to England? Had he paused for a moment, he might have recollected that when the pound sterling was reckoned at *five* rix-dollars, in other words, when the exchange was at par, a leaguer of Cape wine cost about fifty rix-dollars; and that now, when the pound is upwards of *ten*, a leaguer of the same wine sells from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty rix-dollars, and all other articles of produce in the same proportion.

The next on our list is 'An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants;' a small volume which unquestionably does convey more full and correct 'information' than all the rest taken together. The writer openly avows, that he 'has freely availed himself of the many interesting pictures of the Cape Colony which modern travels supply; to the superior work of Mr. Barrow, in particular, he has been much indebted; nor has he omitted to consult the observations of Vaillant, Lichtenstein, and Campbell, or the interesting Journal of the Rev. Mr. Latrobe:' and his reason for doing so is a sound and serious one,—that the works themselves would cost the emigrant ten guineas, whereas his contribution amounts only to six shillings and sixpence. We do not hesitate

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tate to say, that he has availed himself with judgment of these authors' labours.

The two 'Guides,' we fear, will prove but *blind guides* to those who put their trust in them. The first, however, has made a notable discovery, namely, that, in the happy country to which so many are anxiously flocking, *cotton-wool* is produced from the backs of the *sheep*. (p. 17.) This hodge-podge of ignorance and vulgarity consists of garbled extracts from the pamphlets of Colquhoun and Fisher, with some precious observations made by a certain 'learned traveller of the name of the Reverend Peter Kobel,'—we suppose Mr. Peter Kolbe, who wrote a description of the Cape about one hundred years ago, at a time when the wolves and hyenas prowled nightly before the gates of the castle; and when superstition led the colonists to assert, and Kolbe gravely to publish, that a brilliant flame, in the shape of a serpent wearing on its head a kingly crown, played on the edge of the Table Mountain, night after night, for a *month* together. But the accuracy with which this compiler quotes, is about equal to that of his designation of the author quoted. John Wilson, who puts his name to the last of these 'Guides,' is merely a simpleton, who, by scraping together the ignorant trash uttered at the Crown and Anchor, and mixing it up with a few paragraphs from the newspapers, circulars from the Colonial Department, &c., has manufactured a cheap article which, like Hodge's razors, is meant for sale, and nothing more.

It has been observed, and with justice, that in these meagre contributions 'none but the fair side of the picture has been exhibited; that no discriminating hand has been stretched forth to separate the bad from the good, and no warning voice lifted up to forbid unfounded expectation, nor prevent improvident adventure.' This task we have set ourselves, and we shall use our best endeavours to perform it, with all the fidelity which the importance of the subject demands; conscientiously believing ourselves to be as free from bias on this as on any other question, in which we have not the least personal concern. We wish well to the undertaking; convinced that, under proper regulations, it will in time be the means of extending civilization in Southern Africa greatly beyond the limits at present contemplated. The objections, or, as the writer to whom we have now alluded calls them, 'the features of less agreeable appearance,' will be noticed as we proceed.

In our reviews of Lichtenstein's and Campbell's 'Travels in Southern Africa,'* we took a general view of the natural history

* See Nos. XVI. and XXVI.

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of the Southern angle of Africa. We shall now confine our observations to that part of it which is colonized, and to those subjects which more immediately concern the new setlers who are about to proceed under the conditions laid down by His Majesty's government. In doing this, we wish we could speak in more flattering terms of the literary and scientific labours of our countrymen:—but truth compels us to state that, during the twenty years we have held possession of the Cape of Good Hope, not a single survey has been made:—that it is not known what extent of land is cultivable; what rivers are navigable:—to sum up all in a word, there exists no detailed information on which the government at home can venture to make a single specific grant.

According to the most accurate information we yet have of that portion of South Africa, which is comprehended within the limits of the Cape Colony, its western shore extends about 315 miles, from the Table Mountain to the river Koussie; and its southern shore 580 miles easterly, from the same mountain to the Great Fish river: its narrowest part being about the middle of the latter line, and its widest towards the eastern extremity; comprizing about 120,000 square miles. Several ranges of mountains, nearly parallel to one another and to the southern coast, stretch in the direction of east and west almost across the whole extent,—but approaching each other near the Cape, they turn off to the northward and terminate in a rugged hilly surface, which loses itself in tracts of sand or extensive plains of naked clay. The geognostical structure of these mountains is extremely simple, and, we believe, remarkably uniform throughout all the ranges. Clay slate and gneiss form their bases to the height of a hundred feet or more above the level of the sea; then granite, and lastly, a superincumbent mass of sand-stone, red, yellow and grey, terminating frequently in flat table land, but having the line much interrupted by rugged conical peaks.

The general surface between the nearest range of mountains and the sea coast is broken into hill and dale, the former consisting chiefly of masses of reddish sandstone and feldspar, mixed with sand and quartz crystals; the latter, of sand mixed with vegetable earth. In the deep ravines on the southern side of these mountains, which the Dutch call *kloofs*, and which have been formed by, and now carry off, the mountain-streams, the most exuberant vegetation prevails; and it is in those ravines on the southern side of the range of mountains nearest the sea coast, and in those only, that extensive forests of large timber trees occur, stretching from the point opposite Mossel Bay to Sitsicamma, beyond Plettenberg's Bay, a distance of nearly 200 miles, but frequently interrupted by naked ridges between the ravines.

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These kloofs, and the valleys into which they open, are the most valuable spots in the colony, and of course are partially, if not wholly, occupied.

Beyond the first range of mountains, and between it and the second, which is called the Zwart Berg, or Black Mountain, the surface is more elevated and of a ruder character, appearing as if composed of the strewn fragments from the broken summits of the two ranges. Though crossed by several mountain-streams, it has little of the luxuriant character of the lower grounds. Beyond the Zwart Berg, and between it and the third range, which forms the northern boundary of the colony, is an entensive plain, differing in its character from both the other two. With little variation of surface, it extends from east to west 300 miles in length, and eighty miles in width from north to south. This elevated region would seem to be on a level with the summit of the granite stratum. It presents to the eye a naked surface of clay sprinkled with quartzose sand and small crystals, with masses of feldspar and hornblende; and wherever this surface rises into a hill of considerable elevation, it is almost invariably composed of horizontal strata of a reddish coloured sandstone, which is that generally found immediately above the granite.

This and similar plains are well known to the colonists by the name of *karroo;* they are utterly uninhabitable; their surface is scarcely ever moistened by a shower; and they produce little or nothing beyond a few stunted and shrivelled plants of the geranium, mysembryanthemum, euphorbia, and some few succulent plants of a humbler kind, which appear to preserve the living principle only by means of their own humidity. The dreary expanse of these karroos is seldom broken, or the eye relieved by the least verdure, except where some mountain-stream has formed a passage in its way to the sea, the winding banks of which are pointed out by a dark waving line of the thorny mimosa. In such places only, under the shade of these trees, are found a few shrubby plants and coarse grasses, just sufficient to afford a scanty supply to the half famished oxen of the distant colonists, whose waggons cross these plains in their way to the Cape.

To say the truth, the general appearance of the Cape is not at any time very inviting, and least of all at the close of the summer months, when the emigrants will probably have their first view of this celebrated promontory. The mass of naked rock which composes the Table Mountain, and its two flanks, equally destitute of verdure, frowning over the cluster of white-washed houses at their feet; the distant range of mountains of the same bald appearance and character, the general want of vegetation and the total

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absence of trees, with the exception of a few stunted oaks scarcely visible, in front of the town, and two or three fir-trees in one of the ravines, will be apt to call to his mind the poet's well known description of another country, to which it is much less applicable;

> 'Far as the eye can reach no tree is seen,
> Earth, clad in russet, scorns the lively green.'

On setting his foot on shore, at this season, his eye will meet with nothing calculated to cheer his hopes. He will observe a naked plain of hard clay or gravel, glistening with pebbles of quartz, and evidently impenetrable by plough or spade; and if he should chance to meet with some of those long trains of eight, twelve, and even sixteen oxen, which are daily seen dragging the produce of the interior into the capital, their lank bodies and bones ready to burst through their skin will materially cloud the flattering prospects with which he set out, and dispose him, perhaps, to ask himself—'if this be the land of promise and of plenty for which he left his native country and connections?' and he will be but too apt to accuse those authors of exaggeration, who have indulged in glowing descriptions of the multitude of beautiful and elegant plants which adorn the surface, and the rich hues of those ever varied flowers whose vivid colours delight the eye, and whose fragrant odours perfume the air.

A very considerable change, however, takes place in the aspect of the African landscape after the rains have begun to fall; and the same emigrant, landing at the Cape in the month of July or August, instead of February or March, would perceive with surprize those clayey and gravelly plains, which before were naked and hard as a turnpike road, now covered with rich crops of barley; and, in places not cultivated, meet with an endless variety of beautiful flowers spreading themselves over the surface. It is at this period that the glowing description of Mr. Latrobe (whose work forms a singular contrast to those which precede it in our list, and can only be paralleled, we think, with the interesting and delightful Icelandic Tour of Dr. Henderson,*) may be admitted as bearing no distant resemblance to the truth.

'The bountiful Creator,' says Mr. Latrobe, 'has been pleased to clothe this country, unproductive as it generally is in means of subsistence for man and beast, with an astonishing profusion of vegetable beauty. Hardly a spot exists, upon which some curious and beautiful plant does not rear its head in its proper season; and in the midst of this brown desert, we see the magnificent chandelier (aloe) or red star-flower,

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* See No. XXXVIII.

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measuring from four or five inches to a foot and a half, in the spread of its rays, growing luxuriantly among stones and sand.'—p. 194.

Of the 120,000 square miles included within the present limits of the colony, one half may fairly be subtracted for the karroo plains and naked ranges of mountains; and of the remaining 60,000 we may safely take away a moiety as of little or no value: we shall still have 30,000 square miles of productive country. From the nature of the surface which we have briefly described, and the prevailing scarcity of water which the sandy soil speedily absorbs, it will be readily supposed that these are not all arable; on the contrary we should say that one third part only, or 10,000 square miles, is ever likely to feel the ploughshare; the other two thirds, however, are exceedingly well adapted for sheep, and also for the grazing, or rather browsing of cattle.

These 30,000 square miles (nearly 20,000,000 acres) are held, as it is called, by about 3000 families. Hence it will be seen how very small a portion of this extensive country is occupied, much less put under any kind of culture, and how very thinly the scanty population is scattered over it. Till of late years it was divided into four districts only—the Cape, Stellenbosch, Zwellendam, and Graaff Reynet; over each of which was placed a chief magistrate named the Landrost; but the last three have been subdivided into Tulbagh, George, and Uitenhage; each also having its landrost, and its town or village, church, and school. From this we may infer the improving state of the colony. The strongest proof of it, however, is the great increase of the population. In 1798,* it appeared, from the annual census, officially, but not very accurately, taken, that the total population of whites, slaves, and Hottentots, amounted to about 62,000; of which 22,000 were whites, 26,000 slaves, and 14,000 Hottentots: at present, we understand, it amounts very nearly to 100,000.

The productions of the colony are valuable and varied, but the three great staple commodities may be considered to consist of Wine, Wheat, and Wool; of the importance of which we shall be able to form a better idea, from taking a short view of the situation of the three different kinds of landholders, known in the Cape by the names of the *Wyn-boor*, the *Koorn-boor*, and the *Vee-boor*; that is to say, the wine-grower, the corn-grower, and the grazier.

The cultivation of the vine was first introduced into the colony by some French Protestants, who had fled thither in search of an asylum after the revocation of the decree of Nantz. At that time it was almost limited to the Cape peninsula; but these new settlers had lands assigned to them in freehold or

* Barrow's Travels.

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in quit rent, on the other side of the sandy isthmus which connects it with the continent, but within the boundary of the great chain of mountains. The valley of Drakenstein, the Paarlberg, and Stellenbosch, afforded them a choice of situation; and it was chiefly here, and within a range of thirty miles from the Cape, that they fixed themselves; and here many of their descendants reside at this day. Their establishments are large; their houses spacious and respectable, and wearing the appearance of substantial comfort. Trees of immense size, in clumps or in avenues, of oak, pine, chesnut, and others of European origin, point out at a distance the habitation of the wine-planter. The orange, the lemon, the guava, the pomegranate, and many other tropical fruits mingle with those of Europe in their orchards, and their gardens are abundantly stocked with all the useful culinary vegetables. Their extensive vineyards are enclosed generally with thick and lofty screens of oak, which part with their leaves only three months in the year, and throw out annual shoots of ten or twelve feet in length. These hedge-rows are sometimes of quince, pomegranate, and even of myrtle. Most of the families of the old proprietors are in affluent circumstances. Their dwellings, in fact, resemble villages, and contain mechanics of all kinds, some free, but mostly slaves, who supply them with implements of husbandry, furniture, clothes, &c. In describing one of these comfortable retreats, Lichtenstein says, 'its situation directly under the lofty, steep, and craggy mountains, the bright green of the broad avenues of old oak, the excellently husbanded pastures and corn-fields, the nice-dressed vineyards, orchards, and orangeries; the sight of numberless well-fed cattle, and the widely-extended circle of neat buildings for barns, stables, wine-presses and work-shops, formed altogether a most delightful assemblage of objects. Easy affluence, rational utility, prudent caution, and useful attention to every thing being kept in the most exact order, were every where conspicuous throughout this little domain.'*

Their horses and cattle, of which they have generally a sufficient stock for the supply of their numerous families, are usually kept at some distant loan-farm, held by them in addition to their freeholds, which are generally about 120 English acres. They visit their friends or go to church or market in waggons covered with tents, and drawn by six or eight horses, which they drive, sitting on the front seat, more by the exercise of a long whip than by the rein, guiding them with wonderful dexterity on a full gallop, over heathy and deep sands, or up and down the steep

* Travels in Southern Africa.

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and stony passes of high and rugged hills. The wealthiest gentleman-farmer in England cannot be more independent than one of these old family freeholders of the Cape of Good Hope.

It might reasonably be supposed that those persons who carried the vine with them to this country knew something of its culture; and it is equally reasonable to conclude that, from its rapid and luxuriant growth, from the excellence and variety of the grapes, which rarely experience an unproductive season, from the different kinds of soil, situation, and aspect, it could scarcely happen by any mismanagement, that some specimens of good sound wine of a neat and delicate flavour should not be produced. Such, however, is not the case; at least none of this description have yet found their way to this country. Those of Drakenstein approach nearest to the Madeira, Vidonia, and Marzala; but are inferior to all of them. The Stein-wines, which were supposed to resemble those of the Rhine, were generally found to acquire by age a sweetish taste, owing to the over-ripeness of the fruit, and perhaps imperfect fermentation: they have now got into the opposite extreme, and produce a wine that is raw, harsh, and without flavour. The dry Pontac is by far the best that we have tasted; it has the roughness of Port with the flavour of Burgundy. The sweet wines are rich and luscious, but without much flavour. Even the Constantia is every way inferior to the Madeira Malmsy, Malaga, Calcavella, or Frontignac. But the manufactured trash which is selling in London *under* the names of Cape Champagne, Burgundy, Barsac, Sauterne, &c. are so many specious poisons, which the cheapness of the common and inferior wines of the Cape allows the venders of them to use as the basis of the several compositions, at the expense of the stomach and bowels of their customers, and of the little share of character which the real Cape wines had acquired.

The peculiar and disagreeable flavour which all Cape wines more or less possess, and which the Dutch call the *Caap-smaak*, has frequently been the subject of discussion; but the cause of it does not appear to have yet been discovered: this is much to be regretted; for until that characteristic *smaak* be removed, there is little hope that the Cape wines will be generally adopted in the British empire. It cannot arise, as some have supposed, from the vines being cut down to the size of gooseberry bushes, for that is the common practice in France and Germany. It might be conjectured, with more probability, to be owing to the careless manner of throwing the whole bunches, stalk and all, ripe, rotten, and unripe, under the press, and to other uncleanly practices; or to planting various kinds of grapes in the same vineyard, which

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which would, at any rate, prevent the wine from having any decisive character. But we are rather inclined to attribute the peculiar taste to the nature of the soil in which the vine is planted, than to any of these causes. In the whole colony of the Cape there are no volcanic products, no chalk nor limestone; sand and clay are the great constituent materials that compose its soil. Now we have understood that, in all the wine countries, a clayey soil is deemed the very worst for producing neat wine, and that wherever the root of the vine strikes down to the clay, the wines are sure to acquire an earthy taste. This is precisely the *Caap-smaak*; and as most of the vineyards of the colony are carefully brought down into the lowest and the richest tracts of land, instead of being, as in other countries, planted on the sides of the hills; and as the soils of all these lowlands in the Cape are mixed with clay in which the water lodges, (even the sandy isthmus rests on a bed of clay,) we have very little doubt that the soil is the main cause of this disagreeable flavour. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, from the circumstance of the vineyards of Constantia being planted in a soil of deep red decomposed sandstone, and on the declivity of a hill; and from the well-known fact that the cuttings of the Constantia vines, though planted at a hundred yards below, produce a wine totally different in its flavour and quality. We should therefore strongly recommend to the new planters, the cultivation of the vine on the northern sides of the rugged sandstone hills, instead of the stronger soils of the plains and valleys: the distance from the Cape will be no great obstacle to this species of cultivation, as many years cannot pass away before a regular coasting trade will be established to the farthest extremity of the colony.

A trifling barrier duty of three or four rix-dollars the leaguer of 154 gallons is paid for all wines brought to market, amounting at present to about 12,000 leaguers annually. Brandy pays the same duty; and here we may observe, that the Cape brandies are even worse than the wines; but this is evidently owing to their imperfect distillation. Lichtenstein says, that their empyreumatic flavour was corrected by a friend of his, by means of charcoal, so as to make them equal to the best Cogniac brandies.

The *Koorn-boors* inhabit chiefly that portion of the Cape district to the northward and eastward of Saldanha Bay, and most parts of Stellenbosch, on both sides of the first range of mountains, as far as four or five days journey from Cape Town. Most of them cultivate the vine also for their own use, and that of their more distant neighbours; and since its advanced price, even those beyond the mountains bring wine to the Cape market. Many of them are substantial farmers, who can send to the capital four or five thousand

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thousand bushels of wheat annually, besides their own supply, which is not trifling, and that of their neighbours, who content themselves with grazing cattle. Their houses are generally much inferior to those of the wine-boor; and they are usually to be known by six or eight trees, chiefly oak, which look as if they were placed there merely to shew, by their freshness and luxuriance of growth, that the owners might have others in different parts of their premises, if they had not predetermined that it should not be so. The vineyard of the corn-boor is the only patch that is enclosed, unless he should have, which is not often the case, a small garden, with a few straggling cabbages, or, which is still more rare, an orchard of oranges, peaches, and the more common fruits of the country.

The Cape corn-boor is an unskilful agriculturist. He knows nothing of the advantage of a rotation of crops; nor has he the most distant notion of raising any other kind of green food except a little barley and maize; though turnips, carrots, potatoes, lucern, clover, and, we have reason to think, every kind of artificial grass would do well in this climate. No provision of dry food is ever made to meet the contingency of a drought; and in consequence of this neglect the cattle sometimes perish in great numbers. Wheat is the only grain which he cultivates for the market: his plough is an unwieldy machine, which, heavily dragged along by twelve or sixteen oxen, just scratches the surface, and avoids any little patch that may be stony or bushy, or stiffer than the rest. He sometimes turns the ground to let it lie fallow, but seldom gives himself the trouble of collecting manure; yet he rarely reaps less than fifteen for one; frequently from twenty to thirty, and, when he has the command of water, a great deal more. The corn is carelessly trodden out, in circular clayed floors, by cattle; the straw and chaff were left to be scattered by the winds, till a demand for it by the English, who kept horses, induced the farmer to bring it to market. In few parts of the world is finer wheat produced than at the Cape. A *muid*, or $3\frac{1}{6}$ Winchester bushels, weighs usually 180 Dutch pounds, equal to $191\frac{1}{4}$ pounds English. Specimens of it, exhibited in Mark Lane, were considered superior to any other then in the market.

The grounds of the corn-boor being unenclosed, they have all the appearance, when the grain is off, of a heathy waste; though, by a moderate share of labour, they might in two or three years be completely sheltered, and protected by hedge-rows of oak, or of the *keurbroom* (*sophora*) which grows still more rapidly. We have very little doubt that the hawthorn would answer remarkably well; and the lemon makes an excellent fence. By a little exertion of

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of skill and labour, water might be raised from the rivers, which generally run in deep chasms, and thus be made available to the irrigation of land; in which case the returns of grain would at least double those now obtained. But the proprietors are so insensible, or so indifferent, that when Captain Andrews offered to lead the water of two copious springs to the grounds of a Dutch boor, provided he would sow them with grain, the man coolly observed, shrugging up his shoulders, 'that it was not worth while, as he could purchase what flour he wanted from his neighbour, who lived but five days' journey off.' This person, it is true, was placed at the extremity of the colony; but Mr. Latrobe gives us the reply of one of the most shrewd and sensible of the Dutch farmers who lived within two days' journey of the Cape, which shews that the feeling is very general among them. 'What,' said he, 'would you have us do? Our only concern is to fill our bellies, to get good clothes and houses; to say to one slave, Do this, and to another, Do that, and to sit idle ourselves, and be waited upon; and as to our tillage, or building, or planting, our forefathers did so and so, and were satisfied; and why should not we be the same? The English want us to use their ploughs, instead of our heavy wooden ones, and recommend other implements of husbandry than those we have been used to, but we like our old things best.'

The agricultural emigrant will perceive from this statement, how great an advantage he must, by his superior knowledge and industry, have over the Cape boor. The truth is, these farmers, possessing all the necessaries of life, gave themselves little or no concern about raising produce for which there was no demand; it was enough for their fathers, and, according to their own principle, for themselves, to supply the quota required by their rulers; beyond that no object existed to stimulate their exertion. Since our acquisition of the colony, however, and the abolition of the public granaries, the demand for exportable produce has increased; which, together with the diminution of the number of slaves, has contributed to create in such of the old proprietors, as reside within a reasonable distance of the capital, a degree of activity unknown under their former rulers.

Something of this spirit too, though in a smaller degree, has reached the more distant grazier, or Vee-boor. To understand the situation of this description of colonist, it will be necessary to explain the nature of the tenure by which he holds his farm, and the extent of territory of which he claims the exclusive right.

The Dutch East India Company, in forming a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, had no further object in view than that

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of making it a place of refreshment for their spice fleets, in their passage to and from the Eastern islands; and, at the same time, ensuring a comfortable provision for some of the numerous servants in their employ. The country, in the state in which they found it, yielded nothing for the markets of Europe or the East, and the supply of cattle for the small garrison and of sea-stock for their shipping was at first derived solely from the Hottentots. By degrees, the agents who carried on a barter with this simple nation, found their advantage in breeding cattle themselves; and finally, by means of spirits and tobacco, they contrived not only to juggle the Hottentots out of the whole of their flocks and herds, but to compel them to take care of them. The Company, placing no value on the land, particularly such parts as lay behind the mountains, dealt it out to these graziers with a liberal hand: tracts of about 5000 acres each were granted in perpetual leasehold, on payment of an annual rent of 24 rix-dollars, or about £5 sterling, something less than a farthing an acre. The person desirous of obtaining one of these *loan-farms*, as they were called, having pitched upon an unoccupied spot, erected a *baaken*, or land-mark, on the most convenient spot, from which, as from a centre, all the land that fell within the periphery of a circle whose radius was half an hour's walk, or one mile and a half, was considered as comprized in the grant. The great object in placing this *baaken*, was to bring within the circle so much of some rivulet or water-course, as might leave little or no temptation for a *neighbour* to fix his *baaken* within three miles of it, but to leave as much neutral ground between them as possible; since, if the distance between the extreme lines of the two farms was less than one hour's walk, no one was allowed to take possession of it. Hence it happened that the nearest neighbours were generally five or six miles apart, and in some places a whole day's journey.

Thus removed from the seat of authority, and placed where no one was near enough to see, much less control his actions, the Vee-boor lorded it over the kraal of Hottentots, with the undisputed power of a feudal chief, from whose tyranny they had no appeal. At length, however, the grievances of this oppressed race reached the Cape; in consequence of which, and of the growing population, a local magistrate, together with a minister, was appointed and sent to a spot called Graaf Reynet, about five hundred miles from the capital. The turbulent boors, dispersed as they were, found means to act in concert when they conceived the occasion to require it, and accordingly assembled to drive away the landrost and the clergyman. This happened just as the colony fell into the possession of Great Britain; and it was on this occasion that Mr. Barrow

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Barrow was sent officially to examine and report the real state of the colony, and particularly near the frontier. The disturbances continuing, it was found necessary to establish a small garrison at Algoa bay, and a cordon of posts along the line of the Great Fish river, to keep the refractory boors in awe, prevent their quarrels with the Caffres, and, if possible, put a stop to their mutual depredations.

These stubborn and misguided men, having no regular employment at home, were always ready to assemble what they called a *commando*, which, in fact, was a pretext to rove about beyond the limits of the colony, to destroy game, and, in default of other sport, to shoot the wild Hottentots, whom they call Bosjesmen. Frequently the boor sets out alone in order to kill time and break the even tenor of a lazy life. His enormous musket, which he names a *roer*, is his inseparable companion; indeed he would not consider himself safe without it: with it he travels with confidence; for so expert is he in hitting the mark, that he seldom fails to bring down his object, whether it be a Bosjesman or a wild beast, with a single ball. Of the unerring skill and steadiness of these men, the following may serve as a specimen. The hero of this little narrative was a person of the name of Von Wyk, and we give the story of his perilous and fearful shot in his own words.

'It is now,' said he, 'more than two years since, in the very place where we stand, I ventured to take one of the most daring shots that ever was hazarded. My wife was sitting within the house, near the door; the children were playing about her: and I was without, near the house, busied in doing something to a waggon, when suddenly, though it was mid-day, an enormous lion appeared, came up, and laid himself quietly down in the shade, upon the very threshold of the door. My wife, either frozen with fear, or aware of the danger attending any attempt to fly, remained motionless in her place, while the children took refuge in her lap. The cry they uttered attracted my attention, and I hastened towards the door; but my astonishment may well be conceived, when I found the entrance to it barred in such a way. Although the animal had not seen me, unarmed as I was, escape seemed impossible; yet I glided gently, scarcely knowing what I meant to do, to the side of the house, up to the window of my chamber, where I knew my loaded gun was standing. By a most happy chance, I had set it in the corner, close by the window, so that I could reach it with my hand; for, as you may perceive, the opening is too small to admit of my having got in; and still more fortunately, the door of the room was open, so that I could see the whole danger of the scene. The lion was beginning to move, perhaps with the intention of making a spring. There was no longer any time to think: I called softly to the mother not to be alarmed, and invoking the name of the Lord, fired my piece. The ball passed directly over the hair of my boy's head, and lodged

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lodged in the forehead of the lion, immediately above his eyes, which shot forth, as it were, sparks of fire, and stretched him on the ground, so that he never stirred more.'*

These rude and uneducated men, aware of their powers in this respect, though contemptible in all others, had the extreme rashness and folly to rise upon the British government, and summon one of the posts on the Caffre frontier to surrender; on the troops marching out to meet them, however, they galloped off in different directions, to their own homes. As this was the second time they had assembled in arms against the constituted authorities, it was deemed expedient, in order to deter them from such attempts in future, to execute five of those who had been the most active in promoting the rebellion.

To an European the whole establishment of a Vee-boor presents a scene of filth and discomfort which could scarcely be imagined. His hovel, generally perched on an eminence that no hostile attack may be made on it unperceived, whether by man or beast, has neither tree, nor shrub, nor blade of grass near it. A few straw huts, with a number of Hottentot women and children naked or half-clothed in sheep-skins, are the principal objects that attract the eye. Between these huts and the boor's house, and immediately in front of the latter, surrounded by withered bushes of the thorny mimosa, is the pen or *kraal* in which his cattle and his sheep are shut up at night, to protect them from the wolves and hyenas, or to prevent their straying. The dung of these kraals, the accumulation of years, sometimes rises to the very eves of the house; this, however, gives no concern to the boor, who would probably see it overtop them with equal apathy: the only chance, in fact, of its ever being cleared away is its taking fire, which in damp weather sometimes happens. The lambing season in this country is the season of rains, and it generally happens that not a few of the little ones, on being dropped, are smothered in the bog; a fate which sometimes attends the young calves—and this takes place within reach of woods or thickets of natural growth, where poles for constructing sheds might be had without trouble or expense! —but a suggestion of this kind leading to a deviation from the good old rule of doing exactly what *vader* had done before him, would be lost on the Cape boor.

Their breed of cattle is capable of great improvement, particularly that of the milch-cow. The long-legged, broad-tailed sheep is the least valuable, perhaps, of the species; it wants the intestine fat or suet; and its wool is little better than hair: but the cross of Merinos and South-down has been introduced with

* Lichtenstein's Travels in South Africa.

advantage,

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advantage, and the wool, which is said to equal the best Spanish, has already become a valuable article of export.

The interior of the Vee-boor's establishment is as slovenly as its exterior accompaniments: a clay floor, in the pits of which are splashes of sour milk or mud; a roof open to the thatch; a square hole or two in the wall for windows, without glass; an old rug or blanket, or a wattled partition, separating the sleeping apartment, are the leading features of his hovel. A large chest, which serves as a table at home or a seat in his waggon when he travels; a few ricketty stools with bottoms of the thongs of sheep skins; a bedstead or two of the same fashion and material; an iron pot and a few dishes; a musket of tremendous size, and a large horn to contain his gunpowder, constitute nearly the whole inventory of his furniture—yet this man is probably the owner of five or six hundred head of cattle, and four or five thousand sheep. This picture, in which the reader may be assured there is nothing of caricature, may be taken as a general representation, though there are many exceptions to it: several of the farmers, who live at a distance, have carried with them the more polished manners of the Cape; and almost all of them are friendly and hospitable to strangers.

Barrow and Lichtenstein have both described the filthy abodes of these people, and their accounts are confirmed by the following more recent description of Mr. Latrobe, which offers so true and lively a picture of one of them, that we cannot forbear to quote the whole passage.

'Meanwhile Sister Schmitt reported, that on going to procure some milk from the farmer's wife, living on the hill eastward of our camp, she had found her to be a woman of uncommon size, occupying a huge arm chair, above a yard wide, out of which she was scarcely able to lift herself. She had expressed a wish to see the whole of our party, and certainly, though she herself would excite as much curiosity in England, as the famous Lambert, she had a right to consider us, as Englishmen, equally worthy of attention in Africa. Otherwise, being perfectly content with things of ordinary size and appearance, I should not have gone a step out of my way to see a monster. But being so kindly invited, we went in a body to pay the lady a morning-visit, at her own house, if the hovel she inhabited may be dignified by that name. It consists of an oblong square, inclosed in a wall of unburnt bricks, one half of which was covered with a roof of rushes. The entrance was through the uncovered part. In this vestibule three or four naked slave-children were crawling about; a woman, partially clothed in rags, with a child strapped to her breast, was cooking some victuals at a fire, and dirt, guts, old shoes, rags of sheep-skins, and other filth, occupied every part of the premises, out and inside. On entering the main apartment, the first thing that met the eye, was the carcass of a sheep just killed, hanging from a cross-beam, with a pool of blood on the clay floor,

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floor, under the head; five fox-coloured cats were sitting round, watching for their share of the spoil: a milk-pail, churn, and some other kitchen utensils to the right; and to the left, the lady herself, who kindly invited Sister Schmitt to come and sit down on a stool, between her and the pendant carcass. Her husband, a very civil, old man, with a grey beard, and a large straw hat, sat at the table, and a bench was placed for us, between the carcass and the door. The lady herself entered freely into conversation, told us, that notwithstanding her enormous bulk, she was only forty-three years old, and good-humouredly observed, that Sister Schmitt looked now only like a little girl, passing several jokes on the difference between them. Her face still retained some vivacity and comeliness. Her body entirely filled the vast chair she sat in, on the arms of which her elbows rested. She intended soon to remove to another habitation on Serjeants Revier. When once hoisted into the waggon, she can no more quit it, till she arrives at the place of her destination. From her wooden throne, she issued her commands to her slaves, Hottentots, and brutes, with the same shrill voice for which the African ladies are noted. Close to the dwelling, was the beast-kraal, and the surrounding premises exhibited a congeries of lumber, rags, ruin, and disorder, not to be described. Through all this chaos, ran a small stream of spring-water, clear as crystal, in vain offering its aid to cleanse the Augean stable. The lady, however, conscious of mortality, had already provided herself with a coffin of immense size, which, with her gigantic bed, is screened off the apartment by a bulk-head of matting.'—p. 189, 190.

Though there may be some excuse for the Vee-boor neither ploughing, nor planting vineyards, beyond the demands of his own consumption, there is none whatever for his slovenly habits, his total neglect of the decencies of life, and, above all, his inhuman and frequently dishonest conduct towards the Hottentots in his employ. Insulated as he is, and wholly removed from the benefit of a church or market, it would be unreasonable to expect from him the manners of polished society, or the dress and furniture which the carpenter and tailor could supply; but cleanliness is always within his reach, and it might be naturally supposed that self-gratification would induce a sufficient degree of domestic industry to supply himself with the common conveniences of a household;—not so: he prefers seeking them at a distance, and at an expense of toil and suffering far beyond their worth. The great distance from the Cape, the rough and rugged roads, the rivers frequently unfordable, render the whole value of his waggon load of the lightest articles of produce, by the time they reach the market, scarcely equal to the expenses of the journey; but the wandering life of two or three months suits his habits, and if he carries to the capital enough of butter, soap, ostrich feathers, and leopard skins, to purchase in return a

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little coffee, brandy and gunpowder, the purpose of his journey and his life is answered.

To finish the picture of the genuine Dutch cattle-boor.—His appearance is that of indolence personified. Of large dimensions, but loosely put together, his motions are those of an automaton, or of the Brobdignagers in the pantomime. His dress corresponds with his person, consisting of a loose unbuttoned jacket without skirts, hanging over his shoulders; a shirt whose colour is not easily described, and whose open collar discovers a sunburnt neck and breast; skin-breeches unbuttoned at the knees, skin shoes, (stockings are out of the question,) and, to crown the whole, an enormous slouched hat, with a tobacco pipe stuck within the band when not on duty (and it enjoys no sinecure) in the mouth. His children run wild among the little Hottentots, and his wife crouches within the hovel as listless and as unwieldy as himself.

The next class of people, with whom the new settlers will be brought into immediate contact, are the Hottentots, the original possessors of the soil, whose total numbers within the colony (and there are none beyond it except the Bosjesmans or wild Hottentots) may probably amount to twenty thousand. Barrow makes them, according to official returns, about fifteen thousand; and there can be little doubt that, by the protection which they have received from the British government, their improved condition, mainly by the instruction of the missionaries, and their increased importance as labourers in the colony since the abolition of the slave-trade, their numbers, since his visit, have considerably augmented. We sincerely hope that this good-humoured and tractable race will meet with every encouragement from the new settlers, to whom they may be made of infinite service as keepers of their cattle, drivers of their carts or waggons, and labourers in their gardens. Their fate under the Dutch government has been a hard one. The old colonists, not satisfied with swindling them out of their territory, robbing them of their cattle by which alone they subsisted, and making them their slaves, justified their conduct by representing them as the most brutal and filthy of the human race; so that their very name (which by the way does not belong to them, nor is its origin known) became a reproach, and was held synonimous with every thing nauseous and disgusting. It is due to Vaillant to say that he was the first to publish to the world the good qualities of the Hottentot character; but General Craig, after the capture of the Cape, brought forward, experimentally, the physical and moral qualities of this degraded race, by forming them into a military corps, and proving how capable they were of strict discipline, obedience, instruction, and,

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and, what had least of all been expected, of cleanliness; their clothing, their accoutrements, and their persons, being kept as neat and in as good order as those of the European troops. The truth is that the filthy appearance of the Hottentot was not from choice but necessity. Had the country afforded him cocoa-nut oil, or his European masters allowed him soap, he would, no doubt, have made use of these ingredients; but having neither, and not meeting with water for many days together, he greased his body with the fat or juices of his meat, to protect it from insects and from the scorching rays of the sun. The readiness and indeed the anxiety which he now shews to get rid of his sheep-skin clothing for cotton, linen or woollen, and to keep his person clean, proves that he is far more sensible than the boor to the comforts of civilized life. Those who have visited the Missionary establishments bear testimony to the decency and propriety which mark the conduct and appearance of the Hottentots, who have been brought within the pale of Christianity; but no traveller has had so good an opportunity of experiencing their many estimable qualities as Mr. Latrobe, the amiable and highly respectable head of the society for Moravian missions in London, of whose interesting observations we gladly avail ourselves. 'Whoever,' says this excellent man, 'charges the Hottentots with being inferior to other people of the same class, as to education and the means of improvement, knows nothing about them;' and again, 'they are, in general, more sensible and possess better judgment than most Europeans, equally destitute of the means of instruction.'

The oldest Moravian establishment is that named *Bavian's Kloof*, or the 'Monkey's Ravine,' which General Jansens thought fit to alter to that of 'Gnadenthal,' or the 'Valley of Grace.' On his approach to this place Mr. Latrobe was met by about a hundred Hottentots, men, women and children, who, placing themselves in a semicircle, began to sing, in the sweetest manner, a few verses expressive of their joy and gratitude to God, for having brought him safely across the ocean to their country. As they drew nearer to the village, through lanes enclosed by hedge-rows, the numbers every moment increased, and Mr. Latrobe thus gives vent to his feelings.

'Little do I now wonder at the rapture, with which this place is spoken of by travellers, who, after traversing a dreary, uncultivated country, without a tree to screen them from the scorching rays of the sun, find themselves transported into a situation, by nature the most barren and wild, but now rendered fruitful and inviting, by the persevering diligence and energy of a few plain, pious, sensible, and judicious men, who came hither, not seeking their own profit, but that of the most

despised of nations; and while they directed their own and their hearers' hearts to the dwellings of bliss and glory above, taught them those things, which have made even their earthly dwelling, comparatively, a kind of paradise, and changed filth and misery into comfort and peace.'—p. 59.

Nearly thirteen hundred Hottentots now inhabit this village, which was once a perfect wilderness, or, which amounts pretty much to the same thing, a loan-farm, held by a single Dutch boor. It consists of two hundred and fifty-six cottages and huts, containing twelve hundred and seventy-six inhabitants. Every cottage has a garden, and from the state of the garden, the disposition of the owner is pretty well known to the good fathers. A few of the poorer class still wear sheep-skins, and their children go naked; but those who have learned trades, and those who are industrious, make a point of providing themselves with jackets and trowsers and other articles of European dress, which they always wear on Sundays. The head-dress of the women is a handkerchief neatly enfolding their heads, with a knot in front, which is smart and graceful. Both before and after meals they sing a grace in the sweetest voice imaginable. 'Nothing,' says Mr. Latrobe, 'would be more easy than to form a chorus of the most delightful voices, in four parts, from among this smooth-throated nation:'—the nation, by the way, which Mr. Fisher had the goodness to inform the world could neither speak nor articulate!

Mr. Latrobe visited the school, at which about one hundred and thirty girls were instructed, and which was now to be given over to the superintendance of Brother Leitner; on this occasion the children took leave of their venerable teacher and founder, Father Marsveld. 'It was affecting,' says Mr. Latrobe, 'to see many of them clinging about Father Marsveld, and, with many tears, shaking hands, to thank him for his kindness towards them, as their teacher. Some of the bigger girls seemed quite disconsolate, and cried for a long time without ceasing.' The following little incident sets the Hottentot character in a very amiable point of view.

'Soon after four in the morning, (says Mr. Latrobe,) I heard the sweet sound of Hottentot voices, singing a hymn in the hall before my chamber-door. It reminded me, that this day was my birth-day, which had been mentioned to them by some of the missionaries. I was struck and affected by this mark of their regard, nor was their mode of expressing it confined to a morning-song. They had dressed out my chair, at the common table, with branches of oak and laurel, and Sister Schmitt's school children, in order not to be behind in their kind offices, having begged their mistress to mark on a large white muslin handkerchief, some English words, expressive of their goodwill towards me, they managed to embroider them with a species of creeper called cat's-thorn,

thorn, and fastened the muslin in front of a table, covered with a white cloth, and decorated with festoons of cat's-thorn and field flowers. On the table stood five large bouquets, in glasses. The whole arrangement did credit to their taste, for Sister Schmitt had left it entirely to their own invention. This table I found placed in my room on returning from my morning's walk. The words were, "May success crown every action."'—p. 101.

He experienced a further proof of the affection and gratitude of these people on leaving Gnadenthal. They came one by one to take leave, and, with simplicity and evident sincerity, to wish him success. Among others, two women presented him with a roll of matting made by themselves, and entreated him to use it on his journey for their sakes; and when he told them he would preserve and take it to England, 'the poor people,' he says, 'were almost in extasy at the thought that the work of their hands should go across the great waters to their teacher's land.' We may judge of the impression made on Mr. Latrobe's mind by the description which he gives of his feelings on taking his final leave of these worthy people. As he ascended the steps of his waggon, about two hundred with one voice sang their farewell hymn.

'At this moment, I felt all resistance to my feelings give way. Never have I experienced a keener pang, on leaving any place, or any friends, to whom I was attached. Gnadenthal is indeed a spot, where I have found myself so much at home, and where almost every object conspired to fill my mind with grateful remembrances and contemplations, that, though convinced of my duty to proceed to Groenekloof, where business of importance to that settlement demanded my presence, I found it necessary to do violence to my feelings, to tear myself loose. But my spirit will often dwell in those hallowed groves, accompany the congregation into the house of prayer, attend them during their truly solemn assemblies, behold with affection and delight the pious labours of their teachers, participate in their joys, their sorrows, and their cares, and enjoy an aftertaste of the heavenly comfort attending the administration of the holy sacraments, by the presence and power of our Lord and Saviour.'—p. 290.

We certainly do not envy the feelings of that man who cannot participate in the inward satisfaction and serenity of mind experienced by Dr. Henderson while he was distributing the Holy Scriptures among the simple and innocent Icelanders; or whose heart would not share the rapturous delight of Mr. Latrobe in witnessing the happy and comfortable condition of so many poor Hottentots, rescued from the most degrading situation to which human nature has, in any time or place, been reduced; and in regarding their decent and orderly conduct while listening to the truths of the Gospel, delivered to them by the teachers of that church of which he is so distinguished a member.

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There yet remains to be noticed another description of original inhabitants, with which the new settlers may come in contact, very different in their character, condition, manners, language, colour and stature, from the Hottentots: we allude to the inhabitants on the eastern side of the Great Fish River, absurdly called Caffres, or infidels. Though these pastoral tribes have given way to the encroachments of the Dutch on their territory, they have resisted all their attempts to enslave them, and have hitherto maintained a perfect independence. Among the stoutest and the finest-shaped of the human race, they are, at the same time, among the most abstemious, scarcely knowing the taste of animal food, but subsisting chiefly on milk in a curdled state, a few wild roots, bitter gourds and millet. Whether the nature of their food, or the habits of their life, may have inspired that mildness of character by which they have always been distinguished, is not material in this place to discuss; but if it has undergone any change for the worse, it has unquestionably been owing to their connexion with the Dutch boors, near the frontiers. By Vasco de Gama they were named the good people—*boã gente*—and those who have visited their country have found them deserving of the name. Barrow, Lichtenstein, Alberti and General Jansens, all agree in this point; and their humane conduct towards the shipwrecked crew of an American vessel, who fell into their power, is a further proof of their harmless disposition.

'Cast, with sixty of my people, (says Captain Benjamin Stout) on the shores of *Caffraria*, after combating the horrors of a tempest, which I believe has but few parallels in the history of naval misfortune, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them a protection, which on many of the shores that belong to the polished nations of Europe I might have sought for in vain. These unfortunate inhabitants of *Caffraria*, who have been so often and so wickedly denominated savages, that delight and revel in human slaughter, I found possessed of all those compassionate feelings, that alone give a lustre to, and adorn humanity; living in a state of perpetual alarm from the persecuting and avaricious dispositions of the colonists, and instructed by their fathers to consider a *white man* as a being who never hesitates to murder when plunder is in view, still a justifiable revenge yielded to the virtuous impulse of compassion, and our necessities were generously relieved, without even the prospect of a recompense. When thrown, by the raging of the elements, on the sandy shores of their country, we were all unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our defence, clothing or subsistence; in this situation, we were completely at the mercy of the natives; but instead of remembering and revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured from the *savage whites*, they made a fire to dry and refresh us; they slaughtered a bullock, which they gave us for

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for our subsistence; they conducted us to a spring of the most limpid and wholesome water, and when we were enabled to travel, furnished us with guides through the deserts of their country. Such was the conduct of a people, who have been described as barbarians, possessing no other semblance of the human character than what they derive from their formation.'*

An unfortunate but well-meant interference on the part of the Cape government seems to have been the occasion of the recent irruption of the Caffres into the colony. A feud of long standing had separated those Caffres who dwell on the frontier into two hostile tribes; at the head of one of these, is the chief named Gaika, whose amiable and interesting character is described by Barrow and Governor Jansens. Considered as the legitimate chief, and always on friendly terms with the colonists, the constituted authorities appear of late to have espoused his cause; and not only to have engaged in actual hostilities against the opposite party, but to have assisted in carrying off their cattle. This was, in fact, striking at the very root of their existence; and it is obvious that the sole object of their late inroad was to indemnify themselves for the loss; as, in seizing the herds belonging to the good Missionaries of Witte river, they spared the people themselves, though a few faithful Hottentots who guarded the cattle, and who, we have reason to believe, resisted the invaders, were unfortunately killed. A few cavalry stationed along the frontier line of the colony had kept them quiet, but on their removal, the plundered party of Caffres, watching their opportunity, crossed the river and carried off indiscriminately all the cattle they fell in with; several skirmishes ensued between them and the infantry stationed at the posts, in one of which, it is said, the Caffres marched in regular order, wheeled, and filed off like disciplined troops: they were, however, repulsed. Upon this the boors were called upon to assemble in arms on the frontiers. Thus the matter rests, and it is to be hoped will be suffered to rest; in which case we are pretty sure that the Caffres will give the colonists little further molestation: at the same time it would, we think, be prudent to replace the cavalry at the posts, on the bank of the Great Fish River, till the emigrants shall be fairly settled on their estates.

Having thus cursorily taken a view of the character of the several inhabitants of the colony of the Cape, we shall now state the outline of the plan proposed by government for carrying into effect its benevolent intention; endeavour to answer such objections as have been urged against the measures in contemplation; and then describe briefly the particular district in which it is intended the new settlers shall be placed, and to what

* 'Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Hercules.'

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extent there, and in other parts of the colony, population may be advantageously carried.

The outline of the plan is this: 'That the application of the £50,000 voted by the House of Commons be confined to persons who, possessing the means, will engage to carry out at least ten able-bodied individuals, above eighteen years of age, with or without families;

That every person, so engaging, shall deposit at the rate of £10 for every family taken out; in consideration of which a passage will be provided at the public expense, and also their victualling from the time of embarkation until the time of landing at the colony.

That a grant of land will be made to each person carrying out the aforesaid number, at the rate of one hundred acres for every such person or family whom he takes out; one third of the money advanced by him at the outset to be repaid to him on landing, when the victualling at the public expense will cease; a further proportion of one third to be repaid when it is certified to the Governor that the settlers are actually placed on the lands assigned to them; and the remaining third at the expiration of three months from the date of their location.

That the lands will be granted at a perpetual quit-rent to be fixed, but which will be remitted for the first ten years; this rent not to exceed in any case £2 sterling for every 100 acres, subject, however, to a clause, that the land shall become forfeited to government in case the party shall abandon the estate, or not bring it into cultivation within a given number of years.

That in the allotment of lands, the interests and the wishes of the parties will be consulted and attended to, as far as may be consistent with the public and private interests of the colony, the several landrosts having instructions to that effect; with a caution however, in the distribution of ground, to preserve the waters, so that the most extensive accommodation possible may be afforded in that regard to future settlers.

That in case 100 families shall proceed together, and apply for leave to carry out with them a minister of their own persuasion, the government will, on their being actually fixed, assign a salary to the minister whom they may have selected to accompany them.'

These, it must be acknowledged, are most liberal offers on the part of His Majesty's government, and such as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to a great number of families, who may wish to embrace the chance of bettering their condition, and providing for their offspring at the expense of quitting their native country and connections, for a limited period, or perhaps for ever. But they go under

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under the lively assurance of procuring a comfortable subsistence; they exchange a climate, certainly not a bad one, for one however which is better; for one which is probably not excelled in any part of the globe; which is scarcely ever too hot for the labourer to expose himself to the rays of the sun, or too cold to remain inactive without a fire. On the plan itself we have but two observations to make: the one is, our hope that the emigrations contemplated are not meant to exclude persons of capital from proceeding at their own expense to the Cape, with the view of obtaining lands by purchase or otherwise in other parts of the colony than the new settlement fixed on by government: the other is of more importance, and relates to that part of the conditions which has, we know, been strongly objected to; and which fixes a perpetual quit-rent on the holders of land. It is not the amount of the rent that is objectionable, for a peppercorn would be equally so, but the principle. An Englishman is proud of the feeling which will enable him to say, 'It is my own, and I can do what I will with it.' We would willingly hope therefore that the settlers will be indulged with the fee-simple of the land they cultivate, or (what perhaps may be thought more eligible) be allowed to redeem the perpetual quit-rent at a fixed rate, and have it converted into a freehold.

There are, however, certain objections made to this plan and arrangement of government, which, with some 'features of less agreeable appearance,' we now proceed to notice: Among others, it has been asserted that the 'time of departure from this country is not at the proper season for embarkation; that it will bring the emigrants to the new settlement, at the season of droughts and barrenness, and not at the *planting season*, which begins with September, &c.'—all of which is founded in a total ignorance of the climate and seasons of the Cape. To prove this it is sufficient to state that the rains begin to fall partially towards the end of March, and rarely, if ever, later than April; that the moment they begin, the labours of the field commence; and that, instead of beginning, these labours end, in September, the harvest being in November and December. Now a ship leaving England in the beginning of December may be expected to reach Algoa bay about the beginning of March. To distribute the respective grants of land, to enable the new settlers to get on shore and transport their stores and implements of husbandry, to pitch their tents or to hut themselves, will require at least a month; by that time the rains will have begun; and instead of waiting for September, the provident emigrant will immediately take care to get his potatoes into the ground, in order that he may dig up the first produce of his labour by the end of September or the beginning

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ginning of October: with these potatoes, a crop of maize or Indian corn, and a few culinary vegetables, he should lay his account for his first year's supply: and, in truth, this, with the cattle he may purchase from the neighbouring boors at fifty shillings a-head, and sheep at six or seven, together with the fish which abound on every part of the coast, especially near the mouths of the rivers, will more than suffice to remove every apprehension of suffering from an actual want of food.

As little foundation is there in the reports respecting the injurious influence of the climate on the bodily and mental exertions of Europeans; it being *certain* instead of 'uncertain' that 'European constitutions *are* physically competent to the performance of labour of every kind at the Cape,' and that instead of '*many* moral difficulties in the way,' there is not the shadow of *one* to be found. Bodily exertion is no longer held in 'peculiar contempt:' the abolition of the slave-trade and the example of the English have entirely banished that absurd prejudice, even in the atmosphere of the Cape town; and young men of the most respectable families are now seen holding the plough, and directing and assisting in the labours of the field. In the Zuureveld, where the new settlers are intended to be placed, there are few if any Negro slaves to bring the white man's labour into 'contempt;' and the objector may also be quite sure, that it will not be in disrepute, as Mr. Colquhoun supposes, 'from the spontaneous products of nature overbalancing the population.' We are anxious, above all things, to warn the emigrant against the fallacious idea, that he will there reap without sowing; on the contrary, he may lay his account with a few of the first years of his residence being years of toil and anxiety. From the climate however, we again repeat, he has nothing to fear. On all the plains of the Cape a piece of ice is as great a rarity as a snow-storm in England in the month of October; and the days on which the mercury mounts above 80° are nearly as few as with us;—when they do occur, they are generally tempered with a fresh breeze. He will breathe a dry pure air, uncontaminated by the moisture of swamps and savannahs, and will not, as in the western districts of America, have to dread fevers and agues.

But though the climate be favourable and the arable portion of the soil generally productive, the new settler must not always reckon on years of plenty. The rains sometimes fail, and with them the crop. This we believe has happened about once in every seven years, since the colony came into our possession, and these have been seasons of great scarcity; the year 1818 was one of them. The south-east winds also sometimes injure the crops; and the locusts, which visit the country occasionally in

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in incredible swarms, devour every green thing that falls in their way; this dreadful scourge however is not of frequent occurrence.

Another objection has been started on the ground of the new settlers being obliged to mix with the old colonists, to learn the Dutch and German languages, and, in fact, to become Dutch and Germans, 'as it would contradict all experience to expect that the imitation will take place on the side of the old inhabitants, and the majority.' This also proceeds from entire ignorance of the state of the colony. The number of new settlers about to proceed to the Zuureveld amounts, we understand, to 4000; while the number of Dutch and Germans in the whole of that district falls short of 400: on the objector's own principle of 'majority,' therefore, the new settlers, having the advantage of ten to one, will be able to stand their ground against both. We conceive it a most fortunate circumstance for the emigrants, that they are to be set down in the midst of a people in the possession of numerous flocks and herds, and, instead of being turned into a wilderness, and exposed to the perils of a toilsome and precarious existence, placed at once in a land which may literally be said to flow with milk and honey.

The want of markets will be felt only when the settlers shall begin to accumulate a surplus produce; and as that produce will be a saleable commodity in Europe, it will no doubt find its way thither, either through the Cape, by means of a coasting trade already put into activity, or direct from the bays and harbours of the colony. To render this advantageous however, the government at home must stretch forth its protection, and instead of considering it as a foreign country, place it on the footing of the British plantations in North America. Its bounty has already been experienced in the reduction of the duties on wine; the same encouragement might, we think, be beneficially extended to the exportation of wool: above all, we should rejoice to see the present restrictions of the corn-laws removed or qualified, as far as regards the produce of the Cape. This may not unreasonably be expected; for while England is compelled to purchase large quantities of wheat from foreign nations, and to pay for it principally in money, the settlers of the Cape will take, in full return for theirs, which, in point of quality, is far superior, the manufactures of England. Tobacco, too, if duly encouraged, would become one of the great staples of the Cape; and when to this and the former articles, we have added hides and skins, dressed and undressed, whalebone, oil and brandies, and dried fruits, wax, aloes, and perhaps barilla, we are not sure that we have not enumerated

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rated all the produce that is likely to be sent to the mother-country in any considerable quantities.

We have been thus particular, because a species of delusion has been held forth with regard to the articles of commerce, which are expected to be raised in the new settlement; and expectations excited which never can be realized. Cotton-wool, for instance, (not that which 'grows on the Cape sheep,') we are told by Mr. Colquhoun, 'can *certainly* be cultivated with the same advantage as in South Carolina and Georgia.' Certainly it can not. The 'sea-islands on the coast, and in Saldanha bay,' on which, it is added, the 'finest cotton may be produced,' have, in fact, no existence, if we except a few rocks at the entrance of the bay, as bare as the Table Mountain itself. The cotton-plant will unquestionably grow at the Cape: but the point to be determined is, whether it can be cultivated there to advantage? We say again, decidedly not;—for while a yard of cotton cloth can be purchased for sixpence or eight-pence, and a pair of cotton stockings for a shilling in the shops of London, there will be but little encouragement for the planter of the Cape to attempt the introduction of a new article, which, from the price of labour and the uncertainty of the crop, he could not afford at five times its current price in the market.

The same observation will apply to the cultivation of hemp and flax, both of which will undoubtedly grow in several parts of the colony;—so indeed they will in England, Scotland and Ireland, and yet it is found more advantageous to go to other countries for them than to cultivate them at home. But there is no end to these idle speculations:—thus, because there happen to be two tea-plants and one coffee-tree in a garden at the foot of the Table Mountain, the Cape is one day to supply us with those articles of luxury! We are also, in future, to be served with rice from those well-watered plains, 'akin to the bogs of Allen' which Mr. Fisher discovered in this all-productive colony; and ivory and feathers, for use and for ornament, are to pour in upon us in overwhelming quantities, from the ostriches and elephants whose numbers are to increase with the increasing population!

The hostility of the natives has been mentioned as an objection, but it is a mere bugbear. From the Hottentots nothing whatever is to be apprehended; they are living quietly with the farmers, or at the several missions. The Bosjesmen are some hundred miles removed from the new settlers, and the Caffres are not very likely to attack people who never offended them, and who possess nothing that can tempt them to hostilities. We have besides little doubt

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doubt that a friendly communication will be opened immediately with these people, to the mutual benefit of both parties; and it would be wise, in the first instance, to announce to both tribes of Caffres the nature of the intended settlement, with assurances of peace and friendship.

We should hardly have deemed it necessary to class the wild beasts among the 'objections' to the new settlement, had we not seriously been assured that several worthy families had been deterred from embarking solely from this consideration. We do indeed recollect reading, in one of the Morning Papers, a most bitter philippic by that eminent young statesman, John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. on the atrocity of ministers in voting 50,000*l.* 'to enable British subjects to transport themselves to Africa, *under a burning sun*, for the purpose of fighting the jackalls and tigers of that country.' It is undoubtedly true that some of the emigrants may have the misfortune to fall in with and to fight a tiger; but the Cape jackall, like the jackall of some other countries, will yelp and make a great noise and be as mischievous as his limited faculties will let him; but he will not fight, and is not overfond of facing his antagonist. We wish that we could say as much of the tiger, or, more properly speaking, the leopard, for the striped tiger does not exist in the colony. This beautiful creature is, perhaps, the most ferocious of his tribe; he does not merely spring and make a stroke with his paw, and, if unsuccessful, retire, like his more powerful brother of Bengal, but returns to the charge, and never quits his object until he conquers or is killed. The savage and pertinacious ferocity of the Cape leopard is well described in the following account given to Mr. Latrobe by the missionary Schmitt, who had the misfortune to encounter one of them, in an expedition against the wolves.

'These animals having done much mischief at Groenekloof, where they even entered the yard and took away a sheep, and worried several beasts belonging to the Hottentots, we determined at length to attempt to find out their haunts, and, if possible, to destroy them. For that purpose, the missionaries Bonatz and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, set out early in the morning, towards the Lauweskloof hill, where they are mostly met with. One of these animals was seen and lamed by a shot, but escaped and entered the bushes. The Hottentots followed; but the missionaries, not expecting to succeed, were returning, when the party called to them, that the wounded wolf was in the thicket. Brother Schmitt rode back, and alighting, entered with a Hottentot of the name of Philip Moses. The dog started some animal, which those within the bushes could not see; but the Hottentots remaining on the outside, perceiving it to be a tiger, called aloud to the missionary to return. He therefore, with Philip, began to retreat backwards, pointing

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ing his gun, and ready to fire, in case the animal made his appearance. Suddenly a tiger sprang forward, but from a quarter not expected, and by a flying leap over the bushes, fastened upon the Hottentot, seizing his nose and face with his claws and teeth. I measured the distance of the place, from whence the tiger made his spring, to that on which the Hottentot stood, and found it full twenty feet, over bushes from six to eight feet high. Brother Schmitt observed, that if it had not been for the horror of the scene, it would have been a most amusing sight, to behold the enraged creature fly, like a bird, over that length of ground and bushes, with open jaw and lashing tail, screaming with the greatest violence. Poor Philip was thrown down, and in the conflict lay now upon, and then under, the tiger. The missionary might easily have effected his escape, but his own safety never entered his thoughts. Duty and pity made him instantly run forward to the assistance of the sufferer. He pointed his gun, but the motions of both the Hottentot and the tiger, in rolling about and struggling, were so swift, that he durst not venture to pull the trigger, lest he should injure Philip. The tiger, perceiving him take aim, instantly quitted his hold, worked himself from under the Hottentot, and flew like lightning upon Brother Schmitt. As the gun was of no use in such close quarters, he let it fall, and presented his left arm, to shield his face. The tiger instantly seized it with his jaw, Brother Schmitt with the same arm catching one of his paws, to prevent the outstretching claws from reaching his body. With the other paw, however, the tiger continued striking towards his breast, and tearing his clothes. Both fell in the scuffle, and, providentially, in such a position, that the missionary's knee, without design, came to rest on the pit of the tiger's stomach. At the same time, he grasped the animal's throat with his right hand, keeping him down with all his might. The seizure of his throat made the tiger let go his hold, but not before Brother Schmitt had received another bite, nearer the elbow. His face lay right over that of the tiger's, whose open mouth, from the pressure of his wind-pipe, sent forth the most hideous, hoarse, and convulsive groans, while his starting eyes, like live coals, seemed to flash with fire.

'In this situation, Brother Schmitt called aloud to the Hottentots, to come to his rescue, for his strength was fast failing, rage and agony supplying to the animal extraordinary force, in his attempts to disengage himself. The Hottentots at length ventured to enter the thicket, and one of them, snatching the loaded gun, which lay on the ground, presented it and shot the tiger, under the missionary's hand, right through the heart. His death was instantaneous, his eyes shut, his jaw fell, and he lay motionless. Had any life been left, his dying struggles might yet have proved fatal to some of his assailants.'—p. 306—308.

The lion is far less ferocious in his disposition than the leopard. Sluggish, timid, and we might almost say, cowardly, he seldom, if ever, attacks, unless hard pressed by hunger, or severely wounded. While he remains erect there is no danger, as he always

ways crouches before he makes his spring; and it is at this moment that the Dutch boor usually takes his aim, and rarely misses him. It is confidently asserted by these people that he will not attack a man who stands still and looks him steadfastly in the face. This experiment, we suspect, has not often been made; but it is certain that the number of boors or Hottentots who have perished by lions are few in comparison with those who have suffered from leopards.

The elephant is an object of terror rather from his immense bulk than his ferocity. But the race have mostly been destroyed; and instead of five hundred, of eighteen feet high, being seen in a troop, as idly asserted by Lichtenstein, we may safely venture to affirm, that there are not in the whole range of the colony *fifty* of these creatures remaining, and of these the tallest is not *nine* feet.

The buffalo is a large, powerful, and savage animal, but rarely attacks unless he be hunted. On being disturbed, he takes to the thickets, where he remains quietly if not driven out of them. The rhinoceros appears to have no animosity against mankind, and seldom shews himself on the open plain. The hippopotamus has disappeared from the rivers within the colony, but is found in the Great Fish River; and almost the whole of the larger kind of antelopes have been destroyed or driven beyond the present boundary of the colony. We do not therefore apprehend that, with the exception of some partial accidents from the leopards or panthers, the wild beasts will occasion any great annoyance to the new settlers; still, however, this may be fairly set down as a grievance which will ask some care to avoid, (by avoiding the thickets,) and a denser population effectually to remove.

Englishmen may fairly be allowed to feel an objection to the present government and laws of the colony. We are all of us more or less the creatures of prejudice, and an Englishman, perhaps, feels none so strongly as that in favour of trial by jury; he has been in the habit, from infancy, of hearing so much of its blessings, that he thinks it unnecessary to inquire into its merits, and sets down that as a most unhappy country to which it is denied.—We granted to the Dutch the exercise of their laws and their religion by capitulation; we have continued them this indulgence to the present day; and we are not aware that any Englishman has yet had just cause to complain of the oppression or injustice of the one, or the intolerance of the other. If any such complaint occur, we doubt not it will be heard and redressed; in the mean time it must be satisfactory to the new comers to know, that the chief magistrate of the district in which they are to be settled is an Englishman. The first step to the general introduction of our laws and manners will be that of introducing the English

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English language. We cannot help regretting that this important point is most unwisely overlooked in all our conquests; yet it might easily be effected, and without any violence to the feelings of the conquered: let but all official documents, all registers, title-deeds, instruments for conveying and securing property, be made in the English language, and the next generation will become Englishmen.

There are, however, two evils in the colony, which are not merely ideal,—the monopoly of the East India Company, and the depreciation of the paper currency.

The East India Company have, from the first, shewn themselves unfriendly towards this settlement, because (as it is supposed) the government refused to transfer the sovereignty of it to them; yet it has been of infinite importance to their boundless possessions in India, and may ultimately be the safety of them. The Company have the exclusive privilege of supplying the colony with India and China goods, which are doled out in monthly sales by an agent stationed at Cape Town, who takes especial care not to glut the market. The removal of this restriction, and placing the Cape on a footing with the British plantations in North America, would materially tend to raise it to an opulent colony, and to one of the first commercial stations in the universe.

The depreciated paper currency of the Cape is a very serious evil, which presses hard on all the colonists, but more especially on those in public situations with fixed salaries; and is deeply felt by all who are concerned in trade, and mercantile transactions. For some years past it has fluctuated from 80 to 130 per cent. discount, so that no one can be certain for six months together of the real state of his property. As the greater part of this paper was issued by the British government, it seems but reasonable that every possible means should be taken, in order to bring it back to its original value of five rix-dollars to the pound sterling. This will no doubt happen whenever the value of the exports shall exceed that of the imports; but while the merchant lies under the necessity of purchasing bills for remittances, the evil will continue to be felt. It might tend in some degree to alleviate the evil, if the money to be repaid to the emigrants by the government were issued in bills on his Majesty's treasury.

Having thus noticed the principal objections, real and imaginary, to the colonization of the Cape, it only remains for us to describe briefly the district in which it is proposed to place the emigrants; and to inquire to what extent the colony is capable of receiving an additional population.

The spot intended for them, in the first instance, is called by the

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the Dutch, the *Zuureveld*, or sour-grass plains, but by the English, Albany. It lies between the Sunday and the Great Fish Rivers, nearly 500 miles to the eastward of the Cape peninsula, and stretches about 70 miles along the line of the sea-coast, by 30 inland, containing about 2000 square miles, or 1,280,000 acres, of which 280,000 may perhaps, at this time, be occupied by 50 or 60 families: the remaining million will be disposable; and of this the greater portion is convertible to useful purposes; the rugged summits of the hills lie favourably for sheep and cattle; their gently sloping sides for vineyards; and the plains and valleys for grain, pulse, artificial grasses, and culinary vegetables. The surface of this district is beautifully variegated by hill and dale, and, what is rarely met with in other parts of the colony, it is tolerably well covered with a thick coarse grass, which, being suffered to wither on the ground from year to year, springs up with that rankness which has given name to the district. When the Caffres were in possession of these plains, their custom was to set fire to the grass, which spreading over several square miles, made the whole surface, when the rains came, wear the appearance of a field of young corn.

The plains of Albany are interspersed with fine clumps of vigorous brushwood, mixed with trees of a considerable size, having all the appearance of a gentleman's park in England; and the deep ravines near the sea-coast are choked up with forests of a superior growth. The whole district is intersected by several streams of water flowing from north to south, besides a number of streamlets and springs which have never been opened, or prevented from running to waste.

The nearest bay to the settlement is that of Zwart-Kops, or Algoa, which though open to the south-east or summer winds, affords good and safe anchorage; the only inconvenience being the almost perpetual surf which rolls upon the beach during their continuance. The bar of Zwart-Kops is alternately open and closed, but the river, within the bar, is navigable by small vessels for several miles. Near its bank has recently been established a new town, called Uitenhage, which is also the name of the whole district, formerly a part of Graaf Reynet. Here is the residence of the local magistrate or landrost. For the present, therefore, this place will be the general mart for the new settlers; but as population multiplies, and the surplus produce increases, some of the rivers will no doubt be made accessible, and fishing towns or villages be established along the shore of Albany. The coasts of the colony every where abound with a variety of good esculent fish, which, except in the bays near the Cape, have never been molested. So little indeed do either the Hottentots or the Caffres

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know or care about fish, that they have not a single embarkation of any kind, not even a canoe, from the Cape Point to Delagoa Bay. The boor sometimes, but very rarely, makes a party of pleasure to fish near the mouths of the rivers, and ill furnished as he is with fishing tackle, he is always successful. It is to be hoped, therefore, that among the families about to proceed, will be found a few fishermen by profession. Besides the certainty of an abundant supply, they will have the advantage of obtaining salt in any quantity from the salt-pans of Uitenhage, or indeed with great facility by the mere evaporation of sea-water.

The rivers that flow through Albany into the sea are the Sunday, the Bosjeman, the Kareeka, the Kasowka, the Kowie, and the Great Fish River, or Rio d'Infante of the Portugueze. The last is perhaps the only one that will admit vessels of burden. Within, it is of sufficient depth and capacity for the largest ships of war; but, like all the rivers on this coast, its mouth is crossed by a bar of sand. We doubt, however, whether it has been examined since the colony came into our hands: the presumption is, that vessels of considerable burden may pass, otherwise the Portugueze would scarcely have erected a fort at its entrance for their protection. Should this prove to be the case, it will be of infinite advantage to the settlers of Albany, as a harbour from which they will at all times be able to export their produce, and to open a trade with Mozambique, the Isle of France, and Madagascar, whence cattle may be imported in any quantity at a very trifling expense.

Besides these rivers and their several branches, numerous springs of water are met with in all the finely wooded dells, which still remain, as the boors found them, in a state of nature. Within land, on the northward, Albany is skirted by thickets of luxuriant growth, abounding with aloes, euphorbias, and other succulent plants, and extending, with few interruptions, thirty or forty miles in depth; not one foot of which has ever been cleared—because, as the boors alleged, the milky euphorbias put out the fire whenever they attempted to burn the thickets.* The few elephants that yet remain take shelter in these coppices, in which are also found the various beasts of prey peculiar to this part of Africa. Not many years ago the plains of Albany literally swarmed with game of all kinds; but the number of troops which have of late been stationed there, the incursions of the Caffres, and above all, the Hottentots collected at a missionary establishment on the lower part of the Kasowka, have very considerably thinned them.

From the general view which we have taken, it is evident that

* Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa.

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the colony affords ample scope for an extended cultivation. Including Albany, there are not less than seven millions of acres of unoccupied and cultivable lands, besides three times that amount of an inferior quality—an extent of territory capable of affording an affluent provision for seventy thousand industrious and agricultural families. The loan-farms, in present occupation, amount in number to nearly 2300; in quantity to eleven millions of acres. If, under a better system, these farms were parcelled out, and each made to support but one-tenth part of the number of persons residing at Gnadenthal, itself once a loan-farm, they would give employment and maintenance to a population of 270,000 souls, instead of 20,000, the utmost number residing on them at present, including slaves and Hottentots: and if to the numbers employed in agriculture, we add the tradesmen and artificers in the towns, those occupied in the fisheries, and the coasting-trade, we may safely conclude, that the colony is capable of supporting a population little short of a million of souls.

That many of the neglected and wholly uncultivated loan-farms, now in the possession of Dutch boors, will fall into the hands of more active and industrious proprietors, can scarcely be a matter of doubt, or regret. Hemmed in on every side, and all his old habits broken in upon, the boor, finding that neither he nor his cattle can any longer take their accustomed range, nor Hottentots be procured to attend his flocks and herds, will be too happy to dispose of his interest in the land, and betake himself behind the Snowy Mountains, to that delightful retreat, among the Bosjesmans, recommended by Mr. Burchell.

To those British farmers, and others, who, having small capitals to carry with them, may proceed on their own account, and select their own situation in the colony, either by purchase or grant, we would particularly recommend some of the following positions as most likely to meet their purpose. To the northward, Zwartland, Twenty-four Rivers, and Picquetberg, all excellent for the cultivation of corn and wine, and in the neighbourhood of Saint Helena and Saldanha bays—To the eastward, the banks of the Breede river, and the plain, through which it flows from Waveren to the sea-coast, both well adapted for the culture of grain, which can be transported to St. Sebastian's bay, by the said river, *just now*, for the first time, discovered to be navigable by vessels of considerable burden, thirty or forty miles into the interior!—On the same coast, in the neighbourhood of Mossel, Plettenberg and Algoa bays, where the soil is fit for any species of culture—and lastly, the shores of the Knysna harbour, situate about twenty miles on the Cape side of Plettenberg's bay, in the immediate vicinity of the only forests of timber in the whole co-

lony. The entrance into this secure harbour is about two hundred and eighty yards in width, the depth of water twenty-one feet, and it deepens and widens within to a spacious lake, communicating by a river with the best part of the forest, and surrounded by a beautiful and fertile country, occupied at present by *two* persons, one of whom is an Englishman, who, in possession of another Mount Edgecombe, with his black wife, and three or four dingy daughters, has adopted all the slovenly habits of a Dutch boor. A place so situated, and so admirably adapted for a dock-yard, or ship-building establishment, for the coast fishery, and, above all, as a central mart for the coasting trade, cannot long remain in its present state.

We shall mention but one spot more, and that chiefly with a view to shew how much this neglected colony is open to improvement, and how little its advantages appear to be understood. On the coast of the Cape peninsula, within ten miles of the capital, is an excellent harbour, completely land-locked, and perfectly secure at all seasons of the year, (the bottom sandy, with good anchorage,) and capable of holding at least twenty sail of the line. Such is Hout bay! It abounds with a great variety of good fish, and numerous rills from the wooded ravines on either side uniting in the middle, flow in a clear and copious stream down a beautiful valley, containing at the least 3000 acres; the whole of which is in the possession of one man, whose house, situated near the margin of the bay, is surrounded by a few roods of corn-land and vineyards; the rest being a complete wilderness, overgrown with what in India would be called jungle. Thirty industrious English families, with a hundred acres apportioned to each, would, in the course of a very few years, convert this unprofitable desert into a perfect paradise.

It would be a waste of words to dwell on the political and commercial importance of a colony so happily situated as that of the Cape, commanding, by its position, a ready communication with every part of the civilized world, and which, if deemed advisable, might be made the great entrepot of the eastern and western hemispheres. But we cannot pass in silence, one of the beneficial results which we anticipate from the extended colonization of the Cape, namely, that of the improved condition of the bordering Caffres. The example of an industrious population of Europeans will not, we are persuaded, be thrown away on this well disposed and fine race of men; on the contrary, we augur that, when they shall have adjusted their disputes among themselves, they will cheerfully set about the cultivation of a grateful soil, not with coarse millet and bitter gourds, as heretofore, but with productions of a more useful and salutary nature. These people, being entirely

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entirely free from idolatrous prejudices, would be ready to embrace the benevolent doctrines of Christianity; and this field will perhaps be occupied by the Moravians, though we much fear that Methodists of a less useful character have already got the start of them. These enthusiastic ranters have spread themselves over the colony and gone beyond its limits, encouraging idleness by instructing the natives in their own peculiar doctrines, and in nothing else, as is but too apparent in their filthy and wretched establishments, swarming with Hottentots still in a state of nakedness, or in their ancient sheep-skin clothing. Instead of expressing their gratitude to their Creator in hymns and songs, the Methodist Hottentots do nothing but whimper, whine, and groan, which, one of their teachers told Mr. Latrobe, 'was considered as a sign of conviction by the power of the word,'—'though I don't think,' said a Hottentot to this gentleman, 'that there is any great good in our *groaning* so much.'

Should the Caffres however, contrary to our expectation, continue to commit depredations on the new settlers, their certain expulsion from the plains of the coast and behind the mountains will necessarily be the consequence. The possession of the country intervening between the Great Fish river and Delagoa bay, skirted by a sea-coast of about six hundred miles, has always tempted the cupidity of the Dutch boors. A party of these people, who went in search of the shipwrecked crew of the Grosvenor Indiaman, travelled about 500 miles beyond the limits of the colony. They crossed upwards of thirty considerable rivers intersecting the plains in their way to the sea, passed through several magnificent forests, and traversed an undulating surface of hill and dale, finely clothed with grass, and abounding in every description of game, from the elephant to the hare, but so destitute of the human species, that for twelve days together they did not meet with a single straggler.

At length however, after travelling about 400 miles, they fell in with an interesting party dwelling in villages, on the banks of the Mogasie river, under a chief of the name of Camboosa. These people called themselves Hamboonas. They had fair complexions, inclining to a yellowish tint, and their long black coarse hair was frizzled out so as to give the appearance of a turban. Their European and Hindoo features made it probable that they were the mixed descendants of some unfortunate people who had been wrecked on the coast; which seemed afterwards to be put out of doubt by the appearance of three old white women, who, however, could give no account of themselves, having in all probability been children when wrecked. The number consisted of about four hundred; they had extensive gardens of millet, maize,

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sugar-cane plantations, sweet potatoes, and other fruits and vegetables, with some cattle, and appeared to be living in quiet and comfort; which furnishes no slight proof of the inoffensive conduct and character of the Caffres.

The Dutch pretend (but we are sure the English will set up no such claims) that this beautiful country belongs, by purchase, to the colony. Their historian Kolbe, we recollect, asserts the same thing, and says, that their High Mightinesses gave 30,000 guilders (1,800*l.*) worth of toys for the whole country, from Mossel bay to Mozambique, that is to say, about 800,000 square miles! They might just as well have extended their purchase to the straits of Babelmandel.

But it is not the Dutch only who have coveted the Caffre country. The same Benjamin Stout, whom we mentioned above,* strongly recommended to Mr. President Adams the formation of a settlement in a country which, he says, 'abounds in timber of the best quality; possesses many excellent harbours; is blessed with the richest pasturage; that feeds innumerable herds of the finest cattle; whose lands, during the season favourable to vegetation, are carpetted with flowers that perfume the surrounding atmosphere; and whose shores are frequented by fish of every quality and decription.' At that time, however, the American government had not extended its ambitious views beyond its own continent; but now, when they appear to be prowling about in search of foreign establishments, in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, the Pacific, and on the western coast of Africa, we should not be greatly surprized if they discovered the Portugueze settlement of Delagoa bay to be convenient for their commercial intercourse with India and China. Di meliora! ——Though we do not much admire the Portugueze system of colonization, we yet prefer it to that of America, as exemplified by 'David Porter, Esq.' (the only specimen with which we are acquainted) at Nooaheevah, where that redoubted commander put to death one part of the inhabitants in order to obtain a plea for plundering the rest.

* See p. 230. Benjamin has been rather scurvily dealt with by our critics.—Not satisfied with pronouncing his Narrative a mere fable, they have even denied the existence of the poor man, as well as of the good ship *Hercules*. Now we know something of Captain *Stout*. He was, to be sure, very illiterate, not to say ignorant, and wonderfully apt to wander into those 'beautiful obliquities' in point of fact, for which the mercantile marine of his country is so justly celebrated; but he certainly did not deserve to be altogether annihilated. We can assure our sceptical brethren, that we not only witnessed the appearance of Captain Stout and some of his crew at the Cape, but that we saw, with our own eyes, the wreck of the Hercules on the coast of Caffraria, and on the precise spot indicated by the Captain: his testimony, therefore, to the general appearance of the country, and to the humanity of the Caffres, is beyond the possibility of question.

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ART. XII.—*De l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en Angleterre et de l'Esprit du Gouvernement Anglais.* Par M. Cottu, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Paris. à Paris. 1820.* pp. 317.

IT is not a little remarkable that, at the very moment when the mischievous and the ignorant amongst us are industriously employed in slandering the Institutions under which England has attained so large a share of individual happiness and national glory, the other 'nations, not so blest as she,' should look upon them with wonder, respect, and emulation; and that, after thirty years of revolution in which every theory and mode of government have been tried in turn, the French themselves should begin to direct their serious attention to the sober and practical convenience of the British constitution.

It is true that at the very beginning of the revolution they professed this principle of imitation, and, in their *anglomane* ardour for freedom, eagerly applauded and demanded the three great principles upon which the liberties of England are built—a representative legislature, the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury. They hastened, therefore, to establish these *names* as parts of their constitution; but they had not patience, nor leisure if they had had patience, nor the means if they had had leisure, to introduce the indispensable preliminary qualifications into their social and political habits. To have good juries and a satisfactory representative assembly, the manners and principles of the class which are to compose the former and to elect the latter, must be previously imbued with the spirit of the institutions themselves. The result was what might have been expected—they had the *names*, but not the *things*—their freedom of the press from 1790 to 1818 only meant that the strongest party might publish what it pleased, and its antagonists nothing. Their representative chambers have been all elected at the will of the government, and have all (with the exception of the chamber of 1815) implicitly and basely obeyed the nod of their creators. Their juries have been something worse than nullities, they have been the tools of the predominant party, and have done infinite mischief by screening, under their respectable name, the judicial enormities which have been committed.

There is, however, in the essence of those noble institutions themselves a power which would make its own way, and create, as it were, men fit to carry them into execution—why then have they not yet had this effect in France?—why were they still, in the be-

* Such is the date in the title-page.

ginning of 1819, as imperfect and inefficient as they were in 1789?—Simply because France, from 1789 to 1814, was enslaved by *the reign of terror*, which paralyzed every action and benumbed every thought and feeling. The respectable classes of her people never had fair play; the sword, the guillotine, and the dungeon were the only lawgivers of France; and juries were sworn only to sanction—and deputies assembled only to approve—and the press was tolerated only while it applauded—the system of the dungeon, the guillotine, and the sword.

The bursting of the Buonaparte-bubble restored to France the use of her eyes, her ears, and her tongue, but, like the patient couched for cataract, she did not quite comprehend the nature of her new-born senses, and for the last four years she has been tottering, and groping her way. At every step indeed she seems to acquire an increase of strength and light, and whatever may be her future destiny, and through whatever troubles she may have yet to struggle, it may be confidently expected that any future reign of terror can be but momentary, and that, finally, the representative system, and the trial by jury, will be inseparably interwoven with the national system, and, in good time, amalgamate themselves with the national character.

A ministry such as we now see in France,* without public weight or private fortune, without services, talents, or friends, trimming and shuffling, and kept only on its legs by mere favouritism, is not, we think, unlikely to bring the French to a sense of national dignity, as the drunken Helots were exhibited before the youth of Sparta to teach them, by the contrast, the dignity of sobriety and freedom. '*Malheur* (as their own proverb says) *est bon à quelque chose*;' and this good, at least, will be derived from the weakness and folly of the present ministry, that a more bold and, at the same time, temperate discussion of their political and moral interests becomes every hour more necessary and more easy. An ultra-royalist administration might move too slow, and an ultra-liberal administration too fast: but those who, like the Sieur de Caze and his creatures, have no authority but what their places give them, and who are only anxious to keep those places, are obliged to flatter and to conciliate both parties, and to balance them one against the other; but while they are doing this, they are teaching these

* Even while we write, the account reaches us of a new change in the ministry, which affords additional proof and weight to what we have said above. About thirteen months ago, the king's favourite, M. Caze, had power to turn out the Prime Minister, the secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Minister of Finance, because they desired a change in the election law, which he opposed; and now he has had power to turn out their three successors, for opposing the same change in the same law, which he now desires! What a mockery of a representative constitution!

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conflicting parties and the nation how to turn them out. The great lesson which the French have yet to learn is,—that the system of choosing ministers by personal favour is absolutely incompatible with a representative government, and that, to have sufficient weight and authority, an administration must have a large party in the country, and, consequently, a respectable portion of what is called *public opinion*. Convinced as we are that whenever the nation shall really be freed from the thraldom of fear and favouritism, it will show itself more and more attached to a legitimate monarch and a representative constitution, and finding that M. Cottu unites a spirit of rational freedom with a strong attachment to monarchy, and believing that his work is likely to give weight to these principles, we enter upon the examination of it with pleasure.

M. Cottu, one of the judges of the Royal Court of Paris, was directed, it would seem, by the government to make himself acquainted with the criminal jurisprudence of England, and more especially with all that relates to the trial by jury. It matters little by whom and with what intention this mission was sped. Its execution is creditable to M. Cottu, and cannot, we think, fail to be useful to France.

At first sight it will seem that M. Cottu's task was not very difficult—we are ourselves, from the nature of our law, so individually mixed up with the whole administration of justice, that we are too apt to consider that which we know, as it were by intuition, as very easily to be learned by others. But when we call to mind the volumes of monstrous absurdities which people, not otherwise deficient in acuteness and accuracy, publish daily in France relative to England, and in England relative to France—and when we recollect the difficulties which every one must have found in making himself acquainted with even the commonest customs, and the most ordinary habits of a foreign country which he visits for the first time, it will appear that the task which M. Cottu undertook of informing himself upon a subject of such complexity and extent as the whole of our jury system, was one of extreme difficulty, and from which we confess we should not, *a priori*, have thought it possible that he could have extricated himself so well as he has done.

He was fortunate in bringing letters of introduction to some of our eminent counsel, and amongst others, to Mr. Scarlett, who very judiciously advised him, as not only the easiest, but indeed the only effectual way of making himself acquainted with the subject, to attend one of the circuits then about to commence, and to study at once the principles and the practice. This advice M. Cottu very wisely took, and gratefully acknowledges; he also returns very ample thanks to the gentlemen of the northern circuit, which

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which he attended, for the personal kindness which he received and the ready assistance which they were forward to give to his research;—and he acquaints us that 'Messrs. Scarlett and Grey were so good as to look over his work before it went to the press, and that Mr. Scarlett, in particular, had withdrawn a short time from his numerous avocations, to correct the *errors* into which he (M. Cottu) had fallen; and even to supply him with some *notes of his own*, on the spirit of the British Constitution.'—p. viii.

This must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*—there are perhaps no very important errors in M. Cottu's report, but there are undoubtedly several inaccuracies into which it is scarcely possible that Mr. Scarlett should have fallen in a work of his own, though it is probable that they either may have escaped him in reading that of another written in a foreign language, or have been overlooked and forgiven, as it were, as the *paucæ maculæ* which were hardly worth correcting in the great mass of accurate facts which M. Cottu had collected. To the original contribution of Mr. Scarlett to this work we shall advert by and bye.

It certainly proves great kindness and not less attention on the part of M. Cottu's English friends, that he has made only such mistakes. He intimates (indeed his English quotations prove) that he is utterly unacquainted with our language; but Mr. Scarlett, junior, had the goodness to assist him as interpreter; and he tells us he found that most of the gentlemen on the circuit spoke French:—yet even with these aids, M. Cottu must be a very acute and able man to have made his way, as he has done, through the chaos of great sessions and petty sessions, arrays and pleadings, arraignment and challenges, impannellings, and verdicts general and special; and to have given so clear, and on the whole so correct a summary both of the criminal and nisi prius practice of the assizes.

We do not intend to follow him through his circuit—all that he sees with wonder is familiar to us, and from what he found it most important to his purpose to record, our readers would derive no new information. Still less are we inclined to pick out, as topics of reproach or ridicule, the errors, whether in fact or in taste, (and there are some of both) into which he has fallen. His intentions are honest; his principles are good; many of his general observations will be found original and interesting; and some comparative views which he takes of the administration of the law in England and France are worth the attention of both nations.

The following passage relative to the power of the judges to respite convicted criminals and the authority which their recommendation has in determining the too numerous questions of life and death which arise, exhibits towards its close one of those errors

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errors of taste to which we have alluded, and which we should rather have expected from a pupil of one of the Lycées than from a person of M. Cottu's age, profession, and general good sense.

'Thus the Judges, by this system, find themselves invested with a kind of discretionary power of life and death over the great majority of criminals capitally convicted by the jury. I am well aware that *this* power is confined by practice and custom within limits tolerably narrow, but even those limits, so narrowed, would still be of alarming extent, if the authority were entrusted to magistrates less indulgent and less respectable. If we reflect that there are every year a thousand or twelve hundred capital convictions in England, and that the judges have the power of deciding at their pleasure the fate of all those unhappy persons, that they can suspend death over those twelve hundred heads, and at last inflict it when they please,—it will be confessed that there seems in this power something too exorbitant to be ever extended to any man, *were it even Socrates himself.*'*—p. 72.

Absurd as this allusion is, the observations themselves are just, and, with all our confidence in the 'indulgence and respectability' of our judges, we cannot but feel that 'this power is too exorbitant.' The judges themselves, we believe, would gladly get rid of so painful an office—it is one which does not properly belong to them, and it is referring to the feelings, the temper, nay, the infirmities of man, the most important duty of the law itself. We remember to have heard one judge, whose conscience led him to a more severe exercise of his duty than others, called a hanging judge, while others, whose temper was more indulgent, were sneered at as imbecile and pusillanimous, to the great and unjust scandal both of the judges and of justice.

The power of respite can never be taken away from the judges, and their recommendation must always continue to be of the greatest weight with the crown; but it is impossible to deny that the cases in which this extraordinary intervention is required, ought to be narrowed as much as possible, and that the judges should not be obliged to make a mere mockery of the highest function of their office—the gravest and highest transaction of human society, by passing a score or two of sentences of death, none of which—as they and the culprits and the audience too well know—are ever likely to be executed.—Hear how a scene of this nature strikes M. Cottu.

'Sentence is not passed on each offender at the conclusion of his trial, but at the end of the assizes all the convicts are placed at the bar together—the moment of passing sentence creates a painful and impressive feeling very different from the coolness in which all the parties assist in all the previous stages of the trial. I have already said that the greater number of capital sentences are subsequently com-

* Buonaparte brought Themistocles on board the Bellerophon, in the same good taste in which M. Cottu brings Socrates into the castle at York.

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muted for inferior punishments, therefore the greater number of the convicts know, to a moral certainty, according to their respective cases, the ultimate indulgence which they are to receive. Nevertheless the judge (obliged on every case to pronounce the dreadful sentence of the law) covers his head with a kind of black coif, exhibits on his countenance the expression of solemn and dignified regret, and addresses the prisoners in a severe and melancholy recapitulation of their offences, and laments the necessity in which society at large feels itself placed of securing itself from a continuance of their crimes, and concludes with pronouncing the fatal sentence,—but this mournful ceremony, this touching address, this dreadful sentence, so far from producing on the prisoners the terrible effect which one would expect, makes little or no impression on persons who are beforehand prepared to consider it all as an empty show, and in their audacious security to brave the very judge in the midst of his sentence.'—p. 112.

The *audacious security* is perhaps a little exaggerated—but there can be no doubt that it is sometimes visible, and—when joined with the benumbing frequency of these occasions, and the pride which most of these unhappy persons place in receiving their sentences with coolness—produces a good deal of that apparent apathy which had so much effect on M. Cottu.

The following contrast between the interest of a French and the calmness of an English trial is well drawn.

'In England the criminal himself plays little or no part in the trial—he might, without much inconvenience to the proceeding, be tried in effigy. No great public interest seems to be excited either by the appearance of the prisoner, who in general is placed with his back to the spectators, or by the successive detail of the proofs, nor by any vehement defence on the part of the prisoner, nor by any efforts on that of the judge to trace the transaction and elicit the truth. There is no struggle between the prosecutor and the prisoner, and the latter seldom appears in any other character than that of a man who looks on, almost with indifference, while his lawyer and his adversaries are disputing for his life. Neither the sound of his voice, growing more hesitating and feebler as the proofs seems to accumulate against him—nor the gradually increasing paleness of his countenance—nor the sweat which starts from his forehead—nor, finally, the overwhelming silence of detected and convicted guilt—none of these disturb the feelings of the spectators nor excite in their minds those vicissitudes of pity, horror, vengeance, and other violent sensations which a French trial is sure to create. In England all is calm and cold—lawyers, judges, the public, nay, the prisoner himself! who holds little or no communication with even his counsel, and seems hardly to be aware of the peril in which he stands or of the strength of the case that is made out against him.'—p. 111.

Here again M. Cottu is guilty of a slight exaggeration: it is true that, on the whole, the more staid character of our nation, the merciful rule of our law which prevents a prisoner being questioned, and

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and above all, the small number of sentences which are carried into effect, make the interest which is shewed on a trial for life and death—or for *what is called* life and death—much less lively than with our more enthusiastic neighbours, where the accused is frequently convicted out of his own mouth; where the judges exhibit all their arts and all their eloquence to entreat or persuade, or entrap the prisoner into confessions, or contradictions, and where the conviction, if obtained, is generally inflicted.

But whenever an occasion of great moment, from the magnitude of the offence, or of great interest from the obscurity of the case, or of great curiosity from some personal circumstances, occurs, the feelings exhibited in an English court of justice are, not perhaps as quick as in a French auditory, but they are, at least, as solemn and as deep; and we just mention this because, we think, that M. Cottu has been induced to draw general inferences, some favourable and some unfavourable, from the ordinary routine of an uninteresting circuit, which certainly are not true of the administration of justice at large.

One of these particulars of difference between the English and French criminal jurisprudence, which we have just referred to, M. Cottu observes upon, but not, we think, with that weight and attention which it merits; we mean the interrogating, both on the first accusation, and finally, at the trial, the prisoner himself. M. Cottu rather seems (p. 99. and more decidedly p. 267.) to reprobate this practice, (in common indeed with most other parts of the criminal process of France,) as showing a too cruel anxiety to convict the culprit; and he even compares it to the torture. Notwithstanding the partiality which we naturally feel for our own law, and the praise with which the maxim 'that no one is bound to criminate himself' has been always accompanied, we doubt whether France ought, in wisdom or justice or even in mercy, to abrogate this practice. It seems to be one of the first and most natural principles of human justice, that when you have proofs enough to authorize you to imprison a citizen, you should hear what he has to say in his defence. That his defence may lead to his conviction is true, but surely so it ought if he be guilty; no man speaks falsely against himself, and no one but the individual can truly relate all the circumstances which justice has a right to know, or, at least, a right to inquire into. In no case can it be supposed that a prisoner is to be *forced* to answer; and even in France prisoners frequently refuse to answer at all, or persist in some short formulary of denial which comes to the same purpose. Prisoners, if they were all guilty and all prudent, would soon learn the advantage of holding their tongues, but if the innocent or the indiscreet choose to speak, what principle of justice or equity forbids us to examine them?

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No human crime can be committed but at a particular time and in a particular place; and, generally speaking, no one but the guilty person can have been in *that place* at *that time*. If then there be evidence enough to justify the committal of a suspected person to prison, to the danger of his morals and the ruin of his character, why should it not authorise the asking of him, 'Where were you on such a day?' Why should he not be bound to explain where and how he passed the suspicious hour? Truth and innocence never could suffer by the consequences of such an interrogatory, while guilt could hardly ever escape but by silence, and even silence would be rendered a less effectual refuge. England is the only country on earth whose laws forbid such examination; and this only proves additionally, M. Cottu elsewhere remarks, that though the English Statute Book seems written in letters of blood, and though the whole system of jurisprudence tends to make almost every crime capital, there seems to be amongst judges, juries, prosecutors, lawyers, the forms of the procedure, the rules of evidence, and the circumstances of the trial, a humane and general conspiracy to defeat the law and acquit the prisoner. We look with so much dread to any alteration which is not made absolutely necessary by some great and urgent practical evil, that we are far from wishing to see the practice of England changed, but we are pretty confident that it would not be wise to introduce our principle into the law of France, which in all times has followed what appears to us, on abstract principles, the more rational course.

M. Cottu observes too, in connexion with this part of the subject, the strange extremities to which this general solicitude to acquit the guilty is pushed; he notices the difficulty which a prisoner finds in being permitted to plead *guilty*. Overcome with the consciousness of his crime, which is perhaps flagrant,—of which perhaps he bears the very marks about his person—the horror of which is in his countenance and the remorse for which is cutting his heart—he desires to relieve his conscience by pleading guilty;—no! the jailor, the crier, the sheriff, the jury, the counsel, the bystanders, nay, the judge himself, all oppose themselves to the words of compunction and of truth;—the poor wretch is persuaded, nay forced, into a crime which he abhors, and after a trial (which, under such circumstances, is a mere mockery) he is sent into the other world with a falsehood in his mouth, a falsehood prompted by his judge! This surely is lamentable; this surely is not mercy: True and rational mercy should conceal its feelings on such an occasion, and not interfere between a dying man and his conscience.

M. Cottu gives a detail clear and accurate enough, though rather superficial, of our courts and their proceedings—he makes few mistakes of any importance, either in principle or practice, as to those

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those which he himself saw, but in others he is not quite so fortunate. Surely it could not have been Mr. Scarlett who gave him the following account of the Court of Chancery, in which the highest and most important object of that Court is wholly overlooked, and its general practice considerably misrepresented:—

'A fourth Court is called the Court of Chancery, to which peculiarly belong the affairs of minors and bankrupts, and questions of injunction; but another object of its authority is, as a Court of Equity, to interfere in behalf of a debtor when two different actions are brought at once against him, without (the matter) having been particularly specified in the contract, as when a creditor having a mortgage on his (his debtor's) lands, and being able to sell the estate, should also proceed by arresting his body. It is also a part of the business of this Court to furnish creditors with the *means of enforcing the literal execution of their contracts*, which cannot be obtained in the ordinary law courts, as I have already shewn. Thus a creditor may proceed either at common law to recover damages for the non-execution of a contract, or in Chancery to force the contractor to deliver in kind the article contracted for; but the proceeding in this Court is so long, so difficult, and so confused, that persons very seldom bring their actions voluntarily into it. I had not time to penetrate all these obscurities, and I prefer holding my tongue on this subject to exposing myself to the chance of giving an erroneous account.'—p. 138.

This last consideration occurred to M. Cottu a little too late—His whole view of the Court of Chancery is singularly narrow, and we may add erroneous. He seems not to have been aware, and it is strange that his legal friends should not have apprized him, that the highest and noblest jurisdiction of the court was the administration of what is called *equity* in opposition to strict law—the moderating the hardships which a literal construction of any laws must of necessity produce, and softening down, by the application of the rules of rational justice and discretion, a harshness and rigour which in particular cases would have operated too severely and unjustly.

This noblest function of our British law is, we believe, peculiar to it; indeed it has grown up amongst us by the modern increase of civilization, the diffusion of wealth, the multitude of contracts, and the infinite variety of transactions by which property is acquired or secured.

Other countries must of necessity have something of the same nature. It is impossible to lop or lengthen every case to the Procrustean bed of an unrelenting and invariable law. In most countries this moderative and equitable authority has been vested in the king and his council; and so it was formerly in England. But as the chancellor was always the first member of that council, in process of time, his weight and legal authority, and our old and rational dislike

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dislike to vesting a discretionary power in the crown, or in any but responsible magistrates, produced by degrees the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor, which is now become the most distinctive and valuable attribute of his high office.

As to the delays and intricacies of the practice, which M. Cottu lays to the peculiar charge of this court, we shall only say that the *principles* upon which it proceeds are less intricate, and its *forms*, on the whole, less tedious, than those of the other courts: the delays so often complained of exist, not in the construction of the court, or the nature of the law, but, in two principal and, we may call them, extraneous causes: the one is, the enormous mass of business which daily increases and accumulates on its head; and the other, that, whereas in the common law courts every thing is conducted by regular steps to a strict issue upon which a plain *yes* or *no* may be pronounced, it is of the essence of a Court of Equity to relieve parties from this very strictness, to hear mitigating and explanatory circumstances, and often to decide,—not *yes* or *no*, but that the parties are both right and both wrong, and to measure out between both their proportionate shares of justice. It is quite evident that such discussions as these, are, from their very nature, indeterminate, however plain the *principles* and *forms* of the court may be, and that parties, who rest their respective claims, not upon the strict and written laws but upon their own views of natural equity and indulgent justice, cannot be restrained within limits of proceeding so narrow as those courts who have only to inquire into *facts*, and not into motives or expediencies.

But the chief object of M. Cottu's research, and, to do him justice, that which he has accomplished the most satisfactorily, was a minute and progressive inquiry into the Jury System, from the first principle of the qualification of a grand juror down to the mode of delivering the verdict of the petty jury. Upon this part of his work, it is needless to enter into any details, they are new and interesting to France, but not so to us; but that which is indeed of great importance to her, and of no small interest to us, are the measures which ought, in M. Cottu's opinion, to result from this inquiry, and the modes in which he thinks these institutions should be naturalized in France.

The French had, in the beginning of their attempts at the jury system, two juries like us; their jury d'accusation answering in some respects to our grand jury. This part of the system was abolished in the formation of the present code of French laws, and M. Cottu, smit with the love of our grand juries, laments its loss, and would re-establish it, but with such modifications as would render it really a grand inquest like ours. We, however, candidly confess, that we do not see that this is within the scope of probability, and so far,

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far as criminal justice is concerned, we think M. Cottu attaches too much importance to the share of the grand jury. Its functions are now little more than a matter of course. In some few instances (as we have seen of late) the ignoring a bill makes a more early and more striking reparation to an unjustly accused individual; but even this occurs but seldom, and there are never wanting persons to say that an acquittal before a special jury would be still more satisfactory. If indeed the grand jury were to decide, in the first stage of the proceedings, whether or no the prisoner should be committed for trial, and thus save the palpably innocent from the disgrace and duress of imprisonment, we should have concurred in M. Cottu's anxiety for its establishment; but as the practice stands, though we think it useful, we do not feel with M. Cottu that it is indispensable, or that it would be worth while to make any great sacrifices for its introduction into France. Caution in receiving accusations, and in committing offenders for trial—responsibility on the part of the committing magistrates—an early trial—and a respectable and impartial composition of the petty jury, which is to pronounce on the prisoner's fate,—appear to us to be all that is necessary; and these objects, M. Cottu seems to admit, may be attained without forcing into the institutions of France a new element which it would be extremely difficult to organise. We are confident that if our grand juries had no other functions but their criminal duties, they would have long ago ceased to be composed as they are, and we doubt whether they would have even continued to exist.

But there is another consideration of much greater and more extensive importance which applies to the whole of this question, and which affects the magistracy of all ranks, and jurors and electors of all classes, and upon which M. Cottu dwells with becoming earnestness and with irresistible force—we mean the state of the law in France with respect to landed property, and the condition in which the gentry or landed proprietors of that country stand with regard to their capabilities of duly administering either the trial by jury or a representative constitution. Well may M. Cottu call the law of France, in this particular, monstrous and disastrous, which not only excludes all the rights of primogeniture, but stifles even the affections, the partialities of nature; loosens the bonds of paternal fondness and filial duty, and throws into a great lottery the distribution of all the property of the country. No property in France is now property of inheritance—no property in France depends in its future distribution on the will of its present possessor. The law has taken into its own hands the whole arrangement, and, without exception or discrimination, it divides, amongst all the brothers and all the sisters, equal portions of the wealth of their parents. No man, whether he has received his property by descent, or by gift,

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or created it by purchase, or by industry, has any thing more than a life-interest in it, without the power even of sharing it amongst his children according to their conduct, their talents, their dispositions, or their professions;—all is done by the iron hand of the law, and the dearest ties of kindred and affection, and the most obvious considerations of propriety, and the most essential interests of families, are all rent and overthrown by this eternal, irremediable, division and subdivision of property. A country-gentleman has sons and daughters; his eldest son shows a fondness for agricultural employment and rural life; the second makes his way in the army, and is there provided for; a third, perhaps, called by religion, (*for interest* cannot now a-days direct the attention of a Frenchman that way,) embraces the clerical character;—the daughters are married—perhaps well married—perhaps married against their parents' consent, and to their shame and sorrow; yet there is no possibility by which the eldest son can become possessed of the paternal estate, nor even of a larger portion of it than his brothers and sisters—the whole must be equally divided, and the head of the family, if we can so call him, and the colonel, and the parson, and the sisters, whatever be their circumstances or conduct, receive their equal shares.

A citizen has by his industry and integrity raised himself a name in his neighbourhood, and his shop is favoured by public confidence; one son follows his father's steps and conducts his business; another, of a more roving disposition, goes to sea.—Well! the tradesman and the sailor become equally intitled to the paternal shop, and, as it cannot be divided, it must be sold, that its proceeds may be divided, and thus the name, character and business of the father are lost to his children. It seems surprising that so cold-hearted, so demoralizing a system should have ever been adopted; but its continued existence is a still greater enigma.

How can it be expected that any man will devote his time, his talents and his feelings to the improvement of an estate, the establishment of a commerce, the embellishment of a residence, which he knows after his death must be parcelled out and destroyed? How can a nation, M. Cottu asks, have a representative government without country-gentlemen, without substantial citizens? and how can you have either under the operation of a law which disregards all conveniencies, dissipates all feelings, and scatters all property?

M. Cottu states that the general agriculture of France is adduced as a proof of the wisdom of this law; but he replies very properly that this may be, and probably is, owing to other causes; that agriculture is equally thriving in countries where it does not exist: but even if it were admitted that it had a tendency to cause the cultivation of every spot of land in the country (and it cannot be denied that for a time it will have somewhat of this effect) it must, after

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after a certain point, have a direct contrary one, and the eternal subdivision of land will at last produce indifference, carelessness and waste. But neither this supposed advantage nor this eventual evil is to be placed in comparison with the higher evils which it is even now producing, and which every new descent increases. It annihilates what little remains of aristocracy in France, and puts a final bar to its re-establishment; and, as M. Cottu observes, what country ever could exist which did not possess that kind of aristocracy, within the ranks of which a citizen may hope, by his industry, his talents, his virtues, or his public services, permanently to place himself and his family? From what class are representatives, magistrates and jurors to be taken? What the effect of this extraordinary system may be hereafter on the nation at large it is not easy to determine; it will probably operate as an agrarian law, and no man or woman will be richer or poorer than another. How long society so circumstanced can exist is hitherto a matter of theory, for such a system never before in any effective degree prevailed in the civilized world.

One exception to this levelling law has been lately made; the peers of France are allowed to create and entail properties to a certain amount on the inheritors of their titles—these are called *majorats*; but, as M. Cottu observes, (p. 242.) the effect of this law is too narrow to make a national aristocracy, and the limited amount required (about 1250*l.* per annum for a duke, 900*l.* for an earl, and 450*l.* for a viscount or baron*) will hardly secure the comforts, to say nothing of the splendour of life, to the peerage itself. Perhaps we may be blinded by our old prejudices and national predilections, but it really seems to us, as it does to M. Cottu, that no constitution can prosper under such a state of things; and we confidently trust, for the sake of that great country, whose happiness and prosperity sincerely interest us, that some degree of preference will be restored to primogeniture, and parents allowed some discretion in measuring to their children the portions which they may appear to need or to deserve.

We cannot pursue all M. Cottu's observations on this subject, nor enter into the reasoning by which he shews that the rights of property involve themselves with every part of the criminal and constitutional law. Suffice it to say, that he appeals to England as the happy country which holds a wise medium between a system of accumulating entails and one of eternal division; and he traces the greater part of our constitutional liberty and impartial justice to this source.

M. Cottu naturally mixes with his legal disquisitions some notices of our general manners and habits, in all of which he is liberal, and we should even say flattering; he at least does us no

* *Ordonnance of the 2d September*, 1817. But ineffectual as this law was, it was altogether suspended in the case of the sixty peers made in the beginning of this year.

 injustice,

injustice, and his report is, upon the whole, calculated to raise us in the esteem, and to conciliate towards us the good will of his countrymen.

We shall say nothing in answer to his assertions that our beds are bad, our cooking unsavory, and our vegetables insipid. We submit to these imputations, because they are mere matters of taste; but there is an objection in matter of fact, and in point of honour, which, without directly making, he more than insinuates, and upon which it seems necessary for us to say a few words.

Of many of the absurd and malicious tales with which the Jacobins and Buonapartists for so many years inundated France, with regard to this country, M. Cottu has seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, the falsehood; and he does not hesitate to confess, that in all the cases which he had opportunities of examining, he found that we had been misrepresented and libelled; but he does not do us the same justice with regard to the charge of ill treating our prisoners of war, which (though he thinks, from what he has himself seen of our manners and character, that it has been exaggerated) he still believes to have been but too liable to those imputations.

'I own that, previously convinced as every Frenchman is that our nation is profoundly hated by the English, I had believed that it was in consequence of this hatred, that they inflicted on *our* prisoners in particular, such rigorous severity; but when I had become, by personal experience, able to appreciate the generous and active philanthropy of this people, I have not been able to reconcile the contradiction between their general desire to alleviate human suffering, and their barbarous conduct towards our soldiers. I have spoken to several Members of Parliament on the subject, and the answer I received was—that having no fortified places in the interior to confine our prisoners, and having no political police to watch them, they were obliged to confine them in prison-ships; the only places of security at their disposal. This explanation may have some truth, but this necessity, even supposing it to be as urgent as it was represented to me, did not, at least, require that the prisoners should have been heaped together in such unproportional numbers, and without regard to the sickness occasioned by such an accumulation; nor should they have been condemned to the intolerable punishment of a total want of exercise, and of breathing an infected and never purified air. Nothing excites against England such violent and such well-founded hatred as this conduct, or reflects such an indelible stain of cruelty on the national character.'—p. 233.

As we wish to stand well in M. Cottu's own opinion, and as we should regret that his sensible and useful work should give consistence to these horrible calumnies,—calumnies propagated by that second father of lies, Buonaparte,—we trust we shall be excused for making a few observations on this interesting point. If the regimen of the prison-ships could have been submitted to the

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the impartial eye of M. Cottu himself, he would have been the first to justify us from the accusations of the scum of the prisons, who, on their return to France, imputed the consequences which the infamous conduct of individuals brought upon themselves, to the inhumanity of the English towards *all* their prisoners. We have ourselves seen works published in Paris, for no other purpose than to spread and record this atrocious falsehood; and lest *words* should be too feeble to produce the desired effect, *prints* were added, representing such horrors as could only be imagined in a slave-ship; and indeed these very plates were copied from those which were published about twenty years ago, of the atrocities of the slave-trade. To all these calumnies, we shall reply by a few plain facts, which we recommend to M. Cottu's candid consideration.

1. There are, as he was well informed, no fortified places or political police in England for the confinement or superintendence of prisoners of war; but the government had always fitted up, at a great expense, prisons on shore for the average number of prisoners which could be reasonably calculated upon.

2. Situated as France and England are, the number of prisoners in former wars never exceeded a few thousands; cartels of exchange relieved, periodically, the prisoners of both nations, and the prisons of England, limited as they are, always sufficed for their purpose, and there was neither inconvenience nor complaint.

3. But Buonaparte, upon one pretence or another, always rejected all overtures for an exchange: the fact was, that the prisoners had seen, in England, examples of political independence, and had heard the judgment of Europe upon the character of their jacobin *emperor*, pronounced through a free press, and he did not choose to risk the introduction of any portion of light or liberty into the *obscurity* of his despotism.

4. Instead therefore of a few hundred of prisoners or at most a few thousands, Buonaparte's barbarous policy had accumulated in our custody from 60,000 to 70,000 men, a body sufficient to have alarmed even a country of greater extent and of securer modes of confinement than ours. It therefore became indispensably necessary to look to their security, and to our own.

5. In the first place, anxious *at any expense* to provide for the comfortable residences of the prisoners, upwards of £540,000 (about 13,000,000 francs) were expended in building large and commodious edifices for the reception of the prisoners.

6. These new prisons, together with the old ones, accommodated no less a number than 45,000 men, being more than ten times as many as in any former wars ever remained in England.

7. For the remaining 20,000, which it was impossible to dispose

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of on shore in England, and whom Buonaparte would not receive into France, it was urgent to find some *temporary* accommodation; and as these men were almost all sailors, it appeared natural to place them in ships, to which their health and habits were already accommodated.

8. They were accordingly placed in ships; but so far from being improperly accumulated, the numbers exceeded in no one instance the numbers of *our own sailors* allotted to the ship in sea-going service: and inasmuch as all guns, cables, stores, &c. were removed, it is evident that the French prisoners had considerably more room for exercise, &c. than British seamen would have in making a voyage round the world.

9. So untrue is it, that no attention was paid to the discrimination of the sick from the healthy, that to each detachment of the ships was attached an hospital; and in the month of March, 1814, of the 9,000 prisoners in the ships at Plymouth, only 130 were in hospital, and of the 9,000 at Portsmouth only 150, and of the 3,000 at Chatham only 75—a proportion of sickness not greater than that of persons at perfect liberty, nay, less than the militia of England, the flower of the youth of the nation, suffered, at the same period.

10. To these facts must be added, that there were at this time no less than 4000 French officers on parole in several of the most agreeable country-towns in England, and no officer was ever put into confinement who had not broken his parole of honour.

We hope that this plain statement of facts, to be found in papers laid before Parliament in the year 1813, and in communications made to the French commissioners themselves in 1814, and which are beyond all doubt and suspicion, will satisfy the mind of M. Cottu, and that he will do our country the same justice in this particular, that he has so candidly done in many others.

We have reserved for the last a kind of general view which M. Cottu takes of our political state, and which suggests many considerations of great importance at all times, particularly so at the present moment.

'It is on striking political questions which happen to interest the feelings of the great body of the people, that England displays all the force, or, I might say, all the copious powers and compensations of the political machine. Meetings are held on all sides; the corporations, the grand juries, the magistrates, the freeholders all discuss the charges against the ministers, and in their addresses they encourage the House of Commons to proceed against the offender, or suggest their opinions of the innocence and merit of the accused.

'*This facility, with which all the classes of the people may convey to their government through legal modes, and without riots, disturbances or insurrections, their sentiments upon public affairs, is the highest perfection of the British constitution.*

'This

'This constitution could never have been imagined by one mind or erected by one effort.—It is not written in any single treatise, the fruit of the study and meditations of some great theoretical legislator—No; it is the effect of time, experience, and patience, and of the admirable address with which the nation has put to profit the seeds of liberty which it found in its old Saxon institutions.—While the other nations of Europe permitted these seeds to be wasted or stifled in their growth, by neglect or tyranny, the English, on the contrary, cultivated them with pious care, and they are this day enjoying the harvest of peace and liberty.—*Their* National Assembly, from patriotism, or from a regard to its own authority, has added, from age to age, new bulwarks to public freedom, and has not neglected any proper opportunity of confirming the rights of the people at large—rights which belong to every member of the assembly as a portion of the people, and on which every public man must build his reputation and his power.

'The first care of their parliaments was to secure the individual citizens from the unjust power of the crown, and the aristocracy—this is accomplished by the trial by jury, the habeas corpus act, and the freedom of the press. The next object was to assure the nation at large a due superintendance and controul over its government, but aware of the impossibility of assembling the people in a mass for any deliberative purpose, and convinced of the *danger of assembling large bodies of men for such purposes*, were it even practicable, they wisely divided the great body of the people into a number of smaller bodies and distinct classes, which have a right, *each within itself*, to assemble, for the purposes of discussing the conduct of the government and the acts of its agents—thus the freeholders of each county assembled for any public election, as of a Coroner for instance—the inhabitants of towns when called together by their mayors or aldermen—the grand juries or magistrates at the assizes and sessions—all have a power of addressing their petitions or remonstrances to the throne or to Parliament, and it is a power which they exert very frequently and with unbounded freedom.

'Add to this number (already so great) of citizens *by law entitled* to deliberate, the whole mass of the people, which during the elections, though they may have no right to vote, surround the hustings and proclaim pretty audibly their wishes and partialities: and it will be confessed that it is not without good reason, that the English nation is said to have a share in its own government. And accordingly there is nothing which such a government in union with such a public opinion cannot accomplish. When an important measure is submitted to parliament, the king and the two houses may be clearly informed of the state of public opinion upon the subject, and may persist or recede accordingly; and by this excellent system the authority of the *people*, which, if united in one mass, would form a torrent, whose accumulated waters would on the first opposition overthrow the government and devastate the country, becomes by this subdivision into classes, many streams and channels of irrigation which adorn and fertilize the happy land through which they roll their peaceable currents.

'This admirable expression of the public opinion, so powerful, so vigilant, is *principally* maintained, supported and put into activity by the

manner in which justice is administered, and by the entire liberty of the press. With the exception of the twelve judges of England, all the civil and criminal justice of the kingdom is administered gratuitously by the intervention of the citizens themselves, and at their own expense.

'The justices of the peace and the sheriffs perform their offices without any remuneration, and it is extremely rare to find them accused of the least negligence.

'All these and similar circumstances keep up a salutary agitation and balance in the opinions of all classes of people. They bring together the higher and the lower orders of society, and maintain a combined spirit of equality of rights and mutual independence of persons, which renders palatable the inequality of riches and of rank.'—p. 200.

These observations, and many more which we could extract, are remarkable not only for their general truth and justice, but for the time in which they were written and the circumstances in which they appear.—We should not be surprized if these were the very 'observations on the spirit of the British constitution,' which Mr. Scarlett himself furnished to M. Cottu.—If they be, they do more honour to his constitutional principles, than to his consistency; for they develope the true tests of public freedom, and the real rights of public meetings in a much more open and intelligible manner than Mr. Scarlett appears to have done on other occasions. Our constitution abhors the assemblage of masses of population, incapable of judging even while they are quiet, and incapable of restraint if they become violent: for the safe and free conveyance of the public sentiment, the country is divided into classes, each of which may always legally and often usefully express its opinions, and these classes embrace as large a proportion of every rank and condition of men, as in any practice or even in theory (except that of the venerable Major and Sir Francis Burdett) have been considered as entitled to a voice in the affairs of the state. Our constitution glories in its magistracy,—gentlemen who sacrifice their time and their trouble, and even risk their fortunes and persons for the public interests; whose motives are above all undue influence, because they are themselves a part of the people, and can have no interest different from theirs; whose conduct is above all suspicion, because they are men of rank, education and intelligence; whose labours are above all price, and which are therefore unpaid; and whose usefulness is above all calculation, and can never therefore be too highly appreciated or sufficiently honoured.

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muzzles of the guns. The strength of the garrison did not exceed thirty men, of whom five were officers; and this small number was speedily reduced; the governor, (Mr. White,) one of the officers, and four men being wounded, and two killed. They, however, repelled the assailants; and when the Ashantees attempted to burn down the gate, shot those who applied the fire from the ramparts. The next day a small reinforcement arrived from Cape Coast; and as the enemy was not disposed to renew the attack, a flag of truce was sent out, and the forbearance and *friendship* of the king purchased at the expense of giving up one of the rebel chiefs, who had sought protection under the walls of Cape Coast Castle;—an act which, we are told, (and we must take the author's word for it,) 'gave a favourable opinion of the British'!

The Ashantees remained quiet until the year 1811, when they again invaded the Fantees, and their forbearance was again purchased; and a third time in 1816, when thousands were butchered in cold blood, and as many dragged to the capital as victims to their inhuman superstitions. The Governor of Cape Coast Castle, being again obliged to purchase their retreat by the payment of a large sum of money, earnestly requested his superiors at home to authorize a mission to the King of Ashantee, 'to deprecate these repeated calamities, to conciliate so powerful a monarch, and to propitiate' (what is this?) 'an extension of commerce.' This request was immediately acceded to; and some valuable presents, together with a draft of instructions, were forwarded by the spring ship of 1817. Mr. James, the governor of Accra fort, was selected as the representative of the African Company, and Mr. Bowdich, a young writer just arrived, and Mr. Hutchinson, also a writer, with Mr. Tedlie, assistant surgeon, were appointed to accompany him.

The mission left Cape Coast Castle with a proper number of bearers, Ashantee guides, and two native soldiers of the garrison, on the morning of the 22d April. In the course of fifteen miles, which brought them to Payntree's *croom* or village, they passed over a very beautiful country—the hills were covered with groves or clumps of trees of immense size, and the valleys with a profusion of pines, aloes and lilies, richly varied with palm, banana, plantain and guava trees. 'I never,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'saw soil so rich or vegetation so luxuriant.' Amidst all this luxuriance, however, the hand of the spoiler was but too visible in the numerous deserted villages, and the few wretched inhabitants who still clung to their ruins.

The village of Payntree was prettily situated on an open plain, surrounded by stately trees, and consisted of one broad and wel

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well 'cleaned' street of small huts, framed of bamboo and neatly thatched. The proprietor himself was attentive and obliging, and presented the strangers with fowls, yams and palm-wine. He had a field of corn (of what kind is not stated) of at least twenty acres. 'His dwelling was a square of four apartments, one for himself and the others for his stock and his slaves. The order, *cleanliness* and comfort,' says our traveller, 'surprized us; the sun had just set, and a cheerful fire on a clean hearth *supported* the evening meal. The old man was seated in his state chair, diverting himself with his children and younger wives—the elder one was looking on from the opposite apartment with happy indifference; it was the first scene of domestic comfort I had witnessed among the natives'—we regret to add, it was also the last.

The next twenty or thirty miles led through deep and almost im*pervious* forests of the largest and loftiest trees, the fallen trunks of which presented frequent barriers to their progress, and increased *their* fatigues from the labour required to scale them. The climbing plants shot down their pliant arms like so many cables, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists that it was impossible to trace them in the general entanglement. 'The path, which was swampy, (says Mr. Bowdich,) frequently became trackless, and appeared to have been little used since the Ashantee invasion of 1807.—Several human skulls were scattered *through* this dark solitude, the relics of the butchery.'

On the last day of April, the party reached the banks of a *stream* called the Boosempra.

'Nothing, says our traveller, could be more beautiful; the bank on the *south* side was steep, and admitted but a narrow path; that on the north sloping; on which a small Fetish house, under the shade of a cachou tree, fixed the eye; whence it wandered over a rich variety of tint and foliage, in which light and shade were most happily blended: the small rocks stole through the herbage of the banks, and now and *then ruffled* the water: the doom trees towering in the shrubbery, waved to the most gentle air a rich foliage of dark green, mocking the *finest* touch of the pencil; the tamarind and smaller mimosas heightening its effect by their livelier tint, and the more piquant delicacy of their leaf: the cotton trees overtopped the whole, enwreathed in con*volvuli*, and several elegant little trees, unknown to me, rose in the background, intermixed with palms, and made the coup d'œil enchant*ing*. The bright rays of the sun were sobered by the rich reflections of the water; and there was a mild beauty in the landscape, uncongenial to barbarism, which imposed the expectation of elegance and refinement. I attempted a sketch, but it was far beyond my rude pencil; the expression of the scene could only have been traced in the profile of

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every tree; and it seemed to defy any touches, but those of a Claude or a Wilson, to depict the life of its beauty.'—pp. 23, 24.

The reader will collect from this description, which is among the least tumid that the work affords, that the author has a singular propensity 'to talk in King Cambyses' vein.' Indeed, so fond is he of flinging his garish colours over every object, that we are compelled, however unwillingly, to make considerable deductions in our mind from his statements before we proceed to investigate their value.

At the first Ashantee town, named Foámaunee, a venerable old man regaled the travellers with palm-wine and fruit; 'his manners,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'were very pleasing, and made it more painful to us to hear that his life was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the king, to commiserate his infirmities, so far as to allow him to be executed at his own croom, and to be spared the fatigue of a journey to the capital: he conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over the log with an emotion of dignity rather than shame.—His head arrived at Coomassie the day after we had.'

The next town they halted at was Doompassie, 'the most industrious on the path; cloths, beads and pottery were manufacturing in all directions, and the blacksmiths' forges were always at work.' Eight miles beyond this a message met them from the king, appointing their public entry into Coomassie on the following Monday. During this journey to Coomassie, which is estimated at 146 miles, (or about 97 miles of direct distance,) the thermometer ranged from 76° to 91°, but was seldom above 80°.

Their entrance into the capital is thus described.

'We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exerted with a zeal bordering on phrenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze: and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs.'—pp. 31, 32.

Then

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Then follows a very minute and circumstantial description of the war-captains, illustrated by a print of one of them in grand gala, which would make an admirable scare-crow. Moving onwards through crowds of people, they were perfectly astonished at the splendor of the several *caboceers** who passed by with their trains. 'The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes, *trained* to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies.' Melodies!—But there is no disputing about taste.—We doubt not that Mr. Bowdich, like Bottom, 'has a reasonable ear for the tongs and the bones':—but Bosman, who had often witnessed similar pageants, tells us that these melodious instruments, which 'soothed' Mr. Bowdich's ear 'into its natural tone,' sounded, 'for all the world, like a sow-gelder's horn'!

An inhuman spectacle now arrested their attention, which, it would seem, they were purposely stopped to notice. It was a victim whom the people were tormenting previously to the sacrifice. This miserable object (with whose sufferings we shall not afflict our readers) having passed in review before them, they were permitted to proceed towards the market-place. The scene that presented itself there must be described in Mr. Bowdich's own words.

'Our observations en passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us: an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificence and novelty. The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected, with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massy gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielding for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious; and a pleasing instrument, like a bagpipe without the drone, was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most shewy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold; they were of various shapes, but mostly dome; and the valances (in some of which small looking glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopard skins,

* From a Portugueze word signifying 'head-man'—an officer or magistrate.

and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides. Innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the glare by contrasting the sober colouring of nature.

"Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."

'The king's messengers, with gold breast plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer, which, as their household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.'—pp. 34, 35.

Whether Mr. Bowdich, in the midst of this general 'blaze of splendour and ostentation,' distinctly saw, or only imagined that he saw, the wild and wondrous assemblage of objects which he has brought together in the following procession, we leave the reader to determine—in either case it must be allowed that his powers are of no ordinary kind.—It is but justice to confess that we have been both interested and amused by the description in a high degree.

'The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths, of extravagant price from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour, as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet generally encircled their temples; and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of *aggry* beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes, and canes, dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills, and rusted in blood; the sheaths were of leopard skin, or the shell of a fish like shagreen. The large drums supported on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced around with the thigh bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettle drums, resting on the ground, were scraped with wet fingers, and covered with leopard skin. The wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and curiously shaped pieces of iron, which gingled loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were suspended

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suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth; the horns (the teeth of young elephants) were ornamented at the mouth-piece with gold, and the jaw bones of human victims. The war caps of eagles feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans, of the wing feathers of the ostrich, played around the dignitaries: immediately behind their chairs (which were of black wood, almost covered by inlays of ivory and gold embossment) stood their handsomest youths, with corslets of leopard's skin covered with gold cockle shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate; cartouch boxes of elephants hides hung below, ornamented in the same manner; a large gold handled sword was fixed behind the left shoulder, and silk scarves and horses' tails (generally white) streamed from the arms and waist cloth: their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some, with silver basins. Their stools of the most laborious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them, were conspicuously placed upon the heads of favourites; and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these, and so thickly as not to admit of our passing without treading on their feet, to which they were perfectly indifferent; their caps were of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds which hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pig's skin) were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them; on their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour.'—p. 35.

It would be unpardonable to omit the 'Conductor's' minute and circumstantial description of the numerous and splendid cortège of the swarthy monarch, with whose many amiable qualities he appears in no small degree to be enraptured.

'The prolonged flourishes of the horns, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the king: we were already passing the principal officers of his household; the chamberlain, the gold horn blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain for royal executions, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal burial ground, and the master of the bands, sat surrounded by a retinue and splendor which bespoke the dignity and importance of their offices. The cook had a number of small services covered with leopard's skin held behind him, and a large quantity of massy silver plate was displayed before him, punch bowls, waiters, coffee pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and clawed feet, which seemed to have been made to hold incense; I observed a Portugueze inscription on one piece, and they

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seemed generally of that manufacture. The executioner, a man of an immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him, clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The king's four linguists were encircled by a splendor inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles, like fasces. The keeper of the treasury added to his own magnificence by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow pan, boxes, scales and weights, were of solid gold.

'A delay of some minutes, whilst we severally approached to receive the king's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him; his deportment first excited my attention; native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous was a curious spectacle: his manners were majestic, yet courteous: and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch; he appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggry beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggry beads, and his ancle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of saphies; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold, and covered with small jaw bones of the same metal; the elephants' tails, waving like a small cloud before him, were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one massy piece of gold about his neck: the royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments, cased in gold, about the thickness of cartridge paper: large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased; hatchets of the same were intermixed with them: the breasts of the Ocrahs, and various attendants, were adorned with large stars, stools, crescents, and gossamer wings of solid gold.'—p. 37.

The court of Haroun al Raschid was nothing to this! Indeed we have been unable, for some time, to divest ourselves of the idea that we have before us a new collection of the 'Arabian Nights,' more full of prodigies than the old, and have looked round

round, more than once, for the approach of the 'necromancer' that was to dissolve the vision, and bring us back to the sober realities of life. He makes his appearance in the next chapter in the person of Mr. Bowdich himself, who simply waves his wand, and immediately presents to us this 'Lord of Aladdin's lamp and magic ring,' whose glance seemed to transmute every viler substance into gold, as a mean, cunning, and rapacious negro, holding one angry *palaver** after another to decide the momentous question, whether the monthly tribute paid by us to his Ashantee majesty, should be 'four ackies† or four ounces?'

This weighty affair was the subject of an early discussion with the king, who took care previously to make the mission understand that 'he knew very well the King of England had sent him presents,' and that 'if they wished to be friends with him they must bring them to his own house, and shew them to him and his friends, and not give them before all the people.' They were accordingly carried and displayed before him; when his surprize and pleasure were so great that he exclaimed 'Englishmen know how to do every thing proper'—'they are a great people'—'they wish to be friends with me, to be as one with the Ashantees;' and many other expressions of a similar kind. He was particularly delighted with the exhibition of a camera obscura, observing that 'Englishmen knew more than Dutchmen or Danes,—and that black men knew nothing.'

At the moment however that he was paying these flattering compliments, a storm was gathering in his bosom. He had two notes which he produced, written by the governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the king of Annamaboe, and the chief of the Baffoes, making over to him, Sai king of Ashantee, four ackies (twenty shillings) per month of the tribute paid to them by the African Company, 'as a pledge of their allegiance and the termination of hostilities.' He desired to know what this meant, and, with fury in his looks, said to his linguist: 'Tell the white men that what they did yesterday made me much pleasure; I was glad we were to be friends; but to day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know, with my own powder, with my own shot, I drove the Fantees under their forts; I spread my sword over them, they were all killed, and their books from the fort are mine. These white men cheat me; they pretend to make friends with me, and they join with the Fantees to put shame upon my face; this makes the blood come from my heart.' Mr. James replied, that he was

* From the Portugueze *palabra*, a conference.

† A piece of gold of the value of five shillings.

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unacquainted with the circumstance, but that he would communicate his sentiments to the governor of Cape Coast. The king then asked how much had been paid on these notes? Mr. James still pleaded ignorance. The king's wrath increased. 'I know (he said) the English come to spy the country; they come to cheat me; they want war.' Mr. James modestly assured him that they wanted nothing but trade. He now became furious; drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat, exclaimed, 'Shantee foo! Shantee foo! ah! ah!' then shaking his finger at the representatives of the Committee of African merchants, he bellowed with an angry aspect, 'If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me.' To this raving of an infuriated savage, Mr. James conceived he should best consult his own dignity and that of his comrades, and probably the personal safety of them all, by making no reply.

Not so Mr. Bowdich—this young gentleman, just arrived in Africa, full of self-importance, and seeing, to quote his own exquisite metaphor, 'our key to the interior shivered in the lock,' unceremoniously shoved aside his superior officer, and demanded to be heard,

> 'For I can talk, and Pistol's cock is up,
> And flashing fire will follow.'

The king liked his palaver much; his attention, Mr. Bowdich modestly assures us, was arrested by the novelty of a white man addressing him 'in the oratorical manner of his own country!' and joy was once more spread over every countenance.—In truth, we do not much wonder that the king 'liked *his* talk,' when he took upon himself to say, what Mr. James's instructions did not authorize him to say, that 'the governor of Cape Coast Castle would do all that his black Majesty wished him to do.' We know nothing of Mr. James, nor of Mr. Bowdich and his two associates, (Hutchinson and Tedlie,) but we incline to think that the annals of diplomacy do not furnish such an instance of contempt and disobedience towards a superior officer, as is here impudently avowed in the face of the world by the leader himself. Headed by Mr. Bowdich, these gentlemen had evidently formed a conspiracy to get rid of Mr. James, well knowing that he had it not in his power to take any steps against them, with his wretched guard of two native soldiers. They presumed, no doubt, on the near relationship of Mr. Bowdich (nephew, we believe) to the Governor in Chief; and the event justified their confidence. As Mr. James was recalled on their representation, we deem it but justice to make known the character given of this gentleman by that excellent officer, Commodore Sir James Yeo, who was in the

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the habit of speaking his mind freely of those with whom he had to deal. 'Mr. James (he says, in a document now lying before us) has been seventeen years in the country; I have seen much of him, and I am decidedly of opinion that he possesses a more perfect knowledge of the interior, speaks more of their languages, and is better acquainted with the customs and manners of the different nations, than any other officer in the Company's service, or indeed, I may with safety add, any European now in Africa.'

We shall not detain our readers with the squabbles between the black chief and the young diplomatists respecting the amount of *ackies* and ounces, which the former demanded for the protection of the natives living under our forts. The lofty tone and the tumid language of the dispatches are amusing enough as coupled with those unimportant negociations. Suffice it to say, that the weighty matters of the mission were, after numerous palavers and a residence of four months, brought to a happy conclusion, by obtaining permission for the Commenda people to acknowledge their fealty to the king of Ashantee, and by the signing of a treaty of 'perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects residing in Africa and the subjects of the kings of Ashantee and Dwabin.' The principal articles of this treaty are —permission for a British officer to reside constantly at Coomassie—and the engagement of the two kings to commit their children to the care of the governor in chief, for education, at Cape Coast Castle.

But alas! for the instability of human affairs and the oaths and promises of negro princes! Notwithstanding the signature of Sai Tootoo Quamina, *his X mark*, the king of Dwabin, *his X mark*, and the marks of Quashee Tom, and eight others of equal renown on the gold coast,—notwithstanding the terrible oaths which, on this occasion, the king swore on his 'gold sword,' in presence of about three hundred of his wives 'in all the magnificence which a profusion of gold and silk could furnish,' notwithstanding even his solemn invocation of his *Fetish* to kill him if he did not keep the law, Mr. Bowdich had scarcely arrived in England to receive the honours due to his diplomatic exploits, when it was understood that not one single article had been observed by this magnificent *sultan* of 'majestic manners.' Mr. Hutchinson, who had been left behind as resident at Coomassie, finding his situation irksome and useless, soon deemed it prudent to withdraw; and the king's children, whose education at Cape Coast formed the most important article of the treaty, were never sent.

Mr. Bowdich, however, gave the king sufficient cause to be dissatisfied with his conduct before he left Coomassie. To prepare suitable presents for the Governor and the Committee in England, the

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the king had particularly desired him to stay a few days beyond that originally fixed for his departure, (from Wednesday, we believe, till Monday;) but the 'Conductor,' with that waywardness of disposition which he cannot himself conceal, sent a message to say he was determined to go; upon which his majesty coolly observed, 'he might break the law (treaty) if he thought proper.' Mr. Bowdich did think proper, and gave orders to his party to proceed; but they had scarcely gone fifty yards when they were surrounded with gong-gongs, drums, and other 'melodious' instruments, and beaten and pelted back to their lodging. This undignified proceeding on the part of the youthful diplomatists, connected with their previous conduct towards Mr. James, was ill calculated to impress any very favourable opinion of the English officers of Cape Coast Castle on the king, or to induce him to trust the education of his sons to such hands. Mr. Bowdich, however, proudly says, 'I consider the affair of yesterday to have perfected the impression of our spirit'!

At length the day of departure arrived, when Messrs. Bowdich and Tedlie took leave of their comrade, Mr. Hutchinson, who, as we have said, remained behind, and whose diary forms the most interesting part of the volume. Mr. Bowdich proceeded with his papers to England; but, in the mean time, most extravagant stories had preceded him of the unbounded wealth and splendour of the Ashantee capital. It was represented in such glittering colours, that many were persuaded it was the true El Dorado, where the very pebbles were of gold. It was believed too that such was the facility of intercourse with the interior of Africa, that Timbuctoo and the Niger, those long sought objects, were most accessible from the capital of Ashantee. A favourable impression was thus created in behalf of this newly visited country; and, on the representation of the African Company, Lord Bathurst, ever ready to forward such views as have for their object the promotion of science and general knowledge, appointed a gentleman of the name of Dupuis as Vice-Consul of Coomassie, purely from his perfect knowledge of the Arabic language, which would enable him to converse with those Moors of whom we shall presently speak, and from his acquaintance with African subjects, as displayed in the notes which he supplied to the Narrative of Adams the American seaman.

Mr. Dupuis lost no time in hastening to the place of his destination; but he found, on his arrival at Cape Coast, that Mr. Hutchinson had returned, and that it was considered unsafe for him to proceed. As the political events of great nations are always supposed to arise out of adequate causes, it may here be proper to trace the origin of this unlooked-for state of affairs at Cape

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Cape Coast Castle. Mr. Bowdich had informed us that the king of Ashantee was preparing for war against several of his neighbours; that as a pretext for a quarrel, he had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntakoo or Gaman, which was thickly plated with gold; that the king had given it up to preserve peace; but that his sister, a woman of masculine spirit, had reproached her brother for his timidity, and ordered another stool to be made of solid gold to replace the plated one. The king of Ashantee demanded this also, together with the golden figure of an elephant which he heard had been dug out of some ruins. The lady sent him word that he should have neither; to which the king replied that she was a *strong woman*, and that he would give her twelve months to prepare for war. Thus matters stood when Mr. Bowdich left Coomassie.

It appears however, from advices which we have recently received from Cape Coast, that the king of Ashantee, impatient to possess this stool of gold, had dispatched one of his captains to Buntakoo with instructions to obtain and bring it away, by any means. The man proceded on his mission, made his demand, negociated, entreated, threatened, but the influence of the sister prevailed over her mild and peaceable brother, and he met with a peremptory refusal. The officer, being fully aware that if he returned without the stool his head would pay the forfeit, found means to carry it off by stealth. This was an insult not to be tolerated; and the Buntakoos prepared for immediate war. The king of Ashantee, on learning this, marched the whole of his force into the territory of Gaman.

The issue of this war was for a long time doubtful. The reports that reached the coast were various, but generally unfavourable to the cause of Ashantee. The Fantees, elated with the idea of their enemy being beaten, are said to have ill-treated the Ashantee traders in passing through their country. While matters were in this train, Mr. Dupuis arrived at Cape Coast to take charge of his mission; an event which afforded an opportunity for opening a communication with Coomassie, and obtaining some certain intelligence as to the state of affairs. A messenger was accordingly dispatched, who, on his return, was accompanied by another from the king of Ashantee, to demand reparation for the injurious reports spread by the Fantees, and the insults offered to his people. It now appeared that the result of the war had been most disastrous to the Buntakoos; their king having been taken prisoner, their whole country overrun, and many thousands of the inhabitants butchered, or led in triumph to Coomassie, to add to the number of human sacrifices in that capital.

The messenger was followed by several war-captains from Coomassie

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massie to demand a palaver with the governor of Cape Coast Castle, at which the chiefs of the Fantee nation were present; but such was the haughty and insolent behaviour of the Ashantees, and so menacing their language, that the conference terminated abruptly, and they took their departure for the capital; leaving the king of the Fantees in possession of his jaw-bone, which they had strenuously insisted on taking with them, as an indispensable condition of peace! Such was the state of affairs when the last accounts were dispatched from Cape Coast, where Mr. Dupuis still remained shut up within the castle; and thus ended *in fumo* Mr. Bowdich's 'treaty of peace and amity' which was to last for ever, and which realized commercial and scientific desiderata, put an end to the apprehensions for our settlements, and to a carnage and devastation incredible but to those who witnessed the horrors of the successive Ashantee invasions.'

It now remains to give a short summary of the state of society and of the moral character and customs of the Ashantees, which in truth differ but little from those published in the course of the last two centuries, concerning the several petty states of the coast of Guinea, extending in an eastward direction from Cape Mesurada to Old Calabar, and occupying a line of twelve hundred geographical miles.

The 'history' of the Ashantees, to which Mr. Bowdich has dedicated a whole chapter, is, like that of all other savages who can neither read nor write, the history of a day, and little worthy of notice; in the words of Mr. Bowdich—'there is nothing (in it) to recompense either the investigation or the perusal.' The 'constitution and laws,' as indicating the state of society, would have been more important, had Mr. Bowdich been better informed on these subjects,—but ignorant of the language, and destitute of records, what indeed could he know on such matters? He says, 'the king, the aristocracy, now reduced to four, and the assembly of captains, are the three estates of the Ashantee government;' but that the king, who in private is supposed to be governed by this aristocracy of four, (who created him,) receives from them, in public, the most abject homage; that they approach him crawling on all fours, and covering their heads with dust; as do the captains and caboceers, or heads of villages. As for the people, all we are told about them is, that 'they are ungrateful, insolent and licentious.'—If it be true that his Ashantee majesty repeatedly expressed his 'belief that his subjects were the worst people existing, except the Fantees;' they might, as far as we can see, return the compliment by declaring him to be the most ferocious brute in the world, except his brother of Dahomey, with whom he is pretty nearly on a par.

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The 'laws,' we apprehend, are just what it may suit the king and his counsellors to make them, so that what is law to-day may be treason to-morrow. We must therefore deal briefly with them. If any subject picks up gold in the market-place, it is death; the scourings of the mud being a royal perquisite. A creditor may seize the person of his debtor or any of his family as slaves. Murder is redeemable by a fine to the family of the murdered, except in the case of a slave, who may be murdered by his owner with impunity. If a person kills himself, *on the head of another*, that other must kill himself also, a practice frequently resorted to out of a spirit of revenge, of which the following is an instance.

'Adumissa, an extraordinarily beautiful red skinned woman of Cape Coast, possessed numerous admirers, but rejected them all. One of them, in despair, shot himself *on her head* close to her house. The family demanded satisfaction; to save her relations from a ruinous palaver, she resolved to shoot herself in expiation. She accordingly assembled her friends and relatives from various parts of the country, and sitting, richly dressed, killed herself in their presence with golden bullets. After the body had been exposed in state it was buried with a profusion of cloths and gold. The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogised, and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name amongst the natives.'—p. 259, *note*.

Wives are held in little estimation, and a man may take as many as he chuses to purchase; yet, adds Mr. Bowdich very gravely and learnedly—'It is forbidden, as it was by Lycurgus, to praise the beauty of another man's wife, being intrigue by implication'! They were very jealous of letting their women hear any thing regarding the state of female society in Europe, and Mr. Hutchinson says that Odumata, one of the privy council, locked up his wives because he (Mr. Hutchinson) put evil into their heads, by telling them that Englishmen allowed every woman to have a husband to herself.—But we are losing sight of the 'sovereign power.'

'The king is heir to all the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest. The blood of the royal family must not be shed; royal crimes, however, may be washed away by drowning the criminal in the river Dah. The king of Ashantee is allowed by law three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, this being the precise mystical number on which the prosperity of the nation depends. The number, it appears, on actual duty is not more than six, the rest being shut up in two particular streets of the town, closed at each end with bamboo doors, and guarded by soldiers. The king of Dahomey turns his three thousand wives to a better account; the stoutest of them are embodied in a regiment, and regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers; and, according to the testimony of

of several Europeans, they go through their exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyeos, on which occasion he was attended by a body-guard of 800 women.

On the death of the king a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated 'to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity.'—'The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their musquets and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd.' The crowd, we take for granted, would not be very numerous on such an occasion. Indeed we are told that 'few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days,' but that 'they drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence.' He adds, 'the king's ocras (a kind of dependant, or household-slaves) are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance.' What becomes of the mystic number of wives we are not informed. They are probably sent, at least no inconsiderable number of them, according to the notion that prevails in this unhappy country, to 'attend their deceased lord in the other world.' On this principle, human victims are slaughtered on the death of every member of the royal family, the captains, caboceers, and all, in fact, who can afford it. Mr. Bowdich says that the present king, a very 'amiable and benevolent' sovereign, on the death of his mother, devoted 3,000 victims to 'water her grave,' 2,000 of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

This devilish custom of immolating human victims, under the notion of their being subservient to the use and administering to the pleasures of the deceased in the other world, has been the practice of nations which ranked higher in the scale of civilization than the negroes; with all it is grounded on temporal pride or pre-eminence, as well as on imperfect and irrational notions of a future state. The King of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and, after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened that, after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched in like manner with a postscript to his former message. Mr. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow who was selected for the honour of bearing his majesty's dispatch, aware of what was to happen, declared he was unacquainted

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unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, 'I'll shew you the way!' and with one blow severed his head from his body, highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered as a great honour.

These execrable massacres fall indiscriminately on subjects and slaves: but of their prisoners taken in war, now that they have no other way of getting rid of them, the slaughter is still more dreadful. Mr. Bowdich, as well as the other writers on this ill-fated country, revels in the description of these 'horrors,' of which we suspect our readers have 'supp'd full'; and from which therefore we willingly withdraw.

Mr. Bowdich is so fully occupied in admiring the virtues and amiable disposition of Sai Tootoo Quamina, that, as we before observed, he has almost forgotten to give his readers any information concerning the 'lower orders.' It would have been desirable to know how the population of one million, which he gives to the Ashantee country, (on very vague grounds,) and the hundred thousand (afterwards reduced to fifteen thousand) permanent inhabitants of Coomassie, contrived to support themselves; what were their general occupations, and in what condition they lived. He says, however, that they weave, paint, and dye cloths; make a tolerably good kind of pottery; and work in gold and silver. Gold, in fact, glitters through every page of his book, but sooner or later it all falls to the share of his sable majesty. 'The king's scales, blow-pan, boxes, and weights, and even the tongs which hold the tinder to light his pipe were neatly made of the purest gold that could be manufactured.' Some are employed in tanning leather, others in various kinds of carpenter's works, and others again in breaking, rounding, and boring snail-shells, but for what purpose we know not. The retainers of families in the capital, we are told, are sent out to cultivate the plantations of their superiors, but on what conditions and on what tenures the lands are held, we are not informed. The markets are supplied with the flesh of various animals, from beef and mutton down to 'smoked snails stuck on small sticks.' Soups form the principal article of food; those of the higher orders are made of dried fish, fowls, beef or mutton; those of the common people of dried deer, monkey's flesh, and frequently of the pelts; with yams, plantains, and guinea corn. Their drink is *pittoo*, made of the corn, and palm-wine, the quantity of which consumed by one person in one day is quite incredible, 'the vigour of an Ashantee being estimated by the measure of the draught he can drink off.' Odomata, one of the 'privy counsellers,' says Mr. Hutchinson, 'asked

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me one day why I did not get drunk sometimes and come to see him? I told him were I to get drunk in Ashantee I ought to have my sword broke over my head. He gave me some palm-wine, and looked amazed at my swallowing only half a bumper-full; he added, that he would drink three pots (about *fifteen gallons*) before he went to bed!' (p. 386.)

The capital of the Ashantees is certainly superior to any negro town that has yet been described within the same distance from the coast. 'Four of the principal streets are half a mile long, and from fifty to a hundred yards wide,' and the number of streets counted by Mr. Bowdich amounted to twenty-seven. The houses have strong mud walls neatly plastered and ornamented with a sort of arabesque, and well covered with palm-leaf thatch. Many of them are built round a square court, after the fashion of the east, with verandas or openings in front. We have very little doubt that the designs have been given to them by the Moors, who were known to our early visitors of the African coast under the name of Malays, and who then taught the natives to dye sheep and goat skins of different colours; to make slippers, tobacco pouches, cartouch boxes, and bags for gunpowder, saddles and other articles of horse-furniture. These Moors, too, seem to have put it into the king's head to set about building a palace, roofed with brass pans beaten flat, and laid over an ivory frame-work; the door-posts and pillars are to be formed of ivory, and the windows and doors to be cased in gold! Those, who are stated to have the 'Thousand and One Nights' commonly in their mouths, may readily be supposed to flatter the vanity of a powerful monarch by the encouragement of such an extravagant idea; which, Mr. Bowdich assures us, both he and his chiefs are anxious to carry into execution.

We cannot venture on Mr. Bowdich's abstruse disquisition on the 'philosophy' of the negro languages; it is far too learned for us. An ordinary traveller would have contented himself with a simple vocabulary of words, but our philologist enters into all the nice distinctions of verbs and nouns, 'so like the Greek;' catches all the peculiar 'additives and inflections,' detects the 'figures synæresis, diæresis, metathesis and anastrophe,' &c. and submits to the test of the 'Diversions of Purley,' half a dozen different languages, which occasionally came across him in his four months' residence on the coast of Africa.

His chapter on 'Music' we pass altogether; professing to have no ear for the sound of 'a hollow elephant's tusk,' which, Phillips says, 'makes a noise like the bellowing of bulls.' Mr. Bowdich, however, finds its blast to be solemn, grand, and expressive of

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of any thing which the performer wishes it to utter. The performance on the harp of a diseased white negro of Gaboon may amuse our readers from the wild extravagance of the description.

'At times, one deep and hollow note burst forth and died away; the sounds of the harp became broken; presently he looked up, pursuing all the actions of a maniac, taking one hand from the strings, to wave it up and down, stretching forth one leg, and drawing it up again as if convulsed, lowering the harp on to the other foot, and tossing it up and down. Whilst the one hand continued playing, he rang forth a peal which vibrated on the ear long after it had ceased; he was silent; the running accompaniment served again as a prelude to a loud recitative, uttered with the greatest volubility, and ending with one word, with which he ascended and descended, far beyond the extent of his harp, with the most beautiful precision. Sometimes he became more collected, and a mournful air succeeded the recitative, though without the least connection, and he would again burst out with the whole force of his powerful voice in the notes of the Hallelujah of Handel. To meet with this chorus in the wilds of Africa, and from such a being, had an effect I can scarcely describe, and I was lost in astonishment at the coincidence. There could not be a stronger proof of the nature of Handel, or the powers of the negro.'

The *nature* of Handel in the notes of his Hallelujah!—but to proceed—

'As regards the words, there was such a rhapsody of recitative, of mournful, impetuous, and exhilarated air, wandering through the life of man, throughout the animal and vegetable kingdom for its subjects, without period, without connection, so transient, abrupt, and allegorical, that the Governor of the town could translate a line but occasionally, and I was too much possessed by the music, and the alternate rapture and phrenzy of the performer, to minute the half which he communicated.—Jiggledy, jiggledy, jiggledy, too, too, tee, too.' p. 451.

This burst of inspiration, Mr. Bowdich says, 'often invaded or broke off the mournful strain; it was said to be an imitation of the note of the woodpecker':—but not surely without the accompaniment of the owl.

The chapter on the 'Geography' of Africa we made several attempts to read and understand, but in vain. Mr. Bowdich has brought together such a crowd of hard names of places from his own stores, and so mixed them up with others from D'Anville, Rennell, Delisle, Lucas, Horneman, Edrisi, and every writer of whose works he could get hold, as to set at defiance all attempts to form any probable notion of their several positions. The routes obtained from the Moors may be correct, but Mr. Bowdich is mistaken in supposing them 'to trace the Niger into the Nile;' it is indeed evident from inspection, that none of them pretend to follow the course of the river, but the usual routes, very consider-

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ably to the northward of it. Thus, that which is marked No. 3, by a Bornoo Moor, has Bornou and Baghermie on the route, both of which are far enough from the Niger, as Mr. Bowdich ought to have known. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that all the information collected from the Moors by Horneman, Burckhardt, Jackson and others, agrees in this one point, that the Niger or Joliba is the same river with the Nile of Egypt. The testimony collected by Mr. Hutchinson is to the same effect.

'My attention (he says) being anxiously turned towards information concerning the Niger and its course, all inquiries end in making the Nile its continuation. An old Moor from Jennë told me, unasked, that while he was at Askanderee (Alexandria) twenty-six years ago, he saw a fight at the mouth of the Nile between ships, and one of them was blown up in the air with a terrible explosion. This must have been the battle fought by Lord Nelson, although there is a mistake in the date of seven years; he surely could not invent such a story. He states also, that returning to Masser (Grand Cairo) the European armies advanced to that place; the first army took every thing they wanted and would not pay: but when the second European and Turkish army got possession of it, they paid for whatever they wanted. All the Moors were ordered to retire to one quarter of the city, and not allowed to mix with the soldiers; this agrees with Sir Robert Wilson's account of the Egyptian campaign. I shewed him a seal I have, of Pompey's pillar, which he said he knew; he had travelled from Jennë to Masser on a joma (camel) and drew me a map of the Quolla and Nile from its source to its emptying itself into the sea of Alexandria.' —p. 407.

Mr. Bowdich seems determined to reconcile himself to every hypothesis that has ever been formed of the course and termination of this celebrated river. That 'it is only known to the Moors' (of Ashantee) 'by the name of Quolla, and to the negroes by that of Quorra,' is not surprizing; nothing is more common in Africa than for the same river to bear a different name in different places, and for different rivers to bear the same name: but the way in which Mr. Bowdich makes his Quolla to perambulate the whole of the African continent, and literally to *quarter* it with its divergent branches, some flowing to the East, some to the West, some to the North and others again to the South, is not only geographically absurd, but physically impossible. This Quolla, it seems, first passing to the eastward as far as Timbuctoo, throws off a branch directly to the northward which takes the name of Joliba, and passing a place called Yahoodee, proceeds (across the Zaahra of course, but how far we know not) toward Tunis:—this is a bold feature in his 'Geography,' and has the merit, at least, of being perfectly new. Then this northern branch of the Niger, called the Joliba, throws off, a little to the northward

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northward of Timbuctoo, a large shoot directly to the eastward, called the *Gambaroo,* which terminates in the lake *Caudee;* this gives a new origin as well as a new nomenclature to the Bornou river (Wad el Gazel) which flows into the lake Fittri or *Couka;* besides entirely superseding the ably reasoned hypothesis of Major Rennell which makes the Niger to terminate in Wangara:—to prevent the possibility of such an idea being entertained, Mr. Bowdich has placed Oongoora (the new spelling of Wangara) about 900 miles to the northward of any part of the Niger!—we should rather say of the Gambaroo. Then comes another branch, the real Niger or Quolla, which, striking off from the main trunk about as far to the southward of Timbuctoo as the Gambaroo is to the northward of it—in fact out of the same identical corner of the lake '*Dibber,*'—runs about S. E. until it reaches the eighth parallel of latitude, when it takes nearly a rectangular turn to the northward, and falls into the Bahr el Abiad, the Nile of Egypt. In the 8th degree of latitude, however, and about the 22d of East longitude, the Quolla throws off a branch to the southward, which presently deflecting to the south-west, takes the name of Ogooawai, and then turning due west, empties itself at Cape Lopez, (where we know that no river exists,) into the southern Atlantic. But in order to meet the hypothesis of Park and Maxwell, this Ogooawai throws off, about the middle of its course, another branch which, winding to the westward, becomes the Zaire or Congo. We do not believe that the annals of geography furnish a speculation (for it is nothing else) so little deserving of a serious refutation, it being, in fact, wholly contrary to the laws of nature. Mr. Bowdich's map of Africa is on a par with the 'outline' which he has reprinted from Dapper's 'Description de l'Afrique,' the absurdities of which are copied from the old map of Hondius, in which the Nile and the Zaire are made to flow in different directions, from the lake Zembri, 'the mother of waters.'

The name of Park is inseparably connected with that of the Niger. From Baba, the chief of the Moors at Coomassie, Mr. Bowdich says he obtained much information; one day, he adds, after reading the specimens of African Arabic at the end of Mr. Jackson's book, Baba sent for another Moor who, he observed, was a very learned man, and had just arrived from Timbuctoo.

'This man expressing no surprise when he first saw me, Baba explained it, by telling me, spontaneously, that this Moor had seen three white men before, at Boussa. I eagerly inquired the particulars of the novelty, and they were again repeated to Baba, and were thus interpreted; "that some years ago, a vessel with masts suddenly appeared on the Quolla or Niger near Boussa, with three white men, and some black. The natives, encouraged by these strange men, took off

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provisions for sale, were well paid and received presents besides; it seems the vessel had anchored. The next day, perceiving the vessel going on, the natives hurried after her, (the Moor protested from their anxiety to save her from some sunken rocks, with which the Quolla abounds) but the white men mistaking, and thinking they pursued for a bad purpose, deterred them. The vessel soon after struck, the men jumped into the water and tried to swim, but could not for the current, and were drowned. He thought that some of their clothes were now at Wauwaw, but he did not believe there were any books or papers.'—p. 90.

'I have been learning Arabic this last month, (says Mr. Hutchinson,) principally from the Shereef Abraham, who comes from Boussa, where Mungo Park was drowned, and he, as he says, was an eye-witness to it.' Here is some mistake. The Shereef Abraham does not say that he actually witnessed the transaction, (that is, provided Mr. Salamé's translation be more correct than Mr. Jackson's,) but that he heard the report of it. Both translations are sufficiently obscure, which may be attributed in some degree, perhaps, to the defective state of the original; but we are disposed to give a preference to the former, because it is the translator's native language, and is, in fact, less unintelligible than the latter.*

These

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* 'Mr. Salamé's Translation.
A literal translation of a Declaration, written in a corrupted Arabic, from the town of Yaúd in the interior of Africa.

In the name of God the Merciful and the Munificent.

This Declaration is issued from the town called Yaúd in the Country of Kossa.—We (the writer,) do witness the *following* case; (statement.) We never saw, nor heard of the sea (River) called Koodd; but we sat to hear (understood) the voice (report) of some persons *saying*, "We saw a ship, equal to her we never saw before; and the King of Yaúd had sent plenty of every kind of food, with cows and sheep; *There* were two men, one woman, two male slaves and two maids in the ship; *The* two white men *were* derived from the race (*sect*) of Nassri; (Christ or Christianity.) The King of Yaúd asked them to come out to him; (to land); and they refused coming out, (landing,) and they went to the *King of the* Country of Bassa, who is greater than the King of Yaúd; And *while* they *were* sitting in the ship and gaining a position (rounding) over the Cape of Koodd, and *were* in society with the

Mr. Jackson's Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

This Narrative proceeds from the territory in Housa called Ecauree. *We observed* an extraordinary event or circumstance, *but we neither saw nor heard of the River which is called Kude*, and as we were sitting, we heard the voice of children and *we saw a vessel* the like to which in size we never saw before; and *we saw* the King of Ecauree send cattle and sheep, and a variety of vegetables in great abundance: and there were two men and one woman, and two slaves, and *they tied or fastened them in the vessel.*

There were also in the vessel, two white men of the race called Christians (N'sarrah) and the Sultan of Ecauree called aloud to them to come out of the vessel, but they would not.

They proceeded to the country of Busa, which is greater than that of the Sultan of Ecaurec, and as they were sitting in the vessel, they hung or were stopped, by the Cape or Head Land of Kude.

And the people of the Sultan of Busa called to them, and poured their arms into

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These Moors, it appears, cross Africa without any difficulty. Baba the chief informed Mr. Hutchinson of the intended departure of a Moor for Jenné, where it was understood two white men were residing, as were two others at Timbuctoo; and he brought him to Mr. Hutchinson to take charge of letters for them, which Baba had no doubt would be safely delivered. When Mr. Hutchinson mentioned to them the conjecture, that the Niger, or great river of Africa, was lost in a large lake, they laughed at such an idea,—' God,' they said, ' made all rivers to run to the sea; you say that small rivers go there: the Quolla is the largest river in the world, and why should it not go there also?' Yet these are the same people, and Baba, the speaker, is the very same man from whom Mr. Bowdich had, as he says, his account of the Gambaroo terminating in the lake Coudee!—But we have dealt longer on this volume than its merits warrant; and have yet to offer a few observations on the state of our establishments, and of our connection with the Negro powers, on the Gold Coast, which the second work of Mr. Bowdich seems to demand.

The general view which we have taken of the character of the king and caboceers (for the people are out of the question) of Ashantee, differs not essentially from that which may be collected from the writings of Barbot, Bosman, Atkins, Snelgrave, and the earlier visitors to the western coast of Africa; and it certainly is not such as to encourage the long cherished hopes of those well-intentioned advocates for the abolition of the slave-trade, and the civilization of the negroes; the latter of which was to follow as a consequence of the former. The slave-trade, it is true, has only as yet been partially abolished; but we fear it would be difficult to shew that civilization has increased in proportion as the trade

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the people of the King of Bassa, the ship reached (struck) a-head of a Mountain which took (destroyed) *her* away, and the men and women of Bassa all together, with every kind of arms; (goods); And the ship could find no way to avoid the mountain; And the man who *was* in the ship, killed his wife, and threw all his property into the Sea, (River,) and *then they* threw themselves *also* from fear: Afterwards they took one *out of the* water till the news reached the town of Kanji the country of the King of Wawi, and the King of Wawi heard of it, he buried him in his earth, (grave), and the other we *have* not seen; perhaps he is in the bottom of the water."—And God knows best. Authentic from the mouth of Sherif Abrahim.—Finis.

into the vessel, and the vessel reached the head-land or cliff, and became attached or fixed to the head of the mountain, and could not pass it. Then the men and women of Busa collected themselves hostilely together, with arms of all descriptions, when the vessel being unable to clear or pass the Cape, the man in the vessel killed his wife and threw the whole of her property into the river: they then threw themselves into the river, fear seizing them (the news of this occurrence was then conveyed to the Sultan Wawee) until it reached by water the territory of Kanjee, in the country of the Sultan Wawee, and we buried it (a male body) in its earth, and one of them, we saw not at all in the water, and God knows the truth of this report. From the mouth of the Shereef Ibrahim.—The end.'

has

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has been diminished, or indeed that it has increased at all. The slave-trade was not, in fact, the sole and efficient cause of the low and lamentable condition of negro society. The assertion which generally obtained belief, that wars were made merely for the purpose of procuring slaves for the market, was not well founded; we have seen that the motive of the king of Ashantee's attack on the peaceable Buntakoos was gold, and the delight which he takes in shedding human blood: and the fact was not only positively denied to Governor Abson by the king of Dahomey but contradicted by his putting to death a number of prisoners for the sake of their skulls, (in the contemplation of which these people seem to take a horrible delight,) 'at a time when there were six slave-ships in the road of Whydah, a great scarcity of trade, and the price of a prime slave little short of thirty pounds sterling.' —'I have killed,' said he, 'many thousands without thinking of the slave-market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market-place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my Customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the Customs.'*

If it be inquired why a constant residence and communication of Europeans with the negroes of the coast of Guinea have failed to advance them one single step in the scale of civil polity, or of moral and religious improvement, we conceive it will be found to arise mainly from two causes—the horrible superstitions by which their minds are darkened and bewildered,—and the absence of all good example on the part of those whom they acknowledge to be their superiors—the whites. It is in vain now to deny the mental capacity of the negroes for instruction and improvement;—but nothing, in fact, could possibly be worse calculated to introduce either among them, than the mode of our connection with them from first to last. We need not revert to the period when the slave-trade was a legalized traffic, and carried on in its full vigour; it will be sufficient to shew how utterly impossible it must be, under present circumstances, for the blacks to feel that degree of respect and admiration for the whites, which alone could inspire them with a desire to imitate their example; and that whether our miserable forts on the Gold Coast are kept up, at an expense to the public of £30,000 a year,† to prevent the slave-trade, or to civilize the inhabitants, they are wholly inefficient for either purpose; that is to say, provided there be any

* Dalzell's Dahomey.

† In the year 1819, 23,000*l.* was granted by parliament to the African Company.

truth,

truth, and we have reason to believe, from other quarters, that there is but too much truth, in many of the statements contained in Mr. Bowdich's pamphlet on 'The African Committee.'

The total inadequacy of these forts to prevent the slave-trade will be obvious from a brief sketch of them. The first on the gold coast is Apollonia, garrisoned by a black serjeant and two soldiers; it pays a tribute to the chief of the town, who seizes the governor's servants, or witholds provisions, whenever he wishes to bring him over to his own terms. The trade is very trifling, and the expense of keeping it up very considerable. Dix Cove, the next fort, has a soldier or two more; its expense is somewhat greater than the former, and its trade less. Seconda, the third, is a thatched house, with a governor and two black soldiers. It has little trade; and the next, Commenda, none at all. The head-quarters of the African Company's corps, and the residence of the governor-in-chief, is Cape Coast Castle, a regular and tolerably well constructed fortress. The strength of the garrison, composed chiefly of native blacks, officered by the traders, consists of about a hundred men—Mr. Bowdich says forty; but he chooses to omit the artificers, servants, and slaves, all of whom are regularly trained and exercised. The expense of maintaining this fort is very considerable, and the trade of no great consequence. Nine miles to the eastward of this is Annamaboe, a position of little importance, except indeed as a check upon the Ashantees, who have recently destroyed the town; it has a governor and a garrison of fifteen soldiers. It has little or no trade. Tantumquerry follows, a very insignificant fort, in a ruinous condition, without trade, and altogether useless except as a point in the line of communication from Cape Coast Castle to the next fort, which is that of Accra, the easternmost on the Gold Coast. In importance Accra ranks next to Cape Coast. It has a small trade in ivory. Mr. Bowdich allows it only a garrison of seven soldiers.

Now it is quite impossible, as we have just observed, that these few wretched forts, miserably garrisoned, and placed on a line of coast extending nearly 200 miles, can tend in the smallest degree to the prevention of the slave-trade; and it is well known they do not. 'One thousand slaves,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'left Ashantee for two Spanish schooners, or Americans under that flag, to our knowledge, during our residence at Coomassie, doubtless the whole number was much greater: since our return it must have been very considerable, for the slave-trade was never more brisk than it is at this moment, under the cloak of the Spanish flag; and great risk has been incurred, in consequence of offending our new friend and formidable neighbour, the king of Ashantee, from

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from the firm resistance of his strong intreaties to the governor-in-chief, to allow the return of a powerful mulatto slave-trader to Cape Coast town, whence he had been expelled under the present government as the most daring promoter of that commerce.' (p. 27.)

This most execrable traffic is carried on chiefly between Accra and Benin by vessels under Spanish, Portugueze and American colours. These vessels land their supercargoes on some part of the coast, with directions to proceed to such points by such a day, and to have a sufficient number of canoes in readiness to embark at once whatever slaves may have been collected, which amount generally to a full cargo. The vessels on which they are to embark stand in towards the coast on the day appointed, and a few hours are sufficient to take them off. Those belonging to the Portugueze generally make a run to Princess' island, the governor of which, whose name we believe is Gomez, is said to be a most notorious slave-dealer.

This mode of carrying on the trade, in small vessels, the better to avoid detection, is horrible beyond description. A few months since, one of these floating dungeons, belonging to the miscreant above-mentioned, (Gomez,) was brought to Sierra Leone by the Pheasant, which excited a lively degree of indignation throughout that settlement. She was a schooner of *eleven tons*, having on board *seventy-one* wretched victims. In one compartment were seventeen men and twenty boys, the former in irons, and the latter piled on one another in a space of seventeen feet in length, seven feet in breadth, and *one foot eight inches* in height, stowed upon the yams intended for their support. One of them being in the last stage of dysentery, the effluvia emitted was dreadful beyond description. In the second compartment were thirty-four females; this was only nine feet long, four and a half wide, and two and a half high; a space which, if we could not place implicit credit on the very first authority at Sierra Leone, where these unfortunate creatures landed, we should say made the fact impossible, as they must literally have filled this abominable hole with *one solid mass of human flesh*. The name of this floating charnel-house, as if in mockery of humanity, was *La Felicidade*.

It is in vain, therefore, to make laws and treaties, *limiting* this nefarious traffic; it must be *totally* abolished: and it is only surprizing that, after a congress of the sovereigns of Europe should have publicly branded it with infamy, two of the weakest of the European maritime powers should still be permitted to abuse an unmerited indulgence, and, under cover of their flags, be the means of extending that abuse to other nations. We may be well assured that, until the slave-trade shall be abolished on every part of the coast of Africa, and every one found engaged in it subjected

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jected to the penalties of piracy, this detestable traffic will not be abandoned.

The late Sir James Yeo informed the Committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their out-posts was such that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls: and Mr. Bowdich confirms the assertion:—'two victims (he assures us) were recently murdered with the most refined barbarity in *broad day*, close to the fort of Accra.' As little capable are they of defending themselves against an external enemy. Their wretched garrisons are on a par with their guns and carriages. We have heard that on the appearance of one of our ships of war before Accra, a salute was fired one gun short of the usual number to which a king's ship is entitled; and the apology was, that the charge of one of their guns had made its escape through the touch-hole, leaving the wad fast in the gun!

But the condition of the forts is by no means the worst part of the story, if we may credit Mr. Bowdich. As the Committee, however, have not met the lofty notions which he seems to have entertained of the merits of his mission to Coomassie and of his treaty, with adequate respect, his censures may have a tincture of vindictiveness in them, and should, therefore, be received with caution. His quarrel with his employers appears to be briefly this. On his arrival in England he expected immediately to be appointed to a situation on the coast of Africa of his own carving out—a salary of £500 a year, with the appointments of a member of council, commanding officer of the troops at head-quarters, with the brevet rank of captain in Africa, and manager of expeditions for discoveries in the interior, with liberty to publish annual reports of all enterprizes. This the Committee did not think fit to comply with; but told him that £1000 a year would be set apart for the expenses of missions of discovery, and that he might resume his situation, and take his chance with the governor (his uncle) and council as to his appointment to conduct these missions; this did not suit him, and—hinc iræ et lacrymæ! He sets off for Paris, offers his services to the French Institute, and hurls his vengeance, in the shape of a vituperative pamphlet, at the head of the 'African Committee,' giving vent to his spleen against all their establishments. He asserts 'that the officers of the service have neither character nor ability, that the governors are mere shopkeepers, that the English uniform is disgraced, the flag insulted, the forts impotent, and the officers in league with the natives of the waterside to cheat those of the inland in trade.'—p. 53.

We cannot stain our pages with the long list of petty frauds, 'forgery, peculation, embezzlement, theft,' &c. which Mr. Bowdich has accumulated, and charged indiscriminately on the traders in uniforms, as he calls the officers, and the residents at the different

ferent ports—but, after making every allowance, we see enough, and more than enough in them to be convinced that the whole system is radically bad. A young man appointed as a writer to one of these forts is allowed a nominal salary of £100 a year, part of which is paid him in *goods*, and part in *necessaries*. On the former is laid an advance of sixty or eighty per cent. on the invoice price, and about £100 per cent. on the latter; and as the negroes will take nothing but gold dust in return for vegetables, &c. 'he is compelled to sell his pay by auction to realize a little of it to live upon.' His pay is inadequate to the expense of his mess; 'and thus,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'young men as officers are driven to sell drams to the natives, and to much worse resorts, for a subsistence.'—p. 65.

It appears, therefore, pretty obvious that these establishments of the African Company are neither calculated to prevent, nor even to check, the slave-trade; to improve the character or condition of the natives; nor to inspire them with any degree of respect for the British name. What the amount of the profits on the Company's trade may be, after deducting the annual sum paid to them by the public, we stop not to inquire; but we have heard that the annual value of the gold dust and ivory imported does not exceed £100,000: if trade, therefore, be the object, the money voted by parliament might be diverted, we think, into a better channel. If, as we suppose, the annual bonus is connected with the improvement of the natives, the only attempt that we can discover is in the establishment of a school in Cape Coast Castle, which is attended by about seventy boys; but it appears that, so far from the parents being anxious to send their children, the schoolmaster is obliged to send for them, and sometimes to bring them by force, the parents demanding an *ackie* a week for each child, as a remuneration for the loss of its services. Their ideas on this subject are amusingly singular. One of our surgeons, to save the life of a Fantee boy who had fractured his leg, amputated the limb. When perfectly recovered, the parents brought the boy into the fort, and laying him down in the hall, thus addressed the surgeon: 'As master cut off poor boy's leg, and so spoil poor boy for work, we come to ask master how much he think to give poor boy to keep him.'—p. 116.

To another part of the coast of Africa, under the immediate controul of his Majesty's government, we turn with very different feelings from that we have just left. The zeal, the activity, the good sense and humanity of the governor of Sierra Leone have overcome almost all the difficulties of an ill-chosen situation for the head-quarters of the new colony. By the employment of the redeemed negroes, the woods and swamps have been partially cleared, roads have been cut, villages built, public schools established,

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blished, churches erected, and, in short, the stranger on landing there is most agreeably surprized with the appearance of a contented and industrious population. A neat town by the side of a mountain in the interior, called Regent's town, is rapidly rising; and it deserves to be mentioned that such is the facility with which the negroes receive instruction in the useful arts, that under the direction of a single European the redeemed slaves have completed a handsome church, capable of containing one thousand persons. Here we have another proof of the capacity of the negroes to receive instruction, and to enjoy the benefits of a civilized state of society.

Since, then, the establishment of 'hucksters in uniform' has failed of producing any good purpose, while a neighbouring settlement, under the king's government and king's officers, unconnected with traffic, is producing the most happy effects, we are not disposed to quarrel with Sir James Yeo's suggestion, adopted by Mr. Bowdich, of abandoning all these paltry forts, (which were erected solely for facilitating the purposes of the slave-trade,) with the exception of two,—Cape Coast Castle and Accra —and of placing these under the government of king's officers; manning them with rescued negroes, and with a sufficient force to cause our flag to be respected; 'which would awe the line of coast much more than double the number of the present impotent and disgraceful settlements.' The rest might be let or given up to the free traders, who would then flock to the coast, where, in open market and at reasonable profits, a large demand would probably soon be created by an abundant population in possession of a country rich in valuable products. Then might respectable governors, officers, clergymen, schoolmasters, surveyors be procured, and the whole expense not exceed that which is given, and, as it would appear, thrown away, upon the Company of African merchants: and, by the example of a better and more respectable set of men, who would dedicate their talents and their time to the improvement of the native population, a fair experiment, at least, would be made, to ascertain how far there was a chance of spreading the blessings of civilization among the negroes of the Guinea coast.

We also most cordially concur in Mr. Bowdich's suggestion of endeavouring, at least, to establish residences at the head-quarters of the several chiefs in the interior, for young men of talent, temper and discrimination, to collect and arrange geographical and statistical information, and to extend the field of human knowledge by new discoveries in natural history, which would probably open a wide field for new objects, from the circumstance of its being a part of the globe in the whole circumference of which,

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which, excepting on this continent, there is scarcely any land from the seventh to the tenth parallels of latitude.

At the same time there is but too much reason to apprehend, notwithstanding the sanguine expectation of Mr. Bowdich, that the extreme jealousy of the native powers would prevent Europeans from proceeding into the interior. Mr. Hutchinson found it utterly impracticable to get as far as a lake about two days journey from the capital; he found that an idea prevailed that white men would one day have ships upon that lake, and that the country would be conquered; and when Mr. James asked permission to visit a river reported to run at a little distance from Coomassie, the king demanded his reasons. 'Have you no rivers in your own country?' said he, 'and is not the water of your rivers the same as the water of mine?' The attempt, however, is worth making; and should we succeed only in the first instance with the natives of the coast under our immediate protection, the benefits of civilization are so obvious, that they could not fail to spread progressively into the interior. If, however, the two governments of St. Domingo should unite, and the independence of the negroes of that island be once firmly established, the Christian Dahomeans of Hayti would, of all others, we conceive, be the most likely to succeed in the civilization of Africa.

ART. II.—*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ ab H. Stephano constructus. Editio nova, auctior et emendatior.* Vol. I. Partes I—IV. Londini, in ædibus Valpianis, 1815—1818.

HENRY Stephens complained, in a bad epigram, that his Thesaurus, which was a great treasure to others, was none to himself; in other words, that the expenses of his Treasury had impoverished his exchequer. That illustrious, but somewhat fretful, scholar, did not possess the inestimable advantage, which modern authors and editors enjoy, of living in a subscribing age. The art of puffing was then but little understood or practised. Such a thing as a *Prospectus* was never heard of; there were none of those convenient vehicles of literary information, which Mr. Murray and his brethren append to the covers of their periodical publications, by which the intelligence of forthcoming works is dispersed, with incredible swiftness, over every part of the reading world. Of these advantages the publisher of the present edition of the 'Thesaurus' has availed himself with great success. Indeed, without a certain prospect of liberal support, it would have been an act of the greatest imprudence to undertake a work of such vast labour and expense. And it is highly creditable to the generosity of the learned world, and to their love of Greek literature, that

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that they have come forward upon the present occasion with so much spirit and zeal, to promote an undertaking, which has so long been the grand desideratum of every classical scholar. The list of subscribers to this republication (if indeed it deserves the name) amounts to nearly eleven hundred; a number almost, if not altogether, unprecedented in the annals of literature.

Stephens lamented that his Thesaurus, when printed, did not *sell*; Mr. Valpy's is sold before it is printed: this is surely a great improvement in the condition of those, who labour in the mines of learning, and who have too frequently brought up the precious ore for the use of others, without enriching themselves. The great facility, with which subscriptions are now obtained by the publishers of expensive classical works, seems to indicate two things; an increase of national wealth, and a growing taste for ancient literature. The enormous sums of money which are annually expended, not only in projects of public utility, or of Christian benevolence, but upon the luxuries of learning, and the elegancies of art, bespeak an abundance of the means of life, greatly at variance with the picture which is commonly drawn of our national prosperity. And if we are to estimate the present state of ancient learning in this country by the gross and tangible arithmetic of the pounds, shillings, and pence, subscribed for Delphin,* Regent, and Variorum Classics, we shall be led to form a very exalted notion of the erudition of the age in which we live. Eleven hundred of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, eagerly subscribing their guinea a number (and some their two guineas) for a Greek Thesaurus, and feasting upon each *livraison* as it comes out, compose a phalanx of philology, which may be expected to defend the interests of classical literature against all the anti-Hellenists of the day. Our readers perceive that we take it for granted, that all subscribers can and do read the books for which they subscribe. Since, however, it is within the limits of possibility, that some of the proprietors of Mr. Valpy's Thesaurus may have been hitherto prevented by sickness, or occupation, or some other cause, from contracting an intimate acquaintance with the work to which they have set their names; we shall perhaps be rendering them an acceptable service, if we institute an examination of the first four numbers of the Thesaurus, and inquire how far they will justify us in looking for a complete or, at least, a useful Greek lexicon. An investigation of this kind, we apprehend, falls more peculiarly

* We allude to a precious scheme of Mr. Valpy's, now in progress, of republishing the very worst edition of the Latin Classics. This indefatigable and zealous printer does not seem to have had the remotest idea, that the value of the original Delphin editions consisted almost entirely in their scarcity; a merit which his own publication of course cannot possess. The Regent Classics are minute volumes, with short prefaces in bad Latin by a Mr. Carolus Coote.

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within our jurisdiction, as literary censors, and protectors-general of the reading world. The editor, who puts forth proposals for publishing by subscription an expensive work, makes a large demand upon the confidence of his subscribers, and pledges his faith to a full and accurate performance of the conditions upon which their support is obtained. A question of property is here, in some measure, mixed up with that of literary merit; independently of the actual and intrinsic worth of the book, the main inquiry is, whether the publisher has fulfilled the just expectations of his subscribers. We propose to notice both heads of inquiry. But, as a fit introduction to our analysis of the work itself, we shall proceed to give a succinct account of Greek lexicography, and of the celebrated scholar, upon the basis of whose extraordinary work the present publication is constructed.

The earliest Greek lexicon, of which we have any knowledge, was not compiled till a period, at which the language itself had been for several ages on the decline. This is the natural order of things. No man thinks of writing a dictionary, till the language, which he intends to illustrate, has become a study; and this is seldom the case, till the golden age of its vigour and purity is gone by; till the phraseology of its original authors has become in some degree obsolete, and the caprice or the ignorance of later writers has diversified and corrupted the inflexions or the significations of words. Another obvious cause of the fact which we have noticed, was the difficulty of forming a collection of the written works of authors. In this respect the scholars of Alexandria enjoyed advantages superior to those of their contemporaries. When libraries were formed, and thrown open to the public, the Greek authors became by degrees more learned, but less original, than their predecessors. Genius, which is most vigorous when it trusts to its own powers, was fettered by a spirit of imitation; and the untranslateable χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπινής, by which Dionysius expresses that bloom of antique mouldiness which characterizes the best Attic writers, was no longer discernible in the cumbrous pedantry and affected elegance of their successors. Then began the age of scholiasts and lexicographers; illustration took the place of composition; and the most able men of the time were employed in correcting and editing the works of Homer, and of the dramatic writers. These furnished abundant materials for the industry and ingenuity of the tribe of 'brazen-bowelled men,' who marshalled themselves into different bodies, and invaded the various provinces of philology. Some toiled through the thorny anomalies of grammar; some danced after the ignis fatuus of etymology; some expatiated in the flowery paths of mythological history. Of those laborious men, whose works have descended

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to us only in their titles, it is perhaps unfair to speak in terms of disparagement. But this at least we may venture to assert, that the whole tribe of ancient lexicographers, and historical critics, as Harris terms them, did less towards the elucidation of their own language, than any one of those who have compiled the standard Greek dictionaries since the revival of letters.

The grammarians called by the name of Λέξεις those words, which were remarkable for any peculiarity of form or signification: those which had become obsolete, or obscure; or which were derived from a foreign idiom; or were removed from common phraseology by some dialectic variety, they termed Γλῶσσαι. Hence the different kinds of vocabulary were called *Lexicons*, or *Glossaries*, of which the former is, strictly speaking, a more comprehensive title than the latter. After the decline of Grecian liberty and language, it was natural that many words and phrases should become obsolete, which had been current in the better ages of Attic art and eloquence. These were collected and explained by the grammarians under the above-mentioned titles of Λέξεις and Γλῶσσαι. There were Γλῶσσαι ἰατρικαί, νομικαί, ῥητορικαί, φιλοσοφικαί, θεολογικαί, and Γλῶσσαι βαρβαρικαί, Σκυθικαί, Περσικαί, &c. There were Homeric Lexicons at an early age. One certainly existed, much anterior to that of Apollonius, which we possess,* in which even the youth of republican Athens had been accustomed to search for elucidations of the great poet. Didymus ὁ χαλκέντερος, amongst the 3500 books which he had written, compiled a Tragic Lexicon; Theo, who wrote scholia on Aratus, and on Apollonius Rhodius, a Comic Lexicon.† Phrynichus wrote a kind of dictionary, containing the more recondite

* The true title of this work of Apollonius is not that which Villoison has given it, but Λέξεις Ὁμηρικαί, under which name it is cited by Hesychius and by another ancient grammarian. The κωμικὴ λέξις σύμμικτος is quoted by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius IV. 973. The Λέξεις Ἱπποκρατεῖαι of Bacchius are quoted by Erotian, p. 11. whose own work had probably the same title. We have the Λέξεις Πλατωνικαί of Timæus. Athenæus cites the Λέξεως συναγωγή of Dorotheus of Ascalon; a work of Parthenius περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς λέξεων, and others with similar titles. The Λέξις of Diogenianus is mentioned by the Scholiast on Hermogenes (ap. Bast. ad Gregor. p. 241.) the Λέξις τροπική of Didymus by the compiler of the Lex. Seguier, p. 334. The word Λεξικόν seems to be of a date comparatively modern. Indeed we are not aware of any Greek authority for it more ancient than the Etymologicon Magnum. Hesychius calls his compilation Λέξεις κατὰ στοιχεῖον. It is not unworthy of remark, that there is no classical name for a book of this sort; *lexicon, dictionarium, glossarium*, are all barbarous words. The work of Harpocratio is entitled Λεξικὸν τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων. But Meursius, in his *Lectiones Atticæ*, VI. 2. observes that Suidas has preserved the true title, viz. Λέξεις ἱ ῥητόρων.

† Ruhnken says, 'Comici Lexici nullus editorum scriptorum, quod sciam, mentionem facit.' It is however quoted by Hesychius in his Epistle to Eulogius; by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius IV. 973, and 1614. The Etymologicon Magnum, p. 145. 44, quotes a Comic Lexicon of one Palamedes, Παλαμήδης ἱστορικὸς ὁ τὴν Κωμικὴν Λέξιν συναγαγών. See Hemsterhus. on Aristoph. Plut. p. 98.

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and exquisite phrases of the Attic writers, and entitled it Προκατασκευὴ Σοφιστική. Of this we have a very brief epitome, published by Mr. Bekker, in the first volume of his *Anecdota Græca*. Many fragments of the larger work are, we believe, preserved in that portion of a lexicon, which is contained in the same publication, p. 321. and which we suspect to be the same as the Rhetoric Lexicon quoted by the author of the Etymologicon Magnum elsewhere, and also in p. 803, 37. ὡς εὗρον ἐν ταῖς Λέξεσι τῶν Ῥητόρων. If not, it contains, at least, many extracts from that Lexicon. Some remains of the Tragic and Comic Lexicons are probably preserved in the *Antiatticista** of the same volume, p. 77.

Of the Rhetoric Lexicons, (i. e. those which were devoted to the illustration of the Greek orators,) the best seems to have been that of Pausanias of Cæsarea, so often quoted by Eustathius, and which, for aught we know, may still be in existence.† The extracts which Eustathius has made from it are very curious. Harpocratio's Lexicon of the ten orators is an epitome of a much larger work; it is not, as its title seems to import, confined to explanations of words and phrases used by the ten orators, but contains many illustrations of other writers both in prose and verse. The epitomizer of the original work has omitted most of the examples which Harpocratio had quoted from various authors, and only gives the references. The reader may form some notion of the difference between the original work and the epitome, by comparing Harpocratio v. Ὁμοῦ, with the Scholia on Plato, p. 10. ed. Ruhnken. The first person, who reduced into one vocabulary the Homeric, dramatic, and rhetoric lexicons, was Diogenianus, a celebrated grammarian, who lived in the time of Adrian. Julius Pollux, in the reign of Commodus, compiled his Ὀνομαστικόν, a vast, but ill arranged collection of names and terms, chiefly estimable for the fragments of ancient poets which it contains, especially in the tenth book. The most valuable edition of this Lexicon is that of Hemsterhuys; but it is the production of Hemsterhuys while a young man, and at a time when he had paid no great attention to the subject of the Greek metres. In consequence of this, the metrical fragments in Pollux received but little benefit from his *me-*

* We have another Antiatticista published by Villoison, in the second volume of his *Anecdota Græca*. As our classical reader has probably often seen this title in the publications of modern philologues, it may be well to inform him of its meaning. The Ἀττικισταί were in Greek, what the Ciceroniani were amongst modern latinists. They scrupulously avoided and exploded every word, which was not strictly Attic. The natural consequence was, that they condemned many, which had been used by ancient and classical writers, who had been much better judges of Atticism than themselves. The object of the *Antiatticistæ* was, to cite authorities for those expressions which these hypercritical and fastidious grammarians had condemned.

† It is found in a Catalogue of Scipio Tettio, a Neapolitan, inserted by Labbe in his *Nova Bibliotheca MSS.* p. 171. See Morhof. p. 801.

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dica manus. He was made sensible of his deficiency in this respect by two kind and masterly letters from Bentley, who justly observes, (and he himself was a splendid instance of the truth of his observation,) that to the skilful metrician, versed in the niceties of prosody, and in the legitimate measures of Greek verse, many corrections will be natural and easy, which to others, who are destitute of this science, will be utterly unattainable.

We must not omit the *Lexica Hippocratea*, which contained explanations of the more remarkable words used by the Father of Medicine. Of these, several have perished, viz. those of Xenocritus the Coan, Callimachus the physician, Bacchius of Tanagra, Philinus the Empiric, Epiceleustus of Crete, Apollonius, Dioscorides, and others. Two only have survived the general wreck of ancient literature, those of Erotian and Galen. It seems uncertain, whether the former of these authors be not the same with the celebrated Herodianus. His glossary is valuable, from the numerous references which he makes to the *scripta deperdita* of ancient authors. The neatest edition of both glossaries is that of H. Stephens; but the best is that of Franzius, Lips. 1780. Neither of them can be used with advantage by the student who does not consult the *Oeconomia Hippocratis* of the learned and accurate Foesius. To these we must add the Λέξεις Πλατωνικαί of Timæus, to which Ruhnken has improperly prefixed the unauthorised Greek title of Λεξικὸν περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνι λεξέων.

Besides these, we may enumerate the Attic glossaries of Moeris, and Thomas Magister*; and Moschopulus; the short works of Ammonius (or Symeon,) and Eranius (or Herennius Philo) on the different significations of words; the Lexicons, and fragments of Lexicons, published by Valckenaer at the end of Ammonius, and by Hermann at the end of his treatise on Greek Grammar; not to mention the numerous glossaries of words occurring in the sacred writings, and a variety of unpublished Lexicons, which exist in different libraries both in England and on the continent. One of the most important of the ancient vocabularies is that which is commonly called the Etymologicon Magnum; the compiler of which is unknown, but is supposed by some to have been a grammarian of the name of Magnus. The opinion of Thomasius and others, who suspected that Marcus Musurus, or the two Calliergi compiled this work, is sufficiently refuted by the fact, that it is quoted by Eustathius under the title of τὸ μέγα ἐτυμολογικόν.

* This 'most wise monk,' as he is styled in the MSS is sometimes called Master Thomas, and sometimes Master Theodulus, which, however, seems to be only his adoptive name; for he is called in one MS. also Κυριόδουλος. The name of Moschopulus of itself bespeaks his recent date: names compounded of πούλος, a corruption of παῖλος, *a son*, were common in the later ages of the Greek empire, and are so still.

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The date of this compilation is placed by Sylburgius in the tenth century. It certainly cannot be referred to a higher era, since its author quotes Theognotus, who lived in the ninth century. It is very valuable from the numerous extracts which it contains of older grammarians, some of whose works are still extant in manuscript; e. g. the Etymologicon of Orus the Milesian (*MSS. Bibl. Reg. Neapol.* 179.) and of Orion the Theban, which the late Dr. Burney had intended to publish from a MS. in the King's library at Paris. Isaac Vossius possessed an ancient MS. of the Etymologicon Magnum, which went, with his other books, to the university of Leyden. Whether it be still in the valuable library there, we are unable to say. Morhof speaks of it as *codex longe antiquissimus*, but Colomies describes it as 'Etymologicon μέγα longe auctius edito, et alius, ut videtur, auctoris.' Considerable expectations had been excited amongst scholars, by a notice which Kulenkamp published in 1765, of a MS. etymologicon formerly in the possession of Marquardus Gudius. The entire Lexicon has lately been printed at Leipzig, upon wretched paper, and turns out to be a very worthless farrago of etymological nonsense; useful only so far, as it serves to correct some passages of other Lexicons.

We come now to the celebrated Lexicon of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople; which the author himself entitled Λέξεων συναγωγή. Of this there are various MSS. in different libraries on the continent; all of which are transcripts, one or more degrees removed, from a very ancient copy on parchment, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is well known to English scholars, that Porson had transcribed this Lexicon for the press a second time, his first copy having been destroyed by a fire at the printer's. His last transcript is now in the possession of the learned society of Trinity College, who will, we doubt not, in due time, communicate it to the literary world. The Lexicon itself has been published from two very incorrect copies by Mr. Hermann, and appended as a third volume to the ill-digested and ponderous collection of words entitled the Lexicon of Zonaras, a compiler not older than the 12th century. The work of Photius is made up from more ancient grammarians, especially from Harpocratio, the Scholiasts on Plato, and the dramatic and rhetoric Lexicons. It is unfortunately mutilated; there being an hiatus from Ἀδιάκριτος to Ἐπώνυμοι, and another from Φορητῶς to Ψιλεύς, besides smaller lacunæ.

By far the most important of all the ancient Lexicons is that of Hesychius, a grammarian of uncertain age, conjectured by Fabricius to have been the same with Hesychius of Alexandria, who published an edition of the Greek Bible in the third century. It was

was the opinion of Scaliger, which has been adopted by most scholars, that we have only an epitome of the original work, the quotations being omitted.* Of the numerous faults by which this Lexicon is disfigured, Bentley thought that a great part were attributable to the carelessness or ignorance of the compiler himself. The same great critic assured Dr. Mills, that if a new edition of *Hesychius* should be put forth in his time, he would undertake to correct more than five thousand faults, which had eluded the sagacity of former critics. This valuable Lexicon is a compilation from a vast variety of sources; and of course must be used by the student with great caution and discrimination. It was first printed by Aldus in 1514, from the only MS. known to exist, which was written about the year 1400. The edition was superintended by Marcus Musurus, who liberally interpolated the original with his own additions and corrections. In 1792, N. Schow published a collation of the original MS. with the edition of Musurus; and in quoting from Hesychius it is essentially necessary to compare the printed text with this publication. It seems highly probable, from the observations which Schow has made, and indeed from the nature of the thing itself, that in the older MSS. this Lexicon existed in a much smaller form; and that the numerous biblical glosses with which it now abounds, were introduced by degrees from the margin. It is much to be wished, that some laborious scholar would undertake a new edition of Hesychius, in which the text should be given precisely as it stands in the Codex Marcianus, (not from Schow, who, it appears, has made many mistakes in deciphering the *compendia*,) with the corrections of Musurus and subsequent scholars, and a selection of notes from the splendid publication of Alberti and Ruhnken. A great number of emendations are to be drawn from the works of grammarians, published subsequently to the appearance of that edition.

We come next to the dictionary of Suidas, a Christian monk, who lived about the eleventh century. It differs materially from all the other ancient Lexicons, as it contains biographical notices of celebrated authors, and large extracts from their works, principally, however, from those of a date comparatively modern. We find here many fragments of a lost treatise of Aelian on Providence. A very considerable portion of this work is taken from the Lexicons of Harpocratio and Photius, and Joannes Damascenus, and the

* *Scaligerana*, p. 157. It is curious to see how differently the two first critics that ever lived speak of the same book: 'Hesychius,' says Scaliger, 'est un très bon auteur. *Nous n'avons que l'Epitome*; les citations sont omises.'—'Hesychius,' says Bentley, 'auctor exigua fide, quique ex mendosis codicibus infinita desumsit.' Hemsterhuys defended Hesychius against this charge: but Bentley did not make it without sufficient grounds; and upon reconsidering the matter, Hemsterhuys gave up his client.

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scholia on Aristophanes and Sophocles. It contains a great deal of valuable information on the civil and literary antiquities of Greece, especially on the history of the drama, which is not to be found elsewhere. It is worthy of observation, that the celebrated Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, made a complete Latin version of Suidas, which is mentioned by Matthew Paris; and after him by Bale. We know not whether this translation be extant; but we are inclined to suspect that it extended no farther than to those portions of the Lexicon which relate to ecclesiastical history. It is to be lamented that the illustrious Bishop Pearson did not carry into execution his design of republishing Suidas; an edition from the hands of so profound and sagacious a scholar would have been greatly superior to that which is now the most voluminous, and in some respects the best, published by Kuster, at Cambridge, in 1705. By an extraordinary instance of negligence, Kuster adopted the faulty and mutilated text of Æmilius Portus, instead of taking for his basis the Milan edition of 1499, which every critical scholar must consult. There is a very valuable MS. of this lexicon in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which Porson has given some specimens, and with which we expect that the learned world will soon be made better acquainted by the labours of Professor Gaisford. There are extant in MS. many lexicons, coinciding in part with Suidas, some of them indeed professing to be παρεκβολαὶ ἀπο τοῦ Σουίδα, which should be consulted by a future editor of this vocabulary. They are to be found, not only in the continental libraries, but in those of our two universities, and in one or two private collections in this country, the contents of which are not generally known.

We have now enumerated all the existing lexicons, which were composed before the downfall of the Grecian name and language; except the glossaries of Cyril, Philoxenus, &c. and the more recent ones of Michael Psellus, Macarius, and others of the Greek monks. The Greek and Latin glossaries, the best of which have been published by Labbé and Stephens, were composed under the Byzantine emperors, for the mutual accommodation of their Greek and Latin subjects; and it was at this period that the term *glossarium* was first used to denote a dictionary in general. But all of these, even if digested into one vocabulary, would supply but a very imperfect lexicon, since they are for the most part taken up in the explanation of words and phrases, remarkable for some peculiarity of usage, inflexion, or dialect, and rarely quote authorities for the common signification of words; one reason of which obviously was, that the compilers of these glossaries were themselves Greeks, and of course familiar with the common acceptation

ceptation of ordinary terms. It is much to be regretted, that we do not possess the great lexicon of Helladius, who lived under Theodosius the younger. It was divided into seven volumes, and was probably the chief source from which Suidas compiled his vocabulary.*

We now proceed to consider the useful and laborious works, by which those eminent scholars, who lived after the revival of ancient literature, endeavoured to clear the way to a knowledge of the inexhaustible riches of the Greek language. Of the difficulty of compiling the first dictionary of a dead language, we can hardly form a conception, who have always been accustomed to pursue our studies with the accumulated knowledge of our predecessors to guide us in our researches. We have more reason to wonder at the perseverance and vast erudition of the restorers of Grecian literature, than to be surprized at their occasional mistakes and oversights. At the same time we must take an opportunity of observing, that the only method of obtaining an accurate and extensive knowledge of any language, is to study it with as little use of the dictionary as possible; to discover the exact signification and propriety of words, by a comparison of different passages, and to interpret authors by themselves. This may serve to account for the rare occurrence, in these degenerate times, of such scholars as Stephens, Scaliger, and Casaubon, who learned the ancient languages from authors, and not from dictionaries. 'There were giants upon the earth in those days.' It is now an easy matter to obtain a competent and comfortable knowledge of Greek, by the help of a Scapula or a Schneider; but where is the man, who has resolution enough to launch out into the depths of erudition, and to swim without corks? 'Aujourd'hui,' said Scaliger, 'il est bien aisé d'estre bon Grec et Hebreu, car tout est tourné: mais pour sçavoir la naifveté, le genie, il faut bien estudier, et peu de gens l'entendent.' The best method of acquiring an enlarged acquaintance with the ancient languages, is, to read a certain number of authors entirely through, or at least a greater portion of their works; making for each author a separate vocabulary, or index of remarkable phrases; by a comparison of which with one another, we may quickly arrive at an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the genius of the language. We mention this with some degree of earnestness, because at most, if not all of our public schools, the time of the higher classes is frittered away, in reading short extracts from a multiplicity of ancient authors, differing almost as much in language and style as in age. One Greek play, half a book of Herodotus, one oration of Demosthenes, a little Xenophon, and some

* A more detailed account of the ancient vocabularies is given by Maussacus in his learned Dissertatio Critica.

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Theocritus, constitute the usual course of Greek reading for youths from sixteen to eighteen years of age. We strenuously recommend the perusal of an entire author, when his works are of moderate dimensions. A boy will learn more Greek from reading the whole of Homer, and the whole of Herodotus, than from the studied variety of the *Scriptores*, and *Poetæ Græci*, and the useful *Collectanea* of the respectable Professor Dalzel. Another improvement, which we take the liberty of suggesting to the superintendants of our great schools is, that they should discard the compendious and imperfect lexicons which are commonly used, and put into the hands of their scholars the more important vocabularies of Constantine, Scapula, and perhaps of Hederic. We now proceed to give a brief account of the most important Greek Lexicons which preceded the great work of H. Stephens.

Guarino of Favera, a place near Camerino in Umbria, better known under the Latin name of *Varinus Phavorinus Camers*, a scholar of Joannes Lascaris and of Angelus Politianus, a Benedictine monk, and a bishop at the time of the Lateran council in 1516, published a massive dictionary, in Greek, in which the harder words are explained by the easier. It is a compilation from Hesychius, Suidas, Phrynichus, Harpocratio, Eustathius, the Etymologica, the Lexicon of Philemon, some treatises of Trypho, Apollonius, and other grammarians, and various scholiasts. It is valuable, as furnishing several important corrections of the authors from whom it was collected, and not a few extracts from unpublished grammarians.

The first Greek and Latin Dictionary was compiled by a Carmelite Friar of Piacenza, named Joannes Crastonus. It was little more than a bare vocabulary, giving merely the significations of the words, without referring to authorities. It was frequently reprinted, and with continual additions by each succeeding publisher; 'till at length,' says H. Stephens, 'unlearned printers, contending who should put forth the biggest lexicon, and offering rewards to those who would furnish the greatest number of words, the explanations, which were, in the first instance, so meagre, became as fat as a Bœotian sow.'

A Greek and Latin Lexicon was printed at Venice by Aldus, in 1497, and more than once reprinted with additions. Nicolas Beraldus put forth another at Paris in 1521, which was republished with large augmentations, at Venice, in 1524. The dictionary of Jacobus Ceratinus, printed at Basle in the same year, was recommended by a preface of Erasmus.

All these vocabularies were greatly inferior, both in extent and accuracy, to the *Commentarii Græcæ Linguæ* of Budæus, the restorer of ancient literature in France, who was born in 1467; a man of

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of rank, and maître des requêtes to the king. He was the friend and literary rival of Erasmus, to whom he was greatly superior in his knowledge of Greek. Janus Lascaris declared him equal to an ancient Athenian; and Scaliger used to say, in his dry and conclusive manner, 'nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus.'* His *Commentarii* were first printed at Paris in 1529; then at Basle in 1530, and enlarged by more than one third in 1548, at the press of Robert Stephens. This great work of Budæus has been the text book and common storehouse of succeeding lexicographers. But a great objection to its general use was its want of arrangement. His observations on the Greek language are thrown together in the manner of a common place book, an inconvenience, which is imperfectly remedied by an alphabetical index at the end. His authorities and illustrations are chiefly drawn from the prose writers of Greece; the historians, orators, and fathers. With the poets he seems to have had a less intimate acquaintance. His interpretations are mostly correct, and always elegantly expressed; displaying a union of Greek and Latin literature, which renders his commentaries equally useful to the students of both languages. It was not without justice that Buchanan complimented him in the following epigram;—

> Gallia quod Græca est; quod Græcia barbara non est,
> Utraque Budæo debet utrumque suo.

The peculiar value of this work consists in the full and exact account, which it gives, of the Greek legal and forensic terms, both by literal interpretation, and by a comparison of the corresponding terms in Roman jurisprudence. So copious and exact is this department of the work, that no student can read the Greek orators to the best advantage, unless he consults the Commentaries of Budæus. It appears, from the Greek epistle subjoined to the work, that the illustration of the forensic language of Athens and Rome, was originally all that his plan embraced; and that when circumstances tempted him to extend the limits of his work, this still continued to be his chief object.

In 1551, a work, somewhat similar to that of Budæus, was published at Basle, by Joachim Camerarius, under the following title; *Commentarii utriusque linguæ, in quibus est diligens exquisitio nominum, quibus partes corporis humani appellari solent, additis et eorum functionum nomenclaturis, et aliis his accedentibus, positis fere contra se Græcis et Latinis vocabulis.*

* Several incidents are related, descriptive of his great attachment to study: amongst others, that he stole three hours of his wedding-day, and devoted them to Greek. Bayle makes it a doubtful point, whether his application injured his health; but we have his own express testimony to the fact, in the Greek epistle subjoined to the Commentarii.

Camerarius

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Camerarius studied Greek at Leipzig under Richard Croke, an Englishman, of whom he speaks in terms of commendation, as having been the first person, who taught that language in Germany with any degree of perspicuity or comprehensiveness. Soon afterwards appeared the Basle Lexicon, under the names of Budæus, Tusanus, Conrad Gesner, Hartungus, Hadrian Junius, R. Constantine, and Joachim Hopper: but it was no better than a bookseller's publication, abounding in faults and inaccuracies of every description. H. Stephens says of it, that scarcely any kind of blunder can be mentioned, or imagined, of which this lexicon will not furnish an example. He has himself given a tolerably copious list, in his epistle *de suæ Typographiæ statu*.

Robert Constantine, who published a valuable Lexicon, alphabetically arranged, in two volumes folio, at Geneva, 1562, was a physician of Caen, and an intimate friend of Beza and the elder Scaliger; but personally disliked by Joseph Scaliger, who calls him an ass, and charges him with impudence, commending, at the same time, his own modesty. As a useful and correct Dictionary, this work of Constantine greatly surpassed all that had preceded it; and it is still deservedly in request amongst students, for the valuable interpretations which it furnishes of many passages in the Greek prose writers, especially Thucydides. Its author lived to the advanced age of one hundred and three, retaining to his death all his bodily and mental faculties; and died at last of a pleurisy; a singular disorder in a person at so advanced an age, which also proved fatal to Bentley. Constantine promised to publish a table, or conspectus, in which the Greek language should be traced to its primitives; but he never executed his intention. The Stephenses were much indebted to Constantine, from whose lexicon a very great proportion of the explanations and authorities of the Thesaurus are borrowed. The principal defects in his book are, first, the confused and ill-digested arrangement of the interpretations of words; and secondly, the absence of all distinction between primitives and derivatives.

The first person who published a lexicon in alphabetical order, in which the derivation, not only of separate words, but of the inflexions of verbs, and the cases of nouns, and the dialectic varieties were marked out, was Cornelius Schrevelius, in the year 1654. This dictionary was republished by Joseph Hill, in 1663, with the addition of 5000 words. In 1676 William Robertson published a very enlarged edition of Schrevelius, under the title of '*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ* in epitomen sive compendium redactus, et alphabetice, secundum Constantini methodum et Schrevelii, reseratus.' He professed to have added to the edition of Hill about 80,000 Greek words. His dedication to the masters of

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of the public schools in London is one of the most curious specimens of the Canusian dialect which are any where to be found,* and begins with a bit of bad Greek; to say nothing of the Latin. This book, which is now scarce, was decidedly the most useful manual for students, till the appearance of Benjamin Hederic's Lexicon, which was augmented by Samuel Patrick, much improved by J. A. Ernesti, and which has been recently reprinted, with some thousand additions from the papers of Larcher, the celebrated French scholar. But even this is far inferior to the *Kritisches Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Schneider, of which the second and improved edition was published at Jena, in 1805. In this enumeration we have anticipated the regular chronological order. We now revert to the 16th century, and to the great work which is the more immediate subject of this article.

Henri Etienne, whose name being latinized, according to the custom of that age, into Stephanus, has amongst English scholars degenerated into Stephens, was the son of Robert Etienne, and the grandson of Henri, one of the earliest French printers, and, by the mother's side, of Josse Bade of Asc, better known to book collectors by the name of Badius Ascensius. He was born at Paris, in the year 1528, and grew enamoured of Greek at a very early age, in consequence of seeing some boys act the Medea of Euripides. His father caused him to be instructed in Greek before he had learned Latin; a plan of teaching which Henry Stephens himself always recommended, and which ought, in our opinion, to be generally adopted. While yet a boy, his skill in calligraphy was so remarkable, that he was thought to rival the Greek writing of Angelo Vegezio, the Cretan, who gave the models for the beautiful types, which were at that time used in the King's printing-office at Paris. Having spent some time, and not a little money, in visiting the scholars and the libraries of Italy, and in collecting manuscripts, he paid a visit to England in the year 1550, and at London went to see the lions in the Tower, one of whom danced a jig while a man fiddled; an incident which he afterwards employed to justify the well-known story of Arion and the dolphin. He began his typographical career in 1554, in the 26th year of his age; and continued it for the space of more than forty years; during which time he printed a prodigious number of ancient authors, many of them from manuscripts, exercising at the same time the office of a learned and ingenious, though somewhat bold critic. His claim to the title of the most learned of

* ὁλοτελὲν τὴν opellam meam penitus elusurus essem, καὶ ὁλόκληρον τὸ ἔλαιον prorsus essem ἐλεσόμενος; si vel vos, ἐν τῇ τάξει ὑμῶν jamjam illustrissimos, ἐπαινετικοῖς λόγοις, ἢ ἐγκωμιαστικῆς, celebrare coner: vel si τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλαῦσαν, seculorum πολλῶν retroactorum experientia comprobatam, &c. παιγνιρικῆς attentarem ulterius efferre.

printers,

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printers, no one pretends to dispute; few scholars, since the revival of letters, have succeeded in contracting so great a familiarity with the Greek language as Henry Stephens. Subsequent critics have discovered and pointed out many of its beauties and peculiarities, with which he was perhaps unacquainted; but for a general and comprehensive knowledge of its construction, and for an almost vernacular intimacy with it, Stephens is nearly unrivalled. The only person, perhaps, who can be put in competition with him in this respect, was his son-in-law, the celebrated and excellent Isaac Casaubon. His editions of the classical authors, when compared with those of former printers, are highly valuable for their accuracy, and from the circumstance of their having been, in most instances, either printed from, or collated with, manuscripts. In the year 1572, he published his Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ, a work which had been planned, and in part executed, many years before, by his father, but the completion of which was reserved for the son; and it may be doubted whether there exists a more stupendous monument of human industry and learning. It appears to have been eleven years in printing; the same time which Robert Stephens had employed in the publication of his Latin Thesaurus. In the following year he printed, in a separate volume, two glossaries, which, although not a part of the Thesaurus, are to be considered, together with his Animadversions and the Treatise on the Attic dialect, as an Appendix and completion of the work. A second edition was published, probably about the year 1580. To this eminent man belongs the praise of having been the first to point out, however imperfectly, the roots of the Greek language; and to reduce them to their derivatives and compounds.

The profit to which Stephens might justly look, as a well-deserved remuneration for the labour of so many years, is said to have been intercepted by the treachery of one Joannes Scapula (*Jean Epaule*, we suppose) who published an Epitome of the Thesaurus in the year 1579. The account commonly given of this transaction is, that Scapula, being employed by Stephens as a corrector of the press, during the publication of his Thesaurus, extracted the most important words and explanations, comprized them in one volume, and published them under his own name. In consequence of this notion, the memory of poor Scapula has been loaded with reproach. It does not, however, appear, from any complaint of Stephens himself, that Scapula was guilty of a breach of trust; since it is probable that he had quitted his employment, long before the completion of the Thesaurus; and as his Lexicon was not published till seven years after it, we see no reason to doubt the fact of his having epitomized the Thesaurus itself. This is all which is laid

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laid to his charge by Stephens; an act indeed of ingratitude, and to a certain degree of dishonesty, but not quite so bad as to deserve the appellation of 'gross disingenuity and fraud.' Scapula himself declares, that he had been for several years occupied about his plan, when he met with the Thesaurus. 'In hoc opere absolvendo quum plurimum temporis contrivissem (remorante me partim operis ipsius prolixitate, partim functione mea, partim denique privatis occupationibus) *incidi forte* in Thesaurum ab Henr. Stephano constructum: cujus sola inscriptione lecta, existimavi me actum egisse.' Is it possible that any man could be impudent enough to write the foregoing sentence, who had been himself employed in printing the Thesaurus? The fact is, that some years after the publication of that great work, Scapula himself carried a specimen of his Epitome to Stephens, who, as might be expected, found great fault with it, 'multa reprehensione digna habere ostendit, seque *suam pecuniam* in meliores merces velle collocare dixit,'* from which expression it may seem that Stephens was applied to with a view to his printing the book. Scapula appeared to acknowledge his own incompetency, but still persisted in completing the work. This is the account which Stephens himself has given of the transaction. Malinkrot speaks indeed of the fraud and deception 'ministri seu adjuvæ sui Scapulæ;' but if it be ascertained, as it now appears to be, that the Thesaurus was reprinted about the year 1580, we may fairly doubt, whether the effect of Scapula's Epitome was so ruinous to Stephens as it is represented to have been. At all events, it did not produce the immediate consequence of bankruptcy, which is stated, in the biographical dictionaries, to have followed the publication of the Thesaurus; for, not to mention that he received, in 1578, a douceur of 3000 livres, and an order for a pension of 300 livres, from Henri III., it appears that in 1579 he obtained a privilege for the exclusive publication of the Greek and Latin historians; and that he possessed a country house, which was burnt down in 1585. The real causes of the confusion into which his affairs fell, were the civil wars which followed the death of Henri III. Whatever may have been the occasion of his distress, the melancholy fact is, that this indefatigable printer and eminent scholar died in an hospital at Lyons in 1598, in a state of poverty and mental imbecility. We may collect from several incidents which are related in the correspondence of his son-in-law Isaac Casaubon, and Joseph Scaliger, that he was of an irritable, jealous and ungenerous disposition.

A principal and just cause of offence on the part of Sca-

* Admonitio Præfix. Posterior. edit. Thes. Maittaire Vit. Steph. p. 356.

pula

pula was his disingenuousness, in publishing his lexicon as an original work, and in depreciating the Thesaurus, of which it was an epitome. But on this head Stephens himself is by no means exempt from reproach. He has frequently been charged with converting to his own advantage and profit the labours of others. There is no doubt, that a great part of the materials of his Thesaurus had been collected and bequeathed to him by his father—in fact, Stephens himself confesses it; and it is stated that his pupil F. Sylburgius assisted him so effectually in that laborious work, that the greater part of it is to be assigned to him. Indeed it bears much plainer marks of the sagacity and erudition of Sylburgius, than of the desultory and hasty studies of his master. Yet so avaricious was he of exclusive praise, that he makes no mention of the co-operation of Sylburgius, a scholar no less remarkable for his modesty than for his extensive learning and exact judgment.

With regard to the Thesaurus itself, there are three things to be remarked. First, that the examples of words were collected by the various contributors to the work, some from printed editions of authors, some from MSS. some from memory, some from conjectural correction. Secondly, that several Greek authors, especially grammarians, have been published since the compilation of the Thesaurus, containing many words of which the existence was not then known. Thirdly, the science of etymology, which H. Stephens took for his guide in the arrangement of his lexicon, was then in its infancy; and indeed the genius of the language itself was but imperfectly understood. These considerations will point out to us the nature and cause of the leading defects, conspicuous in this great work; viz. inaccurate or falsified quotations, the deficiency of several thousand words, and a wrong classification, both of primitives and derivatives.* It was not till the age of Hemsterhuys, that the analogies of the Greek language were developed with any degree of clearness or consistency. At the same time, we ought rather to be surprized, that Stephens, under existing disadvantages, accomplished so much, even in this department, than that he left so much undone. Certain, however, it is, that an irregular and unphilosophical arrangement of the derivatives under their supposed primitives, renders the Thesaurus most inconvenient, even to the advanced scholar, and to the youthful student almost worse than

* Olaus Borrichius, in his *Disputatio de Lexicorum Latinorum jejunitate*, p. 12. says that there are three desiderata in the Thesaurus of Stephens: 1. that many words are omitted; 2. that many remains of ancient literature have been published since; 3. that many significations of words are neglected. But this is a very imperfect enumeration of the defects of this lexicon, as we shall hereafter show.

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useless. In this respect the lexicon of Scapula is vastly more serviceable, both from its greater simplicity, and more moderate dimensions. For a Thesaurus, which should contain a comprehensive view of the language, the plan which Stephens pursued, is, in its general outlines, undoubtedly the best. The most philosophical arrangement is, to class the primitives alone in alphabetical order, and to range each family of words under its respective head. This is the method pursued in natural philosophy; lay the basis first, and deduce from it all the varieties, which are produced by an alteration in the disposition of its constituent parts, or by the admixture of extraneous substances. But this is far more difficult in philology than in chemistry. The primitives of a language are for the most part to be discovered only by conjecture and analogical reasoning. The richness and variety of the derivatives and compounds, threw by degrees the simpler forms into disuse; and oftentimes it is only by unravelling and separating the former, that the latter can be extricated. The Greek language, as it has descended to us in the monuments of ancient literature, contains but a small number of radical and original words: the investigation and arrangement of these roots was reserved for the diligence and sagacity of Hemsterhuys and Valckenaer, who were enabled by the help of analogy, which in some instances, perhaps, they have pursued too far, to ascend through the derivatives, to a great number of primitives which no longer exist.

It is obvious, that in the application of analogy, a plausible but oftentimes fallacious ground of reasoning, to the science of etymology, the greatest caution and moderation are requisite: and it is in this respect, that almost all, who have turned their thoughts to this department of grammar, have failed. Etymologists have always had too great a propensity to generalize and classify, without making due allowance for the anomalies and incidental varieties of language. In attempting to refer every word to its primitive, they have forgotten that a considerable portion of most languages, and certainly of the Greek, was imported, in secondary and compound words, from the dialects of other people. It is altogether surprizing to hear such a scholar as Valckenaer talking of the 'primitive significations stamped upon words by the philosophical founders of the Greek tongue;' when we have every reason to conclude, from all that we know of early Grecian history, that the language of that people, originally differing very greatly in different districts, was gradually refined from barbarism by the operation of a commercial intercourse with the Asiatic nations; and enriched by the admixture of foreign words. That *many* primitives of the ancient Pelasgic tongue may still be traced, particularly

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larly in verbs of the sixth conjugation, (according to the old classification,) and in verbs in μι, we are ready to allow; but considering the natural growth and progress of the language of a people, situate as the Greeks were, we are by no means disposed to assent to the position of Valckenaer, that 'the trunk of a language always remains the same; that the primitives may always be elicited by the help of analogy; that those which no longer exist, may be restored, and the defects of the lexicons supplied.'* Be this, however, as it may, one thing is certain; that the science of etymology had made but little progress amongst the scholars of the sixteenth century, and was imperfectly understood by Stephens, and even by Sylburgius, who was much more clear-sighted than his tutor. We must not, however, attribute to Stephens the merit of having been the first to devise an arrangement of the Greek language, with reference to its primitives; the same thing had been conceived, and perhaps in part executed by Constantine; and it was from his father Robert that Henry Stephens took the idea.

It is justly observed by Lennep, that Stephens paid too much deference to the absurdities of the ancient grammarians, overlooking the true and simple analogy of the language. In consequence of which, he frequently considers those words as primitives, which are in reality derivatives; oftentimes he refers the derivatives themselves to roots, with which they have nothing to do; in almost every instance he confounds the proper and metaphorical significations of words; so that the primary and original meaning from which all the others ought to be deduced, is put in the last place. Let us not, however, be understood to detract from the acknowledged and substantial merits of this great lexicographer, even in etymology; to appreciate which, as they deserve, it is only necessary to compare his labours with those of the ancient grammarians. The ancient etymologists seem to have had no system. It is true that there is a great deal of system discoverable in the speculations of the ablest grammarians—Apollonius Dyscolus for example—upon the parts of speech and their construction; but in etymology, they seem to have been wide abroad. It was natural, however, that Stephens should defer to their authority. This he has done in many instances too implicitly, while in others he has not attended to it so much as he should have done. He has admitted no primitives into his lexicon, but such as he had met with in ancient authors, whereas he might with propriety have imitated the old grammarians in the adoption of dissyllable verbs, which are not indeed to be found in any author, but which we

* *Obss. ad Origines Græcas*, pp. 37. 40.

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may conclude, from analogy, to have existed in the Greek language in its earlier state. Amidst all the absurdities of the ancient etymologists, we find a variety of observations, which are of great value and importance to those who are desirous of analysing the composition of the language; and considering the share which Sylburgius, who was intimately conversant with their works, had in the compilation of the Thesaurus, it is matter of some surprize, that these observations were so little attended to in the classification of words. For instance, we find in the Etymologicon Magnum, p. 307. 50. the following extract from some ancient and acute grammarian; τὸ δὲ ειμι, τὸ ὑπάρχω, τετάρτης ἐστι συζυγίας τῶν εἰς μῑ. καὶ γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης τῶν βαρυτόνων. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔω, τὸ ὑπάρχω, παραγωγὸν ἐμί· καὶ ἐπει τὰ εἰς μῑ φύσει μακρᾷ παραλήγεται, πλεονάζει τὸ ῑ, καὶ γίνεται εἰμί. Now the same observation is made by Sylburgius, in his observations on verbs in μι; yet in the Thesaurus we find εἰμί given as a primitive. A great many instances of the same kind might be quoted; from which it appears, that Stephens was resolved not to admit any word into his vocabulary, whose existence was conjectural; a rule which precludes those fanciful speculations in which etymology loves to indulge; but which is utterly subversive of all system, to him who is desirous of giving an etymological lexicon. Besides, in the instance before us, as in many others, there was actual authority for the primitive form, not only in the regular participle ἐων, and the future ἔσομαι, but in the imperfectum ἔον Il. ψ. 648. Again, we have γηθέω as a primitive, although Eustathius mentions the simpler form γῶ (γάω) which exists with a slight alteration in the Homeric γαίω. Λαμβάνω is set down as a primitive, although we have the simpler form λάμβω in Herodotus, and abundant traces of λήβω; but all these forms, together with λάζω, and a variety of others, should clearly have been ranged under the primitive λάω, which still exists in the Doric λῶ, *I take* or *choose*. Thus, too, λάγχανω is made a primitive, although we have the future λᾶξεσθαι in Herodotus, and the derivative λᾶξις, and the indefinite ἔλαχον. These few instances, out of thousands, occur to us as we turn over the pages of the Thesaurus.

We are sensible that the greatest caution must be exercised, in adopting unauthorized forms of primitive words; that is to say, those forms for which there is no positive authority in the remaining works of the older Greek authors. We consider it, however, to be a sufficient authority for the reception of a primitive *thema*, if we find its regular tenses preserved in the later form of the language; as it is certainly safe to assume the existence of a noun, if we find its oblique cases still existing. For even if the supposed primitive did never actually exist, its existence was supposed by

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those who received into use the tenses regularly formed from it; and therefore there can be no objection to the adopting of it as a radix, if by so doing we can preserve the consistency and uniformity of the language.

Again, when we have thus adopted real or imaginary primitive forms, still more caution is necessary in tracing their derivatives. Valckenaer, who perhaps had a clearer insight into the whole of this question than any other scholar, pursued his favourite system with the zeal of a partial friend; Lennep pushed its consequences still farther; the learned and excellent Bishop Burges was misled by it, in his Appendix to the Miscellanea Critica of Dawes, and Everard Scheide, the editor of Lennep, has gambolled in etymology at a most surprising rate. But a greater number of primitives might with safety be assumed by a learned and judicious lexicographer, care being taken to distinguish hypothetical roots from those which are actually in existence.

Another class of errors is that, by which the natural order of words is inverted, and the primitives are classed under their derivatives. For instance, ἑταῖρος is made the root, and ἕτης the derivative; τιθή is put under τιθασσός (τιθᾶσός,) κάρ and κάρα under κάρηνον. These errors, however, are of less frequent occurrence. The great defect, in point of etymology, is, that words, which have obviously a common origin, are either treated of as primitives, or referred to different roots. With defects of this description the Thesaurus abounds; and it was in this department that a great improvement might have been effected. To give one instance out of many. No person, we suppose, will hesitate to refer to the common radix ἄω, *I breathe*, the following words; ἀείδω, ἄελλα, ἀήρ, ἀείρω, ἀηδών, ἀήσυρος, ἀΐσσω, ἄϊξ, ἀτμός, αὔω, &c. αὐλός, &c. αὖρα. Yet of these, only αὐλός is given by Stephens as a derivative from ἄω; while several other words of very doubtful origin are referred to it, e. g. αὖλαξ and ἠώς. Again, from the old verb ΛΑΩ, which was in use amongst the Dorians to a late age, and which signified *I take*, were derived λάζω, λάβω, λαμβάνω, λαύω, (λάϜω) ἀπολαύω, λεία, ληΐζω, λάχω, λαγχάνω, and perhaps λᾶς, λᾶας, λαῖμος. Yet these are classed in the Thesaurus under several heads. Valckenaer has produced a list of one hundred words, deducible from the primitive ἄκω, which are referred by Stephens to twenty or thirty different roots. He observes upon the whole, 'Existimandum minime est, in isto Thesauro singulis vocabulis derivatis suam adsignari originem, singula verba derivata ad suam radicem et priscum fundum reduci. Neutiquam. Hac in parte millies peccavit Stephanus; hac in parte Thesaurus iste amplissimus scatet erroribus.' We are not sure, however, that the case would

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would not have been worse, if Stephens had pursued his etymological researches much farther. The real analogy of the Greek language was then so little understood, that the lovers of primitives generally fell into great absurdities. A curious specimen in this way is the Lexicon Etymologicon of Joannes Harmarus, an English physician, who deduces '*ἀγαθός* ab a et *γηθῶ*, quod boni tantum habeant unde lætentur. *ἀγάω ab ἄγαν ἄω nimium spiro*, quod in admiratione non tantum suspicere sed et suspirare videmur—unde Anglice *to gaze, and to stand agast*.' The same ingenious physician derives *Knapsack ἀπὸ τοῦ Κνάπτειν*, 'quia in ea reponuntur *ἐφόδια*, quæ subinde *κνάπτεσθαι* possint ab itinerantibus. *Παῖς*, puer. a *πάω pasco, vescor*, quia pueri *hoc vel illud* esitant. Anglicum est proverbium, Children and chickens are always picking.' Again, '*Louse* Anglicum oritur *ἐκ τῆς ἀλουσίας*;' a derivation physically if not etymologically true.

We have now specified the chief defects of the Thesaurus, as far as the arrangement is concerned; and they are so great, as to render it, even with its present bulk, extremely inconvenient for the purposes of reference. The disposition of the words, with reference to their origin, is so very arbitrary and inconsistent, that no student can make use of the Thesaurus, without first consulting the general index: a disadvantage, which it would be impossible to avoid altogether in any lexicon, where the words are to be ranged according to their primitives; but which might undoubtedly be diminished in a very considerable degree, by a more systematic and rational classification. For our own parts, we could have desired, that instead of reprinting, with insertions which will still further increase this inconvenience, this crude and ill-digested vocabulary, (we speak simply with reference to the arrangement,) Mr. Valpy could have prevailed upon some laborious and judicious scholar, who had well considered and thoroughly weighed the theory of Hemsterhuys, (as elucidated by Valckenaer,) to publish a complete vocabulary, in which all the derivatives should be classed under their real primitives; while at the same time every word should have been found in alphabetical order, with a reference to its primitive. For instance; under the root AΩ we would have given all the derivatives above enumerated, *ἄελλα*, *ἀείδω*, &c. and each of these should also have been found in its proper alphabetical place with a reference; '*Ἄελλα*, vid. AΩ.' This would at once have furnished a complete etymological lexicon, without the inconvenience of an index, and in most cases without the need of a reference to two volumes; and it is obvious that this plan would not have occasioned any considerable increase of bulk, a serious evil in any book, and especially in a lexicon. Of course it would have been needless to repeat the

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compound words, about which no scholar could hesitate; it would be sufficient to class these under the simple forms. For this single reason, independently of several others which might be assigned, we have never been of the number of those,* who for some years past have been so clamorous for the reprinting of the Thesaurus. An unfortunate rage has prevailed of late years, for reprinting old books, whether lexicons, or editions of ancient authors; than which few things can be more injurious to the advancement of learning. A double inconvenience results from this practice. When books are reprinted, without such alterations as the improved state of learning demands, error is perpetuated; and the market is closed against better and more accurate publications. We are compelled to direct a part of this censure against the conductors of the Clarendon press, at Oxford; but more particularly against the London booksellers and printers, who are absolutely deluging the country with faulty reprints of the worst editions of the classics.

Another defect of the Thesaurus, and it is only surprizing that it did not exist in a still greater degree, is the absence of a vast number of words which are found in various writers, in the tragedians, in the fragments of the poets, the anthologia, the platonists, the erotic writers, the scholiasts, the grammarians, and other neoteric authors. For this defect a remedy has been in part provided by the labours of Scott, Suicer, Jensius, and others; and amongst later scholars by Bast, Schaefer, Schweighæuser, Boissonade, and many more, whose papers the present publishers have procured at a considerable expense, besides the voluntary contributions of several laborious scholars. In this respect, indeed, it is probable that the present republication will leave little to be desired. In fact, we are not sure that the deluge of new words will not be quite overwhelming. We are not prepared to say, how far it is desirable to incorporate into one lexicon *all* the words, which are to be found in the wide range of Grecian literature; except some method be devised, by which the student may be enabled to discover, at one view, the various degrees of authority, which belong to the writers by whom they are employed. In this respect, all the lexicons, which have yet been compiled, are susceptible of great improvement. And in the new Thesaurus, which we have contemplated in imagination, a line of distinction should be drawn between the words, which are used by the Greek writers prior to the era of Alexander the Great, and those which are only

* The fashion was set by a late eminent scholar, in his preface to the 'Appendix ad Lexicon Jo. Scapulæ,' where he promises the laurel of Apollo to him who should undertake a new edition of the Thesaurus, whose province he marks out, without ever touching upon the grand requisite of all, an entirely new arrangement.

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to be found in later authors. Again, the Macedonian or Alexandrian families of words ought to be distinguished from their more genuine Hellenic brethren; a task which has been undertaken, and in part executed, by Sturzius. Another line of demarcation should be traced out between the classical authors, and those who wrote after the Latin language had come into general use. All this would be a task of great labour, demanding accurate and extensive erudition, and a sound judgment; but when executed, it would be productive of infinite advantage to the student, who, we will venture to say, will, in nine instances out of ten, be either terrified, or perplexed and confused, by the heterogeneous and chaotic world of words, which the new edition of Stephens threatens to present. The want of these distinctive criteria is in a great measure supplied by Schneider, in his *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, where he has noted whether a word be poetical, a dialectic variety, peculiar to the ecclesiastical writers, or to the Greek translation of the Old Testament, or of doubtful authority. But Schneider's book is in many parts defective, and is altogether on so confined a scale, as to be considered only in the light of a manual for younger students.

A further improvement, which was requisite in a new Thesaurus, was a correct and philosophical arrangement of the various meanings of each word, beginning with its primary signification, and deducing thence its metaphorical, adscititious, collateral, and idiomatic senses. In this respect the original work is eminently defective; and the present editors probably will not consider themselves at liberty to introduce so considerable a change in the form of the Thesaurus. We will illustrate our meaning by an instance. The word Ποινή is thus explained by Stephens;

'ΠΟΙΝΗ. Poena, Ultio injuriæ seu peccati—ποινὰς δοῦναι et τίσαι—dare pœnas. || Ipsæ etiam Furiæ, et deæ quæ scelerum pœnas exigere creduntur, ποιναὶ nominantur. || Ποινὴ Homero ἀντάλλαγμα, ἀντιτίσεις, ἄμοιβή, ut exponitur in locis qui sequuntur. Iliad. σ—ἐπεὶ οὐ τίνετα ποινὴν Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο. Iliad. ε. Δῶχ' υἱὸς ποινὴν Γανυμήδιος, &c. Significat igitur Homero non tantùm pœnam quæ corpore luitur, sed etiam pretium quo injuria pensatur.'

Now it is quite evident to any person, who considers the history of language, and takes into account the state of civil society in that age, when the Greek tongue first assumed consistency and polish, that the third signification of Ποινή, according to Stephens's arrangement, ought to have been the first. Punishments were originally only compensations made for injury done; even in cases of bodily hurt, and murder itself, which, in the age of Homer, might be atoned for by a fine. The primary significa-

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tion then of ποινή is 'a compensation,' whence ἄποινα, *a ransom*. Hence it came to denote any kind of punishment, the word being retained, while the institutions of society were altered. And thus it is easy to account for the phrases ποινήν or δίκην διδόναι, the punishment being considered as a compensation which the offender gave to the injured party, or to his nearest friends. It is obvious, from this single instance, that a right arrangement of the significations of each word, is of great importance, towards giving a philosophic view of the language. Again,

'Υποκριτής. Simulator. Et peculiariter qui Gallicè *Hypocrite*. || Et qui Latinis *Histrio*, sed additur interdum genitivus δράματος seu δραμάτων. || Item ὑποκριτὴς ὀνείρων, conjector somniorum.'

It should have stood thus;

'Υποκριτής. *Qui respondet*: ab ὑποκρίνεσθαι, *respondere*, Homer. Herodot. || *Histrio*, quia primo tragœdiæ statu histrio Choro respondebat. Suidas, ὁ ὑποκρινόμενος τῷ Χορῷ. || *Simulator*, quia histriones fictas partes tuebantur.'

This arrangement shews at once the origin and genealogy of the different meanings of ὑποκριτής.

Great caution, however, is requisite, both in the arrangement and multiplication of the meanings of words. Oftentimes a signification, which seems at first sight to be primary, will be found, upon examination, to be derivative only; and oftentimes a difference in the significations of the same word in different passages, will be found to be only apparent.

The utility and value of the Thesaurus might further have received a very important addition, if the quantities had been marked over all the doubtful syllables, as is the case in the best Latin lexicons. We are surprized that this obvious and desirable improvement did not suggest itself to the present editors. It is true that the student who possesses Dr. Maltby's elaborate and accurate *Thesaurus Græcæ Poeseos*, will need no other source of information on questions relating to the prosody of the language. But it is desirable to have as much information as possible in one point of view; and the notation of the quantities in the improved Thesaurus would not in the least have superseded Dr. Maltby's valuable publication, which contains a great variety of learned and useful remarks, besides a copious account of synonymes and poetical usages.

A still further accession of utility was to be obtained by referring, under particular words, to the writings of modern critics and philologists, who have illustrated their meanings or properties. In this respect the present editors have been eminently diligent, and leave little to be desired. It is but justice to them to

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to observe, that they have displayed a most extensive reading, and much curious research. Scarcely any sources of information are open, to which they have not had recourse; and we are therefore the more inclined to regret, that they have allowed themselves so little time for the thorough digestion and judicious arrangement of their materials. They seem, indeed, to have been overwhelmed by the deluge of philological information which has been poured in upon them, and to have lost sight of every thing like selection or compression. A reference to critical works is necessary only in particular cases; and in no instance should any critical or philological discussion be introduced at length into the Thesaurus, the utility of which obviously varies directly as its comprehensiveness, and inversely as its bulk. Just so much as is requisite for the clear explanation of a word and its usage, should be inserted, and no more. A Thesaurus is a book where the student looks not for dissertation but for authority. We wish that the present editors had kept this consideration in view: as it is, we regret to say,—they have detailed page after page of discussion and diatribe, till poor Stephens and his Thesaurus are often lost sight of in the fray. But we do not want a collection of treatises on words, however useful a reference to them may be. All that we desire is, a clear statement of the meaning, derivation and inflexion of words, supported by sufficient authorities. It is worse than useless to collect, or even to specify all the passages where a word is used, unless it be of rare occurrence, or have some peculiarity, which renders it more than commonly remarkable: and it is still more objectionable, to throw together in a dictionary all that has been said upon it by grammarians and critics; yet this is going on to an alarming extent (alarming to the eyes and the pockets of the subscribers) in the new edition of the Thesaurus.

But least of all can it be tolerated, that in a work, which cannot possibly be made too compendious, (so that nothing important be omitted,) the compiler should indulge in discussions and observations quite foreign from the subject in hand, and oftentimes having nothing to do with the word under consideration. Under *ἀγορανόμιον*, which occurs in a Greek epigram, we have two thirds of a column occupied in an explanation of the epigram, half of which explanation is taken up in justifying an emendation of *κηπεύς* for *καὶ παῖς*. Under *Ἀγορασία* is a long discussion of Lobeck's upon words ending in *σία*. Under *Ἀπαγγέλλω* is cited a passage of Athenæus, where it occurs in the sense of *memoriter recito*, and then a long note of Schweighæuser's upon the other parts of the quotation, but nothing about *ἀπαγγέλλω*, except two lines at the end. Under *Εὐαγγελέω*, because Scaliger had rightly observed that *εὐαγγέλλω* was not a Greek word, (which is all that need be

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said on the subject,) we have a disquisition of no less than thirteen columns, and a great many closely printed foot-notes, about *other* words, which are not Greek, χαλκοκεκαυμένος, κακοσσόμενος, &c. &c. very learned and laborious, but not having the remotest connexion with εὐαγγελέω. This is a shameful abuse of the reader's time and patience, and makes it quite a farce to talk of the *republication* of Stephens's Thesaurus, which the editors have cut into small strips, and inserted here and there between their own incongruous and irrelevant masses of matter, as the Irishman passed his light guinea, by slipping it into three-pence which he paid at the turnpike. So completely disguised and overwhelmed is the good old lexicographer, that if he could suddenly revive, and contemplate his posthumous growth, he would doubt his own identity, as Trivelino did, when he awoke with the bridle in his hand, but without the horse. We do not deny that his equipments were such, as to require considerable improvement, both in capacity and ornament; but it is contrary to all principles of taste, to load him with half a score wigs and hats by different makers, and of various fashions; and to deck his carcass with such cumbrous furniture—

> To wit, twelve jackets, twelve surtouts,
> Twelve pantaloons, twelve pair of boots.

The editors, in a paper drawn up for the purpose of obviating some objections of Professor Hermann, have endeavoured to defend themselves, by stating, that 'it has been their great object, as far as it is practicable, without disturbing the arrangement of H. Stephens, to bring into one and the same article all the various synonymes, because by their juxtaposition they mutually reflect light upon each other.' But this defence is totally inapplicable to a great proportion of the discussions of which we complain. In the last-mentioned instance, a multiplicity of words are brought together, to swell an article to an immoderate size, which have no common bond of connexion but their termination. This might have been excused in a new edition of Hoogeveen's lexicon, where the words are ranged according to their endings; but in the Thesaurus it is an unseemly and unnatural excrescence.

We are far, however, from being disposed to judge the conductors of the present work with severity. The task which they have undertaken is a most difficult one, requiring a union of learning, sagacity and judgment, which is of very rare occurrence. To their multifarious reading, and diligence in research, we are most ready to do justice; and freely acknowledge, that in point of quantity, very little which is requisite to the illustration of the Greek language, is omitted in the present edition of the Thesaurus.

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saurus. But we complain, and, we think, with good reason, of the singular want of judgment manifested, in throwing together, almost promiscuously, all that every body has ever said about every word; instead of making a selection of the most important remarks, and carefully omitting every thing which was not essential to the illustration of the point in question. The inconvenience which results from this mode of proceeding is great in every way. It renders the Thesaurus totally useless, as a help to the student in construing a Greek author; it will swell the work to a bulk, which will unfit it for any library of modest dimensions: and it will increase the price of the book, and protract the time of its completion to a frightful extent.

For our own amusement, and for the information of the subscribers, many of whom, we apprehend, are ignorant of the advantages which they possess in prospect, we have made a little calculation of the probable bulk, expense, and time of publication of the improved Thesaurus, which we have reason to believe is within bounds: at all events, as it is a rule of three sum, any error which has slipped in will be easily detected. The 688th page of Mr. Valpy's Thesaurus corresponds with the 53d of the original work; consequently, if the same proportion be observed throughout, the new edition will be just thirteen times as bulky as the old one. Now the original work consists of three goodly volumes in folio, besides the fourth volume of indexes, and the fifth of glossaries. It is true that a very considerable part of the fourth volume is taken up with the Appendix, which the present Editors have inserted in the body of the work; but it is not to be doubted, that the additions and corrections, which they will have to make at the conclusion of the work, will be in proportion to the bulk of it; so that our calculation will not exceed the truth. And thus it appears, that the actual dictionary will occupy at least thirty-nine folio volumes; but as it is reasonable to conclude, that the farther the work proceeds, the greater will be the accumulation of materials, which the Editors seem resolved to pour out ὅλῳ θυλάκῳ into this capacious reservoir, it is not unreasonable to calculate upon the addition of three or four volumes extra. To these we have to add the treatises, which the Editors have thought fit to publish in the first two numbers, and which, in conjunction with the Glossaries, will form a separate volume. Then there must be an Index, eight or nine times as big as that of Stephens, but we will say five times; and thus, upon the whole, we may reckon that the work, when complete, will occupy at least fifty good folio volumes, and very probably more. The price of each Number to the subscribers is one guinea for the small paper, and two guineas for the large. Each volume will

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will comprehend at least four numbers; so that the cost of the whole work will be to the *little* subscribers 200 guineas, and to the *large*, 400, 'inest sua gratia parvis.' This we believe to be a calculation which falls short of the truth.

The time which the publication will occupy, according to the present rate of proceeding, will not be less than seventy years—a melancholy consideration for those subscribers, who are ambitious of seeing their names in the list of the 1100; since we are informed, in a notice prefixed to one of the parts, that the Dedications, List of Subscribers, &c. will be given in the *last* number. But who can undertake to say what will be done or given, in a book which is to make its appearance in the year 1889? Messrs. Valpy and Barker, together with all their subscribers—printer, editor, readers and critics will, long before that distant day, have been gathered to the Stephenses and Scapulas of other times. Wo betide the luckless wight, who has determined to reserve the enucleation of hard words, beginning with any letter after *pi*, which he may meet with in the course of his studies, till the latter numbers of the improved Thesaurus shall come forth!

'Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.'

Such a work as this deserved an antediluvian race of publishers and purchasers.

It may be said, that it was impossible to ascertain beforehand, with any degree of precision, the magnitude of a work of this nature, and therefore that the subscribers have no right to complain of the unforeseen extension of the price and time. Why then did the conductors of the work pledge themselves to certain limits?

In a prospectus printed in the Classical Journal seven years ago, it is said that 'the work will be published in twenty-four numbers; to be completed in four or five years.' The first number appeared in 1815; and at the present moment six or seven numbers, we believe, have made their appearance. But we have seen only four; of which the last column, numbered 688, corresponds, as we observed, with p. 53 of the original work. Now the total number of columns in the three volumes of the original work is 6273; and as 53 are to 688, so are 6273 to 81,430 and a fraction. The number of columns in one number of the new edition is about 360, and the quotient of 81,430 divided by 360 is 226 and a fraction. Add to this the fourth volume, which will probably occupy ten numbers more at least, and we shall have 236 numbers, which, with the Glossaries, and the two first numbers, will make up nearly 240 numbers, being just ten times as many as are announced in the Prospectus; and the expense will be to the noble and plebeian subscribers respectively 480 and 240 guineas. Thus by another calculation, we have arrived at a result still more

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more alarming than the first; and even this, we are convinced, falls short of the actual evil.

Even supposing that the foregoing statement is somewhat highly coloured, of which however we are not conscious, let us reduce every item in the calculation to two thirds, or even one half, and still the numerical facts will be sufficiently alarming, and such as, we will venture to say, not one of the original subscribers contemplated, even in the wildest dreams of their fancy. The proposals were, in the first instance, for a republication of Stephens's Thesaurus; a work, which the scarcity of the original edition would have rendered valuable and useful. Then it was to be an improved and enlarged edition; this was suspicious: but when the first Number made its appearance, containing not one word of the Thesaurus, but a farrago of treatises by various authors, most of them of common occurrence, such as that of Kuster *de verbis mediis*, some of the subscribers took the alarm, and declined having any thing further to do with a work, which set out with a complete deviation from the Prospectus, which had induced them to give the sanction of their names. These we suspect to be 'the deceased subscribers,' whose copies are to be had, upon application to Mr. Valpy, at the moderate price of 1*l.* 3*s.* small, and 2*l.* 10*s.* large paper. At the same time we are informed, that the price will soon be raised to 1*l.* 5*s.* and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* We may therefore reckon that the cost of the work to the fortunate holders of deceased subscribers' copies will be about 250 and 500 guineas. We cannot help observing, by the way, that if all the deceased subscribers' copies are left on the publishers' hands, long before the completion of the work, the whole 1100 will be a disposable commodity. But to return to the subject: it is very obvious that there were two distinct plans of proceeding, either of which the publishers might with propriety have adopted. The first was, to give a new edition of Stephens, incorporating the additions which he has inserted in the Index, verifying and giving accurate references for the quotations, and nothing more. This was the original plan of the present edition. 'Their first intention was only to incorporate into the *Thes.* (an elegant abbreviation!) those words with which H. Stephens met after the completion of the work, and which he has thrown into his *Index*—to insert in the *Thes.* Scott's *Appendix*—and to verify the quotations. But they mean to extend their plan, because they entertain little doubt of the success of their undertaking,'* i. e. in a pecuniary point of view. The other was, to publish an entirely new Thesaurus, on the plan of Stephens,

* *Class. Journal*, No. XIX.

but

but according to a more philosophical arrangement, availing themselves of the collections of more recent philologists, and introducing such alterations and improvements as might have been deemed expedient. Instead of which, the present editors have most injudiciously endeavoured to combine the two plans; and professing to preserve the whole of the original Thesaurus with the most scrupulous reverence, they have dispersed it here and there amidst a vast mass of omnifarious matter, so that we never know who it is that is instructing us, whether Stephens, or Schaefer, or Schweighæuser, or Mr. Barker. It seems not a little surprizing, that before entering upon a work of such magnitude and importance, the Editors did not submit to the learned world a tolerably exact outline of the plan which they intended to pursue, together with a specimen of its execution. Had that been done, we venture to say that such advice would have been given them from various quarters, as would have prevented their embarking upon an ocean which seems to be without a shore, and themselves,

'Like Whiston, wanting pyx or stars.'

In a publication, which professes to be a new edition of Stephens's Thesaurus, we may reasonably expect to find the labours of that lexicographer so distinctly separated from the recent additions to his work, that we shall have no difficulty in determining what is Stephens's and what is not. But so little is this just and necessary assignment of property attended to in the present work, that it is extremely difficult for the student to ascertain what portion of an article belongs to the original edition, and what is peculiar to the new. Parenthesis within parenthesis, and bracketted brackets confuse us in our inquiry, and demand more time than we can afford to bestow upon the parentage of each remark. We will give one instance of this inconvenience. In the original Thesaurus we have the following article, vol. i. p. 19.

'Εἰσαγγέλλω. Renuntio. Refero. Xenoph. Pæd. 8. εἰσαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι, &c. Idem Symposio, κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι, εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη, &c. Sic εἰσαγγέλλομαι apud Demosth. εἰσαγγελθέντων ὑμῖν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων.'

In the new edition, p. 385, it stands thus,

'Εἰσαγγέλλω. Renuntio. Refero. Xenoph. Κ. Π. viii. (3.9.) Εἰσαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι κ. τ. λ. Idem Symp. (i. 11.) Κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι, εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη. ["Proprie dicitur de janitore qui fores observat, et annuntiat domino, si qui velint introimitti: Herod. iii. 118. (ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλήϊα ἰσιλθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλῆϊ· καὶ γάρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἱπαναστᾶσι τῷ μάγῳ ἴσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνῃ μισγόμενος ὁ βασιλεύς. Οὕκων δὴ Ἰνταφέρνης ἰδικαίευ οὐδένα οἱ ἰσαγγεῖλαι,) ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ, εἰσιέναι ἤθελε.") Lex. Xenoph. Lysias Ἀπολ. ὑ. τ. Ἐρατο. Φ. p. 23. 5. Ἔπειτα

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Επειτα ὡς αὐτὴ τιλιντοῦσα εἰσαγγείλειε, "de ancilla amasium heræ commendante, adventum ejus intro nuntiante, introducente, congressus conciliante." Reisk. Luc. in Nigrino ii. Καὶ κόψας τὴν θύραν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσαγγείλαντος, ἐκλήθην. " H. l. usurpat Casp. Sagittar. de Jan. Vet. xvi. 32. Servorum ad januam s. τῶν θυρωρῶν munus εἰσαγγέλλειν. Plat. Protag. p. 220. a. Inde in Regum aulis εἰσαγγελεῖς." T. Hemsterh. Vide Wessel. Diod. S. ii. 118. Abresch. Lectt. Aristæn. p. 305. et Addend. ad calcem Aristæn. p. 146. Athen. xiv. 614. c. ubi Xenoph. locus supra citatus affertur, Dorvill. ad Charit. v. 2. p. 467=438. Eurip. Bacch. 170. Τίς ἐν πύλαισι Κάδμου ἐκπαλεῖ θύμων, Ἀγήνορος παῖδ' ὃς, πόλιν Σιδωνίαν λιπὼν ἐπύργωσ' ἄστυ Θηβαίων τόδε; Ἴτω τις, εἰσάγγειλε, Τειρισίας ὅτι Ζητεῖ νιν.] Demosth. (1207) Εἰσαγγειλθέντων ὑμῖν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων [" Thucyd. 552. 83. Εἰσηγγέλλετο αἰτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ταραχὴ, 562. 84. ὡς εἰσηγγέλθη τοῖς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ sedentibus." Valck. ad Scapulæ marg.]

It is unnecessary for us to observe, that this article is preposterously amplified, and that the original remarks of Stephens are disguised both in form and position. It would have been much better to give the original article entire, inserting only the references to the quotations, and then to annex the additional observations. But it is obviously needless to multiply authorities for such a common word as εἰσαγγέλλω. One decisive example of each meaning is as good as twenty. If instances are piled one upon another at this rate, from the margins and common-place books of industrious scholars, we shall come by degrees to have a Thesaurus, comprising all the works of all the Greek authors, but in shreds and patches. It will scarcely be credited, that 139 columns are occupied by the single word Ἄγαλμα, or rather by a series of dissertations upon every thing relating to ornaments, images, and decorations of all kinds, with occasional episodes upon matters altogether foreign, which happen to cross the Editor, as he is hunting the word ἄγαλμα through all the mazes of philology. It is curious to observe how frequently he loses the scent, and goes off upon a new track, if some curious expression or custom thwarts his path. For instance, the word ἄγαλμα occurs in the last line of an epigram, which the Editor transcribes at full length, as usual, (for it is no uncommon thing for him to give us half a page of an author at a time,) and in which epigram mention is made of the custom which hunters had, of suspending some part of the game to a tree, as an offering to some deity; a custom known to every fourth-form boy. Accordingly off goes the Editor, in a note upon this practice, not containing one word about ἄγαλμα. In the next page but one, because Ἑκάτης ἄγαλμα is used by Aristophanes to signify a dog, he actually begins a dissertation, which is continued through fifty-five columns, upon the sacrifices offered to Hecate *and other Gods*, and the different

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ferent titles of Hecate, and notes on the Τρίβαλλοι, and Sophron, and ἀμματίζω and Mercury and the ancient chemists, and what not?—but not a word of or relating to ἄγαλμα in the whole of this enormous excrescence. Again, we have a careful enumeration of all the passages which contain any mention of ἄγαλμα Διός, Πανός, Ἀπόλλωνος, &c. and so on through the whole pantheon; which kind of *obscura diligentia* is much the same as would be that of an English lexicographer, who, under the word *Church*, should proceed to enumerate St. Paul's Church, St. James's Church, St. Pancras, St. Botolph, St. Benet Fink, Allhallows Barking, and Christ Church, which of course would furnish a good opportunity for several dissertatory columns upon Oxford, Cardinal Wolsey, &c. And this it is to edit Stephens! We are fully sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking, and how vain it is to expect to please everybody; but the want of judgment, and of consideration for the subscribers' eyes and pockets, which is manifested in this and in similar instances, must not pass without reproof. The editors seem to have raked together all the common-place books of all the readers of Greek, who have been in the habit of using interleaved lexicons, or roomy margins, for the purpose of pouring all their contents into this 'captious and terrible sieve.' If, for instance, Mr. Schaefer or Mr. Boissonade, very learned and excellent men, (the former of whom has a strange trick of writing long notes in indexes,) happen to have elucubrated, for their own satisfaction, a disquisition upon some particular word, or, as the learned editor would say, to have *dissertated* upon it; no matter how much extraneous discussion is introduced, which has no immediate connexion with the word in question, away it goes to the Ædes Valpianæ, in Tooke's Court, and thence into the *Thes.* whole and entire. The consequence is, as we have shown, that in numerous instances, instead of a clear, methodical account of a word, with its various meanings regularly deduced, and illustrated by a few apposite and decisive authorities, we have long, desultory diatribes on a great many other words, which are not, to be sure, the words that we are inquiring for, but they are of the same genus; they all end perhaps in ω, or they have all a peculiar twist in the head or tail, and, therefore, says the editor, as you are curious about one of them, here they are all—walk in, ladies and gentlemen, and see what you shall see! But we must beg pardon for sporting with the feelings of the large paper subscribers, the four hundred guinea gentlemen, to whom all this dilatation of bulk is a very serious concern. Let them, however, take comfort in the consideration, that in proportion to the growth of the Thesaurus will be the number of tall-paper copies in their libraries, and of course the increase of their own satisfaction.

Crescent

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Crescent illæ—crescetis amores!

The editors are aware of the censure which they have deservedly incurred in this respect, and have offered the following apology in a recent Number of the Classical Journal.

'Should any of the subscribers, from a cursory view of the work, be disposed to infer that, as so much space is employed in the explanations of some words, there is but little chance of the undertaking ever being completed within the prescribed limits, the editors would add, that much of the matter, both in the text and notes, relates to words which will come under discussion as they proceed. The quotations, for instance, introduced from the Greek writers and the Greek grammarians to illustrate the various significations of the word Ἄγαλμα are equally applicable to the illustrations of the synonymes Ἀνάθημα, Ἀνδριάς, Βρέτας, Γλαφύ, Ξόανον, &c. [synonymes, forsooth!] and thus the work is in reality advanced in proportion to the extent of such matter.'

But this defence, although plausible, is not true. The question is not whether *every* word is to be illustrated at equal length; but whether a *proportionable* number of words, throughout the alphabet, are to serve as pegs for notes and dissertations; and we do not hesitate to affirm, that if the editors preserve any degree of consistency or plan, and illustrate other *classes* of words in the same manner as they have elucidated ἄγαλμα and some others, the magnitude of the entire work will even exceed that which we have assigned to it. Since the former part of this Article was written, the fifth and sixth Numbers of the Thesaurus have been put into our hands; and we observe, that nearly the same proportion between the original work and the new edition, in point of bulk, continues to be maintained; for page 127 of Stephens answers to page 1346 of Valpy.

The editors profess to give Stephens entire, and truly we think that he deserved it at their hands. But they have made a great many alterations in the text of the original work, all of which do not seem to be warrantable. For instance, under the head Ἄγγελος, Stephens says, [Composita sunt Αὐτάγγελος, Διάγγελος, Ἐξάγγελος. Dicitur autem] Αὐτάγγελος Qui sibi nuntius est, &c. The words between brackets are entirely omitted in the new edition. In the next article, the words 'αὐτάγγελοι, inquit Hesychius, ἑαυτοῖς χρώμενοι ἀγγέλοις,' are omitted, as a part of the original observation of Stephens, and the quotation from Hesychius is given in a remark of Schaefer's; and so the instance from Thucydides, Book III. is treated.

In page 15. (338. 339.) the editors have transposed the articles 'Ἄγγελος pro ἄγγελμα' and 'Ἀγγελική, saltatio quædam,' and materially altered the words of Stephens in the last mentioned article, which are these: 'Ἀγγελική, saltatio quædam, quæ inter pocula exercebatur.

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exercebatur. Athen. lib. xiv. Καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δὲ πάροινον ἠκρίβουν ὄρχησιν. Hesychius autem habet, ἀγγελίη, ὄρχησίς τις παροίνιος.' In the new edition it stand thus: ''Αγγελικὴ, ῆς, ἡ. Saltatio quædam, quæ inter pocula exercebatur. Hesych. 'Αγγελίη· ὄρχησίς τις παροίνιος.' And then the quotation from Athenæus is given as a part of the editor's additional remarks. But this is not reprinting Stephens; nor is it doing him justice. If any alterations were to be made in his disposition of the words, and in his own observations upon them, it would surely have been better to new model the whole Thesaurus, and to desert Stephens at once. As it is, we are ready to allow, that these innovations are to be attributed to the plan which the editors have followed, rather than to carelessness on their part. It was hardly possible to fulfil their own notions and yet adhere to Stephens.

We have another deviation to remark. It is usual with Stephens to print the primitive, which stands at the head of a whole class, in large capitals: the words which seem to have a common origin with it, but are not regularly formed from it, are printed in smaller capitals; those words which are directly deducible from it, in a larger kind of *litteræ minusculæ*, and the verbs and compounds in a smaller type. For instance, ΑΓΚΩΝ. ΑΓΚΑΛΗ. 'Αγκοινή. 'Αγκαπίζομαι, Εὐάγκαλος. The present editors have only one size of capitals and one of the smaller character. As Stephens, however, is not quite uniform in his practice, and perhaps studied ornament more than distinctness in this variety, we do not think this deviation of very material consequence. Nor do we find much fault with the inconstancy which is observable in the abbreviations of proper names; it is, however, a blemish to the work. Thus the same man is at one time Kuster and at another Kust. Xenophon, Xenoph. and Xen. Hemster. and Hemst. Plutarch and Plut. Hesych. and Hes. This, we suppose, is attributable to the different MSS. from which the numerous additions are taken; but it indicates precipitancy on the part of the publishers.

The Editors have of course availed themselves of the lexicons of Damm on Homer, and Pindar, of Biel on the Septuagint, and of Schleusner on the New Testament. But they should have inserted either more or less. They should either have incorporated the whole of the lexicons, which would have superseded the necessity of two references, or they should have briefly extracted the most material remarks. But the fact seems to have been, that in making their extracts from Schleusner, and other works of the same kind, the Editors have made more use of the scissors than of the pen; and if they had employed that useful edge-tool with as much discretion and judgment as our great English lexicographer

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pher exercised, in cutting out the quotations for his dictionary, we should not have objected to a plan, which undoubtedly spares trouble both to the author and the printer. But in point of fact, the accumulation and tacking together of so many shreds of paper, have produced great prolixity and confusion. At other times the Editors neglect these lexicons, and make no extracts from them in places, where they ought to have been quoted at length. For instance, the word Ἀγαπή is dismissed with the following brief and insufficient notice;

'Ἀγαπή, ης, ἡ. Dilectio. Caritas. (Amor. Benevolentia.) Plut. Sympos. vii. (6. T. viii. p. 835.) Ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀγνῶτα κομιδῆ καὶ ἀσυνήθη βαδίζειν, ἂν μή τις ᾖ διαφέρων ἀρετῇ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τοῦτο φιλίας ποιησόμενος ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀγάπης. ὧν τὸ ῥᾳδίως καὶ ἀφελῶς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν ἑτέρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. [Ἀγαπήσων recte scripsit Wyttenbachius sola sententiæ auctoritate pro vulgato ἀγάπης· ὧν. Sic et Reiskius conjecerat. 2 Reg. xiii. 15. Ὅτι μέγα τὸ μῖσος ὃ ἐμίσησεν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἠγάπησεν αὐτήν. Plura vide in Schleusneri Lex.]

Now in the first place Wyttenbach's correction might have been more concisely mentioned; and there was no occasion to give the quotation from the Septuagint, where the word ἀγαπή is used in its common signification. But the Editors omit, not only the important distinction of Schleusner, 'Ἀγαπή. *amor, benevolentia, amicitia,* tam prout est animi habitus, quam prout actu exercetur,' but also five significations, which he assigns to the word, as used in the New Testament; viz. 1. Studium aliorum commodis inserviendi. 2. Omne documentum amoris. 3. Studium intensum et acre alicujus rei. 4. Omnia officia alteri præstanda. 5. Ille ipse qui est benevolo et amico erga alios animo. (abstractum pro concreto.)' And his explanation of the ἀγαπαί, or love-feasts, instead of being added, as usual, to the article of Stephens, is, for no reason that we can perceive, thrust down into a note.

In the same column we meet with another instance of the bad taste of the present Editors, in swelling to a needless size observations upon the most unimportant words.

'Ἀμφαγαπάω, Deamo, valde Amo, Carissimum habeo, περισσῶς ἀγαπῶ, præpositione ἀμφὶ augente significationem. Poeticum est. Hesiodi Opp. (i. 58.) Ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες [Ab Hesiodo sumsit Tryphiodorus v. 135. a G. Wakefieldio in MSS. laudatus: Τρῶες ἀταρβήτοιο θεής ἀπατήνορα τέχνην Ἴλιον ἐισανάγωσιν, ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες]. Hesych. tamen ἀμφαγαπῶντες exponit simpliciter ἀσπαζόμενοι, i. e. amplectentes. Vide Ἀμφαγαπαζόμενος. [Etym. M. p. 88, 33. Ἀμφαγαπῶντες· ἠγοῦν περιθάλποντες, περισσῶς ἀγαπῶντες. Hymnus Homericus in Cererem v. 439. a Schaefero in MS. indicatus: Πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε κόρην Δημήτερος ἁγνήν. Sed recte Matthiæus post Mitscherlisch. versum hunc tanquam spurium ejiciendum monuit.]

Now the quotation from such an author as Tryphiodorus is obviously needless; his authority and that of Hesiod are but one. If Matthiæ, and the gentleman with ten consonants in his name, did right in ejecting a spurious verse from the Hymn to Ceres, the Editors did wrong in quoting it as an authority. The whole article might have stood thus;—

'Αμφαγαπάω. Deamo, valde Amo, Carissimum habeo, περισσῶς ἀγαπῶ [Etymol. M. p. 88, 33.] præpositione ἀμφὶ augente significationem. Poeticum est. Hesiod. Opp. 1. 58. Ἐὺ κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες. [unde Tryphiod. 135.] Hesych. tamen ἀμφαγαπῶντες exponit simpliciter ἀσπαζόμενοι, i. e. amplectentes.

All that is more than this is superfluous, and therefore hurtful; because it increases the bulk and expensiveness of the work, and needlessly distracts the attention of the student. A lexicon is not the place for critical discussions. The best readings should be quoted; and if the Editor thinks fit to adopt a reading, different from that of the edition which he uses of an author, he may as briefly as possible state his reasons. But we would ask the most partial admirer of *dissertating*, whether he would expect to find such a specimen of it as the following, in a Greek lexicon under the word Αγαίομαι?

' Archilochi Fragm. X. p. 291. ed. Gaisf. Οὔ μοι τὰ Γυγίεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, οὐδ' ἐλέ πω με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι Θεῶν ἔργα.—Ad sensum explicandum plane faciunt illa Horatiana Ep. i. 6. 1. ad Numicium:—" Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, Solaque quæ possit facere ac servare beatum. Hunc solem et stellas, et decedentia certis Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla imbuti spectant. Quid censes munera terræ? Quid, maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos? Ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis?" Hæc adeo cum illis Archilochiis consentiunt, ut Horatius, dum hæc scribebat, ea in animo habuisse videatur. Habes ibi τῶν θεῶν ἔργα, hic et solem et stellas, etc.; ibi divitias Gygæ, hic Arabum et Indorum; ibi honores et potentiam tyrannorum, hic honores a Quiritibus collatos. Virum igitur animi constantis et ita compositi se prædicat his versibus Archilochus, ut affectu admirationis, hujusque comitum, invidiæ, cupiditatis, et timoris non perturbetur, neque, si quid melius sua spe videt, defixis oculis, ut idem Horatius ait, animoque et corpore torpescat." Liebelius ad Archilochi Fragm. p. 61. An recte verba Θεῶν ἔργα, intelligat vir doctus, viderint alii. Certe G. Wakefieldius Sylv. Crit. ii. p. 51. a Schaefero in MSS. indicatus, ea aliter interpretatus est—' Act. Apost. vii. 20. ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ. i. e. *Exceedingly comely*. Sic Θεῶν σόφισμα Eurip. Phœn. 899. et Theocr. i. 32. Θεῶν δαίδαλμα, i. e. Divini plane Artificis, ut locutus est Theocriti interpres optimus, Cœlatum divini opus Alcimedontis. Neque aliter Archilochus quam de picturis et imaginibus, summo artificio elaboratis, debet accipi, quæ solis divitibus solent contingere. Ex quibus patebit quam infauste Moses Solanus mutare velit Lucian. de Parasito sect. 58.

Huc

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Huc facit Horat. l. c. I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus, æraque et artes Suscipe'—meaning, we suppose, *Suspice.*

But of what consequence is it to the student who looks into his Thesaurus for the meaning of Ἀγαίομαι, to know, whether Moses du Soul was right or wrong in his correction of Lucian, or to be pestered with all the nonsense which Mr. Ignace Liebel* has written, not upon ἀγαίομαι, but upon a passage in which ἀγαίομαι occurs?

We are aware that we have to apologize to our readers for wasting so much valuable paper upon these uninteresting extracts; but we were desirous of giving one or two specimens, taken at random from the first page which we turned over, of the enormous rate at which the editors are trifling with the time and money of their subscribers. It really seems as if the encouragement they have met with had filled them with such a lively sense of gratitude, and such a desire to gratify their kind patrons, that they have determined to make the Thesaurus literally a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, a book to be purchased for ever, a cyclic library, a publication at once periodical and perennial; compiled, as they themselves say, 'not for the present generation only, but for posterity also.' —Insere, Daphni, pyros, carpent tua poma nepotes!—an heirloom, to be bequeathed in some such clause as the following: '*Item.* I give and bequeath to my dear son, A. B. all those thirty-three volumes in folio, entitled, A New and improved edition of Stephens's Thesaurus, being so much of the said work as has been yet published; also I hereby devise to him and to his heirs for ever, all my right and title in the remaining twenty or more volumes of the said work, upon condition of his or their paying, from time to time, the sum of two pounds two shillings, lawful money of Great Britain, for each number as it shall come out.' In short, to use the words of a judicious and elegant panegyrist in the Literary Gazette, 'we cannot help strongly advising such as may see this notice, and do not yet subscribe, not to pass by this

* We have a right to say this of any man, who undertakes to publish the fragments of a Greek poet, and tacks to the end of his book Greek verses of his own, faulty both in syntax, prosody and accent; for instance—

Ναπολέοντος καὶ Λοδοΐκης Γάμος·
Ἄρης Ναπολέων γαμεῖ Ἀγλαΐαν Λοδοΐκην
Πάντων, ὃς μὲν ὅπλοις, κάλλει ἡ δὲ κρατεῖ.

which we translate, for the benefit of the ladies, into verses, somewhat better and more correct than the original.

The Marriage of Napoleon and Louisa.
Napoleon, alias Mars, the mighty Cæsar,
Aglaia takes to wife, to wit Louisa.
Of all mankind, in high or low degree,
The topmost; he in arms, in beauty she.

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opportunity of drawing into their family, at a price comparatively trifling, (when it is recollected that the price of the old edition, small paper, had got up to 75*l*.) what might serve as an invaluable heir-loom to their posterity's posterity'!

We have further to observe, that a great portion of the critical extracts, which are inserted at full length in the Thesaurus, are taken from works in the possession of every scholar. Unless the editors intended to make their book a *corpus philologicum*, so complete as to supersede the necessity of all other critical works, they ought not to have increased the bulk of their volumes with huge notes from such common books as Valckenaer's Theocritus. For instance, in p. 10. of the Thesaurus, they detail nearly the whole of that long *Digressio a Theocriteis* on the intensive power of ἀ, whereas all that was necessary was to give a simple list of the words, in which ἀ seems to exert this power, with a reference to Valckenaer's dissertation; more particularly since it is, after all, very doubtful, whether the *vis intensiva* τοῦ ἀ be not a fiction of the grammarians: that it is so, seems to be the opinion of the acute and learned Porphyry in his Quæstiones Homericæ; and Mr. Kidd has, in our opinion, successfully explained away the instances which Valckenaer has adduced.

We are not disposed to enter at length into a consideration of the original criticisms which the editors have inserted; but we cannot forbear from noticing the most extraordinary confession which they have made, in a defence of themselves against the remarks of Mr. Hermann, who has intermixed a few trivial objections, extorted from him by a sense of decency, amongst several pages of the most fulsome and unsupported (although, we doubt not, unbought) panegyric.* 'In concluding, the Editors would remark, that *all* the criticisms in their work are to be considered as *autoschediastic*,' (a much nicer word than *extemporaneous*, or *off-hand*,) 'because, as soon as they are finished, they are despatched to the press, and *that* very little opportunity is afforded to them of correcting those errors, and supplying those defects, which a *leisurely* and careful revision *could not fail* to discover.' A pretty consolation to the purchasers of a work, in which, if in any, extreme care and accuracy are required, to be told, that the editors are sensible that there are errors and defects in their remarks, but that they have no time to revise them! If they cannot find leisure to consider their own observations, much less can it

* Mr. Hermann and his school never miss an opportunity of lavishing their censure on Porson, and on those English scholars, whom they facetiously enough term Porson's disciples; while, on the other hand, it is a sufficient title to their esteem to flatter the German critics at the expense of the English.

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be in their power to weigh and compare the discordant opinions of other critics, and to pronounce a decisive judgment upon those questions of philology which the student expects to find authoritatively settled in a work of this nature. This confession opens to us the true state of the case, and makes it sufficiently evident, that the Editors are proceeding without any certain plan, except that of printing in the Thesaurus all that has been said pro and con about every word, and that too, without giving themselves time to consider, which of many different opinions is the true one. Yet they tell us, that—

'they are criticised with the same severity, as if they had expressly undertaken, what they did not undertake, to give a perfect Lexicon; as if they possessed, what they do not possess, unlimited resources in books and money; as if they could command, what they cannot command, all the time requisite for the undertaking; as if they had secured, what they have not secured, subscribers disposed, one and all, to wait with silent patience the slow progress of the work.'

A most extraordinary apology! If the Editors *had* undertaken to give a perfect Lexicon, we should have set them down as arrogant and ignorant pretenders. But they certainly did undertake to give a Lexicon as nearly perfect as the circumstances of the case would admit of; and we defy them to say that they have done this, or any thing like it. They *did* possess unlimited resources in books; not in their own libraries perhaps, but in the public repositories of literature. It is never a valid excuse for any scholar to say, that he did not consult this or that book. The answer is, he ought to have done so; and if we are told that this would have demanded a greater expenditure of time and money; we reply, that we would rather wait longer, and pay more, for a good book, than have a bad one immediately at less expense; and we venture to answer for the subscribers, *one and all*, that they would have preferred waiting for some years, till the editors should have collected their materials, and digested their plan, to the speedy publication of an ill-arranged and confused mass of information; just as, if we were in want of a residence, we should collect all our building materials, and take the opinion of an experienced architect, and endeavour to combine symmetry and comfort in the projected edifice, even if the delay of a few years should intervene; rather than build a room or two, as soon as we had got together a few bricks and joists and planks, and afterwards add two or three apartments yearly, without any previous plan. As to the confusion and want of arrangement, of which we have complained, the learned editors very coolly observe, 'that the scholar, having easily obtained from the Index, the information required, will scarcely stop to consider why it was

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put in this or that place, but will be, *or ought to be*, thankful that it was put *anywhere*'! To resume our parallel, this is much as if an architect, to whose judgment and taste we had confided the planning and erecting of our house, should place the kitchen in the attic story, and make a water-closet the vestibule to our withdrawing room, and then should tell us, 'My good sir, these are very necessary and comfortable parts of your house; instead of quarrelling with their situation, you ought to be very thankful that I have put them anywhere.'

Many symptoms occur, besides those which we have already noticed, of the haste and want of consideration with which the editors have proceeded. Of these we shall notice only a few, of various kinds. We have before remarked one species of inconsistency of which the editors are guilty, in their abbreviations of authors' names; another fault, of greater importance, is the manner in which they quote the titles of works; for instance, in page 96, we find one of the imperfect lexicons, published by Mr. Bekker, mentioned with its title at full length, Συναγωγὴ λεξέων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν in Bekkeri Anecd. Gr. t. i. p. 334.; while, in another place, we find the same lexicon quoted without any title, except 'Bekkeri Anecd. Gr. t. i. p. 335.' and in a third place, it is called 'Grammaticus S. Germ.;' in page 119. it is twice quoted within five lines, with its full length title; but in page 137 we find Συναγ. Λέξ. χρησ.; in page 143 it appears again at full length; and in page 145. Συναγωγὴ Λεξέων χρησίμων. All this bespeaks great haste and inattention.

P. 327. Ἀγαλματοποιητικὸς, ἡ, ὸν, Conficiens statuas. It should be, 'ad statuarum confectionem pertinens,' which meaning is rightly assigned to ἀγαλματουργικός.

P. 330. Ἀγαλματοτυπής. This word, the editors inform us, is contracted from ἀγαλματοτυπής, as χαρίεις from χαριτόεις, χαριδότης from χαριτοδότης, &c. and then we have a long discussion about χάρις and χάρα, having nothing to do with ἀγαλματοτυπής. It appears to us much more probable, that all these words are formed from the nominative or accusative case, and not from the genitive. We must here take the liberty of expostulating with Sir Home Popham and the first Lord of the Admiralty, for having given to the telegraphic machine, invented by that gallant officer, the barbarous name of *Semaphore*, instead of *Sematophore* or *Semophore*—either of them ugly enough. We may expect, about fifty years hence, to find the word Σημαφόρος put down in the 199th number (as near as we can guess) of the Thesaurus, with a reference to 'Pophamii Tactica.'

P. 355. We have the word Χαράγγελος, without any interpretation; and at the end of the article, which is twenty-one columns removed

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removed from the word Ἄγγελος, we find the following remark; 'Obiter ex J. Seageri MSS. monemus ἄγγελος etiam de fœmina (femina) dici, ut Eurip. Androm. 82.' A remark not only out of place, but perfectly useless, since we had in page 334, 'Ἄγγελος, ου, ὁ, ἡ, Nuntius, Nuntia,' of which latter meaning the editors themselves give three instances from Homer. It is clear therefore, that when they set down Mr. Seager's remark in its wrong place, they did not take the trouble of referring to their own article upon the word itself.

P. 364. Ἀγγελία. Elocutio, sensu rhetorico. It is not 'elocutio,' but 'narratio.'

P. 365. Ἀγγέλιος is given as a Greek word, on the authority of Hesiod, Ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλασσης; but the editors remark, that the true reading is ἀγγελίης, as in the best editions; yet ἀγγέλιος they say, is a true Greek word, because there was a bishop of that name in the reign of Valens. (He is called, however, by Socrates the historian, Ἄγελλιος, which was probably his true name.) By the same process of reasoning we might be led to admit into the Thesaurus all proper names; and yet we do not find that the editors have noticed Εὐάγριος, or Πυθάγγελος, or many others. For ourselves, we should be disposed to give all proper names: we only notice the present instance, as a proof of that want of consistency of which we complain.

P. 369. Εὐαγγέλια, plurali numero, Sacrificium ob lætum [s. rei feliciter gestæ] nuntium. This word is given as the plural from Εὐαγγέλιον, whereas it is the neuter plural of the adjective Εὐαγγέλιος, which is set down in page 370. Εὐαγγέλια θύειν, as διαβατήρια θύειν, and the like.

P. 370. Εὐαγγελίζω et Εὐαγγελίζομαι stand at the head of one article; and, in page 372, Εὐαγγελίζειν et εὐαγγελίζεσθαι at the head of another. We do not understand why these verbs are given in the indicative mood in one case, and in the infinitive in the other.

P. 68. Ἀνταγανακτέω. 'Vicissim indignor, Eus. P. E. p. 254.' G. Wakefieldius in MSS. Upon which we have the following note. 'Annon intelligi debet Euseb. Præf. Evang.? Sed nobis hæc scribentibus liber ad manum non est.' Without intending to derogate from the praise of ingenuity which is due to the editor for this happy conjecture, we cannot help remarking, that Mr. Valpy might have settled the question by referring to a very common book, which twenty libraries, within his reach, would have supplied him with.

P. 374. Ἀναγγελία, Designatio. J. Poll. viii. 139. de legatis, Τὰ πράγματα, ἀναγόρευσις, ἀνακήρυξις, ἀνάρρησις, ἀναγγελία. Marmor

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antiquum ap. Koen. ad Greg. Cor. p. 618. ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΙΑΣ (sic duabus literis, ut videtur, male repetitis, pro ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ, quod deinde recurrit) ΤΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ (ΕΠΙ) ΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΙΣ. E Chandleri Inscript. 22. affert Schneider. in Add. ad Lex. p. 686. Æschyli Prom. 682. Ἦκον δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους Χρησμοὺς, ἀσήμους δυσκρίτως τ' εἰρημένους.

Now, in the first place, nothing can be less like the meaning of Ἀναγγελία than 'Designatio.'—When ambassadors returned with an answer to the proposals which they had carried out, their report was termed *ἀναγγελία*. When a crown was awarded to one who had deserved well of the state, the decree was proclaimed in the theatre, and this proclamation was called *ἀναγγελία*. Secondly, why the passage of Æschylus is quoted here, and not under the verb *ἀναγγέλλω*, we are unable to discover.

Ibid. Ἀνάγγελτος, ὁ, ἡ. 'Silentio suppressus.' This is the only interpretation given by the editors, who immediately quote from Hesychius a gloss of Heliodorus, in which the word signifies *nuntiatus;* and this is the only authority given for it. We have next a note of Villoison's, which to all appearance is about *ἀνάγγελτος*, but, upon examination, it turns out to refer to *ἀνάπυστος*.

P. 375. Ἀναγγελίζω is given as a Greek word upon the authority of an inscription, Δοκιμάσουσι καὶ ἀναγγελιοῦσιν ἐν ἀλίᾳ. The true reading probably is *ἀναγγελεοῦσιν*. We do not understand why inscriptions are sometimes given in capital letters and sometimes in the small characters.

P. 381. Under the head Ἀπάγγελσις, which is not interpreted nor explained, nor indeed has one word said about it, we have first, a list of words ending in *σις*. Now the word Ἀντιπεπόνθησις happens to be mentioned by Spitzner in his book on Greek heroic verse; and at the end of the same book is a dissertation of a Mr. Friedemann on the middle syllable of the Greek pentameter, in which Ἰτωνίς, a name of Minerva, is mentioned; accordingly the editors give us half a column about this epithet, which they tell us *ought* to have been given in page 318. And then, because the subject of omissions is on the carpet, they give us another half-column about ἄσχημος and εὔσχημος, which is to be added to their dissertation in page 329. And all this is tacked on to Ἀπάγγελσις, so that we have here an actual instance of a long article, at the head of which stands a word, that is never again mentioned, nor any where explained. All this is perfectly inexcusable. If the editors thought it necessary to make additions to their former observations, they ought to have reserved them for an appendix, and not to have foisted them

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them in under words, with which they have not the remotest connexion; and in places, where no student would think of looking for them. The Thesaurus is a book not to be read through, but to be consulted as occasion requires; and one indispensable requisite is, that every thing should be in its proper place. This rule is altogether neglected by the present editors; nothing can be more disorderly or irregular than the way in which their information is thrown together; the book is a perfect chaos, a hodge-podge of Greek.

The editors are generally very unfortunate in their attempts to explain Greek phrases by corresponding English terms. For instance, in page 395, we have a passage from Aristophanes, Lys. 1049. Ἀλλ' ἐπαγγελλέτω Πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ, Εἴτις ἀργυρίδιον Δεῖται λαβεῖν, &c. where they observe, Anglice dixeris, *To command my best services*, which is totally unlike the real meaning of Ἐπαγγέλλειν. In page 394. the words of Thucydides, στρατιὰν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους, are rendered, *Ordering allies, in conformity to treaties, to furnish the necessary supplies*, instead of *giving notice to the allies to furnish their quota of troops.*

In p. 404. we have the following remark. 'Thucyd. viii. 10. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπηγγέλθησαν γαρ· ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά.' 'Hoc Valla et Port. referunt ad τὰ Ἴσθμια, et sic Schol. Cod. Cass. qui ad hæc verba adnotat, αἱ σπονδαὶ δηλονότι. Steph. et Acacius ad οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, et Steph. vertit, Denuntiatum vel indictum erat Atheniensibus, ut adessent.' Duker, Utro modo verba acceperis, parum refert: αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, *The celebration of the festival had been formally proclaimed;* οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπηγγέλθησαν, *The Athenians had been summoned to attend.*' αἱ σπονδαί cannot mean 'the celebration of the festival', but 'the truce', which sense of the passage the editors entirely overlook in their version; and as to their *parum refert*, the truth is that it does matter a great deal; their first interpretation cannot be true; for if the verb had been referred to τὰ Ἴσθμια, it would have been in the singular, as in the first part of the sentence, τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο—ἐπηγγέλθη γάρ.

These inadvertencies, which we are willing to ascribe to haste, occur within the first few pages which we chanced to open. Probably the proportion may be less in the following numbers; indeed it is hardly possible that the editors should not improve as they proceed: but the want of care and consideration which is observable in the first numbers, is sufficient to detract very materially from the value and utility of the entire work, even if the remaining portion of it should be executed with greater skill and accuracy. Of its most important defects we have produced only a very few specimens; but we can assure our readers that, upon inspecting

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inspecting the work itself, they will find all these defects existing to a far greater extent than even our animadversions might lead them to suppose.

We have been sincerely unwilling to dwell with minuteness upon the failure of an undertaking, the arduousness of which can be appreciated only by a few: but we are compelled to observe, that in proportion to its difficulty, the caution and diligence of the editors ought to have been great and exemplary: and considering the probable extent of the work, its expensiveness, and the certainty of its precluding any other attempt to publish an improved Thesaurus, we think that they were bound in honour and justice to spare no expense of time and labour, which might enable them to satisfy the reasonable expectations of the subscribers and the public. To this end it was undoubtedly their duty, to mark out for themselves a well defined and intelligible plan of proceeding; to submit it to the learned world for their approbation or correction, with a specimen of the execution; to collect their materials beforehand; to select, to incorporate, and to arrange, omitting whatever was superfluous; to study the utmost possible conciseness, precision, and distinctness; never to distract or to perplex the mind of the student by a tissue of irrelevant and incoherent remarks, nor by an enumeration of discordant opinions; but to present him with information at once decisive and satisfactory, in the most compendious form, with clear references to the sources from which it was derived. We are sorry to observe, that the mode of proceeding, which has been adopted by the present editors, is the very reverse of all this. Their plan seems to have been, from the very first, uncertain and undefined; the outlines of it were never laid before the public; the materials seem to be collected as they proceed, and to be thrown together without the least regard for arrangement or perspicuity; insomuch that it is frequently necessary to hunt in three or four different places for information respecting a single word; while, on the other hand, a discussion on one word is made to embrace dissertations on twenty or thirty other words: there are no traces of an attempt at selection; nothing is omitted, nothing is abridged nor epitomized, conciseness is lost sight of, indistinctness and confusion pervade the whole work. All this is the more to be regretted, because the editors are by no means wanting in erudition, nor deficient in materials for this great undertaking; these indeed they possess in such abundance, that with an ordinary share of discretion, and judgment, and patience, they might have constructed a Thesaurus, which should have been, what the present never can be, a complete and systematic body of philology, a well-furnished storehouse of sound criticism, and of valuable information

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formation upon every subject connected with Greek literature. As it is, they have thrown together brick and stone, marble and rubbish, in a kind of Cyclopean masonry, without cement or clamp, massive indeed and ponderous, but unshaped and inelegant; a striking monument of ill-directed labour, but unserviceable for the purposes of common life.

We must not omit to remark, that the editors manifest a commendable impartiality in their quotations from contemporary scholars, although they are disposed to speak in somewhat exalted terms of their own decrees. Mr. E. H. Barker is generally understood to be the chief, if not the sole, conductor of the present work; and we could therefore have dispensed with such expressions as 'vide omnino nos in *Classical Recreations*'—'Recte E. H. Barker in Epistola Critica ad Thomam Gaisford,'—'Errasse virum doctissimum ostendit E. H. Barker,'—'Porsoni errorem notavit E. H. Barker.'

Our general opinion of the new Thesaurus may be collected from the foregoing remarks, the length of which is only to be justified by the consideration, that the reputation of our country for classical learning is materially involved in this great undertaking: a still more important consideration is, that it effectually precludes all hope of a more perfect and useful Thesaurus. New editions of Stephens had been for some years preparing in Germany and France, which have since been relinquished; and the materials collected for them poured, as Mr. Dibdin elegantly expresses it, in his Bibliomania, 'almost voluntarily, as well as absolutely, into the capacious reservoir of A. J. Valpy.' The present editors have spared no expense; their research has been indefatigable, and their own reading very extensive; but they should have taken time and advice. We are told that 'they have, for their director and guide, the first and most accomplished scholar in the kingdom.' That the eminent scholar, here alluded to, was consulted in the first instance, and gave his sanction to the undertaking, we have no reason to doubt; but we venture to assert, from the opinion which we entertain of his profound learning and chastised judgment, that he neither does nor can approve of the execution of the work. It is quite clear that he is neither their director nor their guide, because Mr. Barker himself acknowledges that the work is 'autoschediastic,' and that he has not time to revise even his own observations. Mr. Dibdin, with his usual felicity of phrase, talks of the editors, as having 'entrusted to their *conduct* a monument more lasting than brass:' more lasting indeed it is likely to be, as we have already shown; and we should not be surprized if it were to outlast not only the brass, but the gold, as well as the lives of the subscribers.

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The execution of the work, in point of typography, is upon the whole deserving of praise; and does credit to Mr. Valpy's accuracy, and to the care of the corrector; the printing from so many different MSS and scraps of paper must be very trying to the patience and skill of the compositor and reviser.

The magnitude of the present work forbids us to hope for a more accurate and useful Thesaurus of the Greek language. It would be vain to expect an equal number of subscribers to any similar undertaking. But what we do hope to see executed is, a copious Greek and English Lexicon, alphabetically arranged, after the plan of Schneider's book, which we have more than once referred to; but on a more extended scale. A great deal of the difficulty, which the Greek language presents to the youthful student, is to be attributed to the circumstance of the best dictionaries, and most of the best grammars being written in Latin; a language, into which it is impossible to transfuse the spirit, or the idiomatic peculiarities of the Greek; and in itself more difficult of acquirement. With respect to grammars, we have no longer any reason to complain, while we possess, in our vernacular tongue, the very useful Greek grammar of Dr. Valpy, and the more copious and elaborate performance of Matthiæ. A Lexicon, such as we have described, was undertaken by a gentleman, whose promise of literary excellence was cut off by an early death.

We have been informed that a similar work has been undertaken by the author of a Greek grammar, which he was pleased to term *philosophical*, but which undoubtedly was not philological; and unless he has greatly improved in his perception of the genius of the language, and in his acquaintance with its writers, we augur but little good of his enterprize.

In taking leave of the editors of this enlarged Thesaurus, we once more assure them, that we have great respect for their zeal, perseverance, and research, but little or none for their judgment or taste. We have selected for reprehension only the most prominent defects of the work; and how little soever they may relish the impartiality of criticism, yet if the effect of these remarks should be to make them exercise a sounder discretion, a maturer deliberation, a more discriminating judgment, we shall have deserved well, not only of the eleven hundred subscribers, but, as far as their reputation is concerned, of the editors themselves.

Art. III.—1. *Dictionnaire Infernal; ou Recherches et Anecdotes sur les Démons, les Esprits, les Fantômes, les Spectres, les Revenans, les Loup-garoux, les Possédés, les Sorciers, les Sabbats, les Magiciens, les Salamandres, les Sylphes, les Gnomes, les*

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les Visions, les Songes, les Prodiges, les Charmes, les Maléfices, les Secrets merveilleux, les Talismans, &c. &c. &c. Par J. A. S. Colin de Plancy. 2 vols. Paris, 1818.

2. *Histoire de la Magie en France depuis le commencement de la Monarchie, jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. Jules Garinet. Paris. 1819.
3. *Danske Folkesagn, samlede af* J. M. Thiele. Copenhagen. 1818.
4. *Deutsche Sagen, herausgegeben von den Brüdern* Grimm. 2 vols. Berlin. 1816—18.
5. *Des Deutschen Mittelalters, Volksglauben und Heroensagen,* von L. F. von Dobeneck. Berlin. 1815.
6. *Tales of the Dead, principally Translated from the French.*

TALES of supernatural agency are not read to full advantage except in the authors by whom they are first recorded. When treated by moderns, much of their original character must necessarily evaporate; like tombs, which lose their venerable sanctity when removed from the aisles of a cathedral, and exposed in a museum. We reason where the writers of former days believed, and the attention of the reader is riveted by the earnestness of their credulity. Besides which, the very outward appearance of their volumes diffuses a quiet charm. Before us is now lying the 'Malleus Maleficarum,' as printed on the eve of Saint Katharine, Queen, Virgin and Martyr, in the last decennary of the fifteenth century; the mellow tint of its pages, the full glossy black letter, the miniated capitals, the musky odour of the binding, all contribute to banish the present busy world, and to revive the recollection of the monastic library from whence it has wandered. And once within the cloistered precinct, we are reluctant to doubt the veracity of that grave friar, the venerable Henry Institor, seated at his desk in the sunny oriel, and devoutly employed in describing the terrific Sabbath of Satan and the nocturnal flights and orgies of his worshippers.

Monsieur Colin de Plancy, who is insensible to these associations, has no respect for preceding demonologists. 'The greater part of the works,' he says, 'which have hitherto been composed upon superstitions, are only ridiculous heaps of folly, or imperfect compilations, or cold and imperfect discussions:' and with true French emphasis he proceeds to boast, that in the work before us —'il s'est proposé d'épargner au lecteur la peine de feuilleter des milliers de volumes.'—Monsieur Colin, however, does not make good the promises held forth either in his preface or in his diffuse title-page, at least his compilation contains a great deal of spurious lore which is sadly calculated to deceive the student of the occult sciences. We are quite sure that the most attentive perusal of the 'Infernal Dictionary' will never enable any philomath, however intelligent

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telligent and well-starred he may be, to take a bachelor's degree in the Black Art at Dom Daniel College, or to put his soul in peril in the far-famed caverns of Toledo.

Monsieur Jules Garinet intimates that his work has peculiar claims on the public attention, 'the moment,' as he says, 'being arrived when all false doctrines, both in religion and in politics, must give way to truth.' M. Jules says a good word in favour of M. Colin, whose Dictionary, according to him, 'comes recommended by the purity of the views and the extensive researches of the writer;' 'but being compelled to compress every thing relating to infernal intercourse within two volumes, he has only treated the subject in a cursory way.' 'This deficiency,' says M. Jules, 'I intend to supply, at least so far as relates to France.' But he is somewhat more faulty than his predecessor; for under the title of the 'History of Magic,' he has only given a loose outline of the history of witchcraft, thus confounding two branches of the profession, which, as every tyro knows, are essentially distinct from each other. The two German books are more instructive. M. Dobeneck is diligent and excursive, though not critical. With the literary character of Messrs. Grimm, our readers are already in some measure acquainted: it will be easily anticipated that their work is of a different description, and that a collection of tales of popular superstition, which owes its origin to their researches, cannot fail to be solid and trust-worthy. They have, however, thought fit to confine themselves to the text of the legendary stories selected by them; and, to our great regret, those illustrations are not added which their extensive learning qualifies them to bestow upon the 'Deutsche Sagen' or traditions of the ancient Germans. The third of the works enumerated in the title of this Article is compiled after the model furnished by Messrs. Grimm. It is a collection of Danish popular traditions, new and sufficiently interesting. M. Thiele, therefore, deserves our thanks for this contribution from Scandinavia. As to the Tales of the Dead, we must remark that, besides the translations, it contains one original story, so well told, that we hope the fair writer will employ her leisure on the achievements of our own country ghosts instead of presenting us with alien spectres.

When the fables of popular superstition are contemplated in detail, we discover a singular degree of uniformity in that realm wherein most diversity might be expected, in the ideal world. Imagination seems to possess a boundless power of creation and combination; and yet the beings which have their existence only in fancy, when freely called into action, in every climate and every age, betray so close an affinity to one another, that it is scarcely possible to avoid admitting that imagination had little share in giving them their shape and form. Their attributes and character

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are impressed by tokens proving that they resulted rather from a succession of doctrines, than from invention; that they were traditive, and not arbitrary. The vague credulity of the peasant agrees with the systematic mythology of the sages of primæval times. Nations whom the ocean separates, are united by their delusions. The village gossip recognizes, though in ignorance, the divinities of classical antiquity, and the Hamadryads of Greece and the Elves of Scandinavia join the phantoms who swarm around us when, under the guidance of the wizzard, we enter that gloomy dell,—

> ——————— ' where the sad mandrake grows
> Whose groans are deathful, the dead-numbing nightshade,
> The stupifying hemlock, adders tongue,
> And martagan.—The shrieks of luckless owls,
> We hear, and croaking night-crows in the air;
> Green-bellied snakes, blue fire-drakes in the sky,
> And giddy flitter-mice with leather wings,
> And scaly beetles with their habergeons
> That make a humming murmur as they fly.
> There in the stocks of trees white fays do dwell,
> And span-long elves that dance about a pool
> With each a little changeling in their arms:
> The airy spirits play with falling stars,
> And mount the sphere of fire.'

Amidst the evanescent groups whose revels are embodied in the noble lines of the moral dramatist, the Fairies are the most poetical and the most potent; and many theories respecting their origin have been founded on their names. Morgain la fay has been readily identified with Mergian Peri. We may, however, be allowed to observe, that arguments drawn from similarity of sound are frequently convincing without being conclusive. The romance of Merlin describes Morgain as a brunette; in spite, however, of this venerable authority, the fairy dame is evidently *Mor-Gwynn*, the white damsel, corresponding with the white women of ghostly memory, and a true-born child of the Cymry. It is not our wish to dispute about words: we merely object to the inferences drawn from his coincidence, which, united to others of the same class, seem o have given some plausibility to the supposition that the character of the fairy has arisen from the amalgamation of Roman, Celtic, Gothic, and Oriental mythology. We are loth to dissent from an pinion which has been advocated by that mighty master, Walter cott; but the converse of the proposition is the truth. The atibutes have been dispersed and not collected. Fables have radited from a common centre, and their universal consent does not rove their subsequent reaction upon each other, but their common rivation from a common origin.

In

In all discussions connected with ethnography great confusion has arisen from the employment of the terms *Northern* and *European*, *Oriental* and *Asiatic*. Whatever geographers may say, the inland line of demarcation between Europe and Asia is as purely gratuitous as the division between the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and no inconsiderable portion of the generalizations resulting from the usual practice of classing nations as Europeans and Asiatics, and then placing them in apposition or in opposition, is equally unfounded. Denominations so applied add to the embarrassment inseparable from the synthetical history of nations; they should be discarded from our books; man must be classed according to his blood, and not according to his *habitat*. But even these classifications, which are conformable to the varieties into which the human race has been moulded by nature, may tend to confuse our investigations if insisted upon too rigidly. We must not forget that there was a time when all mankind spake one tongue and were gathered together as one family; nor does it matter whether we seek their original seat in the plains of Shinar, or in the mythic regions of the snow-clad Caucasus.

Mythology has not been diffused from nation to nation, but all nations have derived their belief from one primitive system. It is with fable as with language. The dialects of the Hindoo, the Gothic and the Pelasgic tribes betray a constant affinity, but they did not interchange their nomenclatures. Neither did one tribe borrow the religious fictions of the other. Each retained a modification of the belief of the parent stock. The Dewtas of Meru, the warlike forms of Asgard, and the inhabitants of Olympus, all emanated from the thrones and powers which had been worshipped by one mighty and energetic race.—Sabaism announced itself in another mode. But all mythology has been governed by a uniform principle, pervading its creations with plastic energy, and giving an unaltering and unalterable semblance of consistency to the successive developments of error. Divested of its mythic or poetic garb, it will be found that the creative power is the doctrine of fatality. Oppressed by the wretchedness of its nature, without some infallible guide, the human mind shrinks from contemplation, and cowers in its own imbecility; it reposes in the belief of predestination, which enables us to bear up against every misery, and solves those awful doubts which are scarcely less tolerable than misery.—The Gordian knot is cut, and the web is unravelled, when all things are seen subordinate to Fate, to that stern power, which restrains the active intelligences of good and evil, dooming the universe of spirit and of matter to be the battle-field of endless strife between the light and the darkness.—Whether the rites of the 'false religions full of pomp and gold' have been solemnized in the sculptured cavern

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vern or in the resplendent temple, in the shade of the forest, or on the summit of the mountain, still the same lesson has been taught. Men and Gods vainly struggle to free themselves from the adamantine bonds of destiny. The oracle or the omen which declares the impending evil, affords no method of averting it. All insight into futurity proves a curse to those on whom the power descends. We hear the warning which we cannot obey. The gleam of light which radiates athwart the abyss only increases its horror. No gift which the favouring intelligence strives to bestow upon a mortal can be received without an admixture of evil, from which the powerful spirit of beneficence cannot defend it; but neither can the malice of the eternal enemy prevail and triumph; it may scath but not consume.

Upon fatality and the tenet of conflicting power, popular mythology is wholly founded, the basis reappears in every trivial tale of supernatural agency, and the gossip sitting in the chimney nook is embued with all the wisdom of the hierophants of Greece, or the magi of Persia. As the destroying principle appears more active in this lower world, Oromanes has prevailed in popular belief. Orb is involved in orb, the multiplied reflexions become fainter and fainter, the strange and fantastic forms are variously tinted and refracted, some are bright and glorious as the rainbow, others shadowy and grey, yet all turn unto the central image, the personification of the principle of Evil.

The legendary Satan is a being wholly distinct from the theological Lucifer. He is never ennobled by the sullen dignity of the fallen angel. No traces of celestial origin are to be discerned on his brow. He is not a rebellious *Æon* who once was clothed in radiance. But he is the Fiend, the Enemy, evil from all time past in his very essence, foul and degraded, cowardly and impure; his rage is oftenest impotent, unless his cunning can assist his power. He excites fright rather than fear. Hence, wild caprice and ludicrous malice are his popular characteristics; they render him familiar, and diminish the awe inspired by his name; and these playful elements enter into all the ghost and goblin combinations of the evil principle. More, the platonist, did not perceive the psycological fitness of these attributes, and he was greatly annoyed in his lucubrations by the uncouth oddity of the pranks ascribed to goblins and elves; they discomposed the gravity of his arguments, and in order to meet the objections of such reasoners as might venture to suspect that merriment and waggery degraded a spiritual being, he sturdily maintains that 'there are as great fools in the body as there are out of it.' He would not observe that the mythological portrait was consistent in its features. Laughter is foreign to the serenity of beneficence. Angels may weep, but they would forfeit their essence were they to laugh. Mirth, on the contrary, is the consort of concealed

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spite, and if not invariably wicked or mischievous, yet always blending itself readily with wickedness and mischief. Sport, even when intended to be innocent, degrades its object; though the best and wisest of us cannot always resist the temptation of deriving pleasure from the pains which we inflict upon our fellow-creatures by amusing ourselves with their weakness. From this alliance between laughter and malice arose the burlesque malignants whom the mythologists have placed amongst the deities. Such is the Momus of the Greeks, and his counterpart Loki, the attendant of the banquets of Valhalla. And the same idea is again the substance of the Vice of the ancient allegorical drama.

Equally dramatic and poetical is the part allotted to Satan in those ancient romances of religion, the Lives of the Saints: he is the main motive of the action of the narrative, to which his agency gives fulness and effect. But in the conception of the legendary Satan, the belief in his might melts into the ideality of his character. Amidst clouds of infernal vapour, he developes his form, half in allegory and half with spiritual reality:—and his horns, his tail, his saucer eyes, his claws, his taunts, his wiles, his malice, all bear witness to the simultaneous yet contradictory impressions to which the hagiologist is compelled to yield. This confusion is very apparent in the demons introduced by St. Gregory in his Life of St. Benedict. A poet would maintain that they are employed merely as machinery to carry on the holy epic. A monk must believe in them more strongly than in the gospel.

When the saint was once saying his prayers in the oratory of St. John, on Monte Casino, he saw the Devil in the shape of a horse-doctor, but with a horn in one hand and a tether in the other. Satan spoke civilly to St. Benedict, and informed him that he was going to administer a drench to the beasts upon two legs, the fathers of the monastery.* By an interpunctuation the text has been made to import that St. Bennet saw the Devil in the more questionable shape of a doctor of physic, riding, as doctors were wont to do before the introduction of carriages, upon a mule. This has been the favourite reading, and accordingly when the old painters treated the miracle, they usually represented the Devil in the regular medical costume, with a urinal, and a budget full of doctor's stuff behind him. It is hardly necessary to observe, that

* Quadam die, dum ad Beati Johannis oratorium pergeret, ei antiquus Hostis in mulomedici specie obviam factus est.—The vulgar reading, against which Abbot Angelo de Nuce exclaims, points the passage thus,—ei antiquus Hostis in mulo, medici specie obviam factus est.—This may be the true reading, particularly if, as has been conjectured, the dialogues are written by a later Gregory. And after all the whole is taken from the Legend of Saint Melanius, in which it is found nearly in the same words. And the Devil of St. Melanius acknowledged that he was a Doctor to all intents and purposes.

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the Saint did not allow the Devil to do much mischief in his medical capacity.

Another time a complaint was made to St. Benedict respecting the conduct of a monk belonging to one of the affiliated monasteries, who would not or could not pray with assiduity. After praying a little while, he used to walk away and leave the rest of the fraternity at their devotions. Benedict ordered him to be brought to Monte Casino, and when the monk, as usual, became heartily tired of prayer and prepared to go out of the oratory, the saint saw a little black Devil tugging at the skirts of his gown as hard as he could pull, and leading him to the door. 'See ye not who leadeth our brother?' quoth St. Benedict to Father Maurus and Pompeianus, the prior. 'We see nought,' answered they. After two days' prayer, Maurus, who was in training to be a saint, was able to see the little black Devil at the skirts of the monk's gown as clearly as St. Benedict himself; but the imp continued invisible to Pompeianus. On the third day St. Benedict followed the monk out of the oratory and struck him with his staff. He was not sparing, we may suppose, of the baculine exorcism, for after it had been administered, the monk, as we are told by St. Gregory, was never more infested by the little black Devil, and remained always steady at his prayers.

Amongst the innumerable anecdotes and histories of the Devil in the lives of the saints, some are more ludicrous, and, if possible, more trivial, others more picturesque. Saint Anthony saw the Devil with his head towering above the clouds, and stretching out his hands to intercept the souls of the departed in their flight to heaven. According to our modes of thinking we should be apt to consider such representations merely as apologues. But there was an honest confidence in the actual existence of the machinery of devotional romance. The hagiologist told his tale in right earnest: he was teaching matters of faith and edification: and we may be charitable enough to believe that he was persuaded of the truth of his legends. Yet the dullest piety could not peruse them without an obscure though indelible sensation of the affinity between allegorical imagery, and these supposed approaches of the evil one. Obedient devotion thus struggled against the reasoning faculty, which felt the impersonality of the personification, yet without being able to attain either vivid belief in the fiction, or a clear perception of its non-entity. Just as when we dream between watchfulness and slumber; we are conscious that the sounds which we hear and the sights which we see originate wholly from the brain, but our reason refuses to obey our judgment; and we cannot rouse ourselves and think, and shake off the delusion.

Sometimes the Devil is a thorough monkey, and his malice is

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merely playful. Year after year did he lie in wait for the purpose of defeating the piety of Saint Gudula. Manifold were the assaults to which her virgin frailty was exposed. But all were vain. At length he summoned up all his power for one grand effort. It was the custom of this noble and pious maiden to rise at cock-crowing, and to go to church to say her prayers, her damsel walking before her with a lantern. What did the author of all malice now do? . . . . . he put out the candle! The Saint set it a-light again, not by any vulgar method, but by her prayers. And this is her standard miracle. The relation in the legend is a wonderful and almost unparalleled specimen of bombast and bathos, and as such we give a specimen of it below.* The Devil also appears to be a very thoughtless devil. Once, whilst St. Martin was saying mass, St. Britius, whose name hath retained a place in the protestant calendar, officiated as deacon, and behind the altar he espied the Devil busily employed in writing down on a slip of parchment, as long as a proctor's bill, all the sins which the congregation were actually committing. Now St. Martin's congregation were any thing but serious; they buzzed and giggled, and the men looked upwards, and the women did not look down, and were guilty of so many transgressions, that the Devil soon filled one whole side of his parchment with short-hand notes from top to bottom, and was forced to turn it. This side was also soon covered with writing: the Devil was now in sad perplexity; he could not stomach losing a sin, he could not trust his memory, and he had no more parchment about him. He therefore clenched one end of the scroll with his claws, and took the other between his teeth, and pulled it as hard as he could, thinking that it would stretch. The unelastic material gave way and broke: He was not prepared for this; so his head flew back, and bumped against the wall. St. Britius was wonderfully amused by the Devil's disaster, he laughed heartily, and incurred the momentary displeasure of St. Martin, who did not at first see what was going forward. St. Britius explained, and St. Martin took care to *improve* the accident for the edification of his hearers. The moral is not to our purpose; but we quote the anecdote as an exemplification of the stupidity involved

* Sed ancilla Christi, genu flexo procumbens arenis provolvitur, sordido pulvere crines aspergitur, totisque animæ medullis Dominum deprecatur, Miserere, inquiens, O Deus, mei laboris, miserere mei, quamquam obstantibus reatibus meis digna ferentis, tamen de tua protectione præsumentis; laqueos insidiatoris disjice, obscuritatis ceriferæ repagula remove; istamque candelam reaccendi jube, ne gaudeat inimicus de me. Tu enim servientis plasmatis emancipator, nos sub laxo horrifici anguis jugo captos, tuæ mortis pretio reddidisti liberos. Obsecro igitur Redemptor Fortis, ne nos patiaris rursus subjacere raptui prædonis avidi. Quid multis morer? Annuit his votis Deus dexter et secundo vultu prosperat ac suo nutu reaccensâ lucernâ fidelem suam corroborat. Plus solito micanti vibrat lychnus radio; adeo ut cerneres illum vicum illustrari sole novo.——The wind puffed out the candle, and the maiden puffed it in again. And this singular feat became the miracle in which so much infernal and divine machinery is employed.

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in the popular allegory of Satan. In all his dealings he is sure to be baffled and cheated. When he sues, his bill is dismissed, or he is nonsuited and sent out of court 'without a day,' with his ears drooping and his tail clapped betwixt his legs. After paying a fair market price for the body and soul of the wizzard he is sure to lose his bargain from the equivocal wording of the covenant.* And at the moment that he is agreeing for the first living thing which is to pass over the bridge which he has built over the yawning chasm, the freemason joyfully anticipates the disappointment of the infernal workman, when compelled to accept the worthless animal by which the literal meaning of the contract is to be satisfied.

More familiar demons are such as are enumerated in the homely rhymes of John Heywood, who tells us that

> 'In John Milesius any man may read
> Of divels in Sarmatia honoured
> Call'd KOTRI or KOBALDI, such as we
> PUGS and HOBGOBLINS call; their dwellings be
> In corners of old houses least frequented,
> Or beneath stacks of wood; and these convented
> Make fearful noise in buttries and in dairies,
> ROBIN GOODFELLOWS some, some call them FAIRIES.
> In solitarie rooms these uproars keep,
> And beat at doors to wake men from their sleep,
> Seeming to force locks be they ne're so strong
> And keeping Christmasse gambols all night long.'

At first we may not be pleased with the infernal relationship assigned to the lithe and sportive subjects of Oberon and Titania; but Heywood is supported in the arrangement of his 'Lucifugi' by the authority of all the orthodox theologians of the last age, whether Catholics or Protestants, who, with many a text and argument *from* Scripture and the Fathers, laboured earnestly and effectually in proving that the kith and kin of the queen of Elfland are no other than Satan himself in various disguises.—Such is the first who answers to our call, the merry wanderer PUCK, who long had a domicile in the house of the grey friars at Schwerin in Mecklenburgh, which he haunted in the form of a Pug or monkey. Puck, notwithstanding the tricks which he played upon all strangers who visited the monastery, was sufficiently useful to its inmates; he turned the spit, drew the wine, and cleaned the kitchen, while the lay-brothers were snoring: yet, in spite of all these services, the monk to whom we owe the 'Veredica Relatio de Demonio Puck,' has pro-

* The latest story of this kind which has appeared in print, is that of the lord of Tinrelly, which is well told by Mr. Rose in his Court of Beasts. Old Nostradamus, who agreed that the Devil should fetch him if he was buried either in the church or out of it, left directions in his will to be put in a hole in the wall. A friend informs us that Jack of Kent, who learnt bridge-building from the devil, practised the same expedient.

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perly described him as an 'impure spirit.' The Puck of Schwerin received for his wages two brass pots and a party-coloured jacket, to which a bell was appended.

Friar Rush is Puck under another name. Puck is also found under the character of ROBIN GOODFELLOW or ROBIN HOOD,—the outlaw acquired his bye-name from his resemblance to the unquiet wandering spirit. The Robin Hood of England is also the Scottish RED CAP and the Saxon spirit HUDKEN or HODEKEN—so called from the hoodiken, or little hood or hat which he wore, and which also covers his head when he appears in the shape of the *Nisse* of Sweden.

Hoodekin was ever ready to aid his friends or acquaintance, whether clerks or laymen. A native of Hildesheim, who distrusted the fidelity of his wife, said to him, when he was about to depart on a journey,—I pray thee have an eye upon my wife whilst I am abroad: I commend my honour to thy care:—Hoodekin accepted the trust without anticipating the nature of his labours. Paramour succeeded paramour—Hoodekin broke the shins of the first, led the second into the horse-pond, and thrust the third into the muck-heap; and yet the dame had well nigh evaded his vigilance. —'Friend,' exclaimed the weary Devil to the husband, when he returned to Hildesheim, 'take thy wife back; as thou left'st her, even so thou find'st her; but never set me such a task again: sooner would I tend all the swine in the woods of Westphalia, than undertake to keep one woman constant against her will.'

In Swedeland Puck assumes the denomination of NISSEGODDRENG, or Nisse the good knave—and consorts with the TOMTEGUBBE, or the *Old Man of the house toft*, who is of the same genus: they are found in every farm-house, kind and serviceable when kindly treated, yet irascible and capricious; and the dairy-maid has an ill time of it, who chances to offend them. In the neighbouring kingdom of Denmark the Pucks have wonderful cunning in music; and there is a certain jig or dance called the Elf-king's dance, well known amongst the country crowders, which yet no one dares to play. Its notes produce the same effect as Oberon's horn—old and young are compelled to foot it to the tune, nay, the very stools and tables begin to caper; nor can the musician undo the charm unless he is able to play the dance backwards without misplacing a single note, or unless one of the involuntary dancers can contrive to pass behind him and cut the strings of the fiddle by reaching over his shoulder.

The names of Spirits of this class are pertinent and significant. From 'Gubbe,' 'the old man,' employed as the name of a demon, the Normans seem to have formed GOBLIN or GOBELIN (quasi GUBBELEIN). Saint Taurinus expelled him from the Temple of Diana

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Diana at Evreux; though he continued, says Ordericus Vitalis,* to haunt the town in various shapes, but harmless and playful, for the saint had bound him to do no further injury. The Devil of Evreux seems to have migrated from thence to Caen. In the course of last summer the citizens of the good town of William the Conqueror were much annoyed by him; he was arrayed in white armour, and was so tall that he looked into the upper-story windows. Monsieur le Commandant chanced to meet the intruder in a cul de sac, and challenged him, but the Demon captiously answered—*Ce n'est pas de toi que j'ai reçu ma commission, et ce n'est pas à toi que je veux en rendre compte,*—and six more devils started up all of the same size, and clad in the same uniform; whereupon the Commandant thought it prudent to decamp. The Spanish DUENDE appears to correspond in every respect to the Tomte-gubbe, and the name, according to Cobaruvias, is contracted from *Dueño de Casa*, the master of the house. This Demon was particularly noted for his powers of transformation, and thus in Calderon's excellent comedy of 'La Dama Duende,' the gracioso, or clown, maintains that he appeared in the shape of a little Friar.

—— Era un Frayle
tamañito y tenia puesto
un cucurucho tamaño
que por estas señas creo
que era duende capuchino.

In all these instances the influence of language in embodying belief and giving it tenacity, is very apparent. A more curious exemplification of this process is afforded by the name of Puck as applied to the Evil one, which also furnishes a striking proof of the steadiness with which the meaning first annexed to a verbal sign adheres to it throughout the modifications which it receives in language, whilst the mind retains the leading idea annexed to the root with equal obstinacy. The gradual transition from delusion to sport and merriment, and from sport and merriment to mischief, and from mischief to terror is very observable. PÆCCAN or PÆCCEAN, (A.S.) signifies to 'deceive by false appearances, to delude, to impose upon.' In the cognate Nether Saxon, the verb PICKEN

* Ordericus Vitalis concludes his story by shewing why the Devil was allowed to range as a *detenu* in the town of Evreux, instead of being sent at once into close confinement in the black hole. The following is his relation of the Goblin's adventure.—Signa quoque nonnulla per S. Taurinum apud Ebroas adhuc quotidie fiunt. Dæmon etiam, quem de Dianæ phano expulit, adhuc in eadem urbe degit, et in variis frequenter formis apparens neminem ledit. Hunc vulgus GOBELINUM appellat, et per merita Sancti Taurini ab humana læsione coercitum usque hodie affirmat. Et quia jussis sancti antistitis sæpe frangendo simulachra obsecundavit, in baratrum non statim mersus fuit: sed in loco ubi regnaverat pœnas luit, videns salvari homines, quibus jamdudum ad detrimentum multimode insultavit.

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signifies to gambol, and when inflected into PICKELN and PAEKELN, to play the fool. From the Anglo-Saxon root we have PACK or PATCH, the fool,* whilst from PICKELN and PAECKELN are derived PICKLE, a mischievous boy; and the PICKLEHÄRIN of the Germans, a merry-andrew or zany, so called from his hairy, or perhaps leafy vestment. According to this analogy, Ben Jonson introduces the devil PUCKHAIRY, who probably appeared in the shaggy garb which he is well known to have worn in his character of Robin Hood, or Robin Goodfellow. PUEKE and PUCK are the sportive devils of the Goths and Teutons. When used in a milder sense, it became POIKE (Sueo-Gothic), a boy, and PIGA (A.S.), PIGE (Dan.), a girl, from their playfulness. PUG in old English, and BOGLE in Scottish, are equivalent to Puck; and some of our readers may not be aware that the monkey acquired the name of Pug from his malice. BWG, in the British language, is a goblin; and BOG,† the angry god of the Slavi, is still the same identical term. BUCCA (A.S.) a goat, and BUCK, were so called from their skittish, savage nature; the former being the favourite incarnation of Satan. In BAKXEΤΩ we trace the mischievous mirth and wild inspiration caused by the delusion of wine; and we think that in PECCARE we discern the agency of error and deceit.‡

According to the Scandinavian mythology, which is the chief foundation of all our popular creeds, Odin assumes the name of the NIKAR or HNICKAR when he acts as the destroying or evil principle. In this character he inhabits the lakes and rivers of Scandinavia, where, under the ancient appellation of the NIKKER, (the Scottish Kelpie,) he raises sudden storms and tempests, and leads mankind into destruction. There is a gloomy lake in the island of Rugen, its waters are turbid, and its shores covered with thick woods. This he loves to haunt; here he vexes the fishermen, and amuses himself by placing their boats on the summits of the loftiest fir-trees.

Propitiatory worship is offered to the being which is feared.—So strangely has the hagiology of the middle ages amalgamated itself with the more ancient popular mythology, that the Nekker, (our old Nick,) by an easy transition, became the St. NICHOLAS, the patron

* Diversions of Purley, vol. ii. p. 269.

† We observe that Mr. Scott, in his 'Harold the Dauntless,' chooses to consider the Sclavonian Zernebock, the 'Black Demon,' as a Scandinavian deity, and Mr. Lawrence Templeton has committed the same error in Ivanhoe. Both Mr. Scott and Mr. Templeton seem to have been misled by old Elias Schedius.

‡ The same root is possibly the origin of the BOCKET, a *Larva*, or *terriculamentum* which school-boys use to make by scooping out a turnip. A friendly antiquary suggests also that OLD POKER or TOM POKER, who haunted the nursery in Horace Walpole's time, belongs to the same family. And we suppose him to have been the Sueo-Gothic TOMTE-PUEKE, or HOUSE PUCK.

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of sailors, whose aid is invoked in storms and tempests. Many churches near the seashore, both in this country and on the continent, are dedicated to him, and many a prayer to St. Nicholas is yet offered by the seaman sailing by. The common people in Catholic countries also misunderstand the attribute of the Saint. With them the three clerks in the tub, who always accompany his image, are considered as three sailors in a boat.

The Scandinavian Nekker generated the River-men and River-maids, the Teutonic Nixes. None of the latter are more celebrated than the nymphs of the Elbe and the Saal. In the days of paganism, the Saxons, who dwelt in the district between these rivers, worshipped a female Deity, whose temple was situated in the town of Magdeburg or Meydeburch, 'the Maiden's Castle;' and who still continued to be feared as the nymph of the Elbe in after-times. Often did she appear at Magdeburgh, where she was wont to visit the market with her basket hanging on her arm—she was gentle in her manner, and neat in her dress, and nothing differing in appearance from a burgher's daughter; yet one corner of her snow white apron appeared constantly wet, as a token of her aquatic nature.* Pretorius, a credulous yet valuable writer of the sixteenth century, tells us, that the Elbe nymph sometimes sits on the banks of the river combing her golden hair, a description agreeing with the rude 'counterfeyt' which Botho has given, probably from tradition, of the goddesses of Magdeburg. Beautiful and fair as the Nixes seem to be, the ruling principle retains its unity—the evil is only veiled—and the water-nymphs assert their affinity to the deluder, the tormentor, the destroyer. Inevitable death awaits the wretch who is seduced by their charms. They seize and drown the swimmer, and entice the child; and when they anticipate that their malevolence will be gratified, they are seen gaily darting over the surface of the waters.

We have been informed by credible witnesses that the late inundations in the Valais were caused by demons, who, if not strictly Nekkars or Nixes, are at least of an amphibious nature.† There is a mountain, near the Vallée de Bagnes, upon which the Devils use to meet; and in January, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, two mendicant friars from Sion, who had received information of this unlawful assembly, ascended the hill for the purpose of ascertaining their number and intentions.—'Reverend Sirs,' quoth a Devil who came forward as spokesman, 'there are so many of us here, that if we were to divide all the alps and all the glaciers

* The tradition ascribed to the *Mermaid's well* in the Bride of Lammermoor, is in truth imitated from a tradition relating to the nymph of the Elbe, given by MM. Grimm.

† This story is current amongst the peasants in the neighbourhood of St. Maurice, where it was related to us, last summer.

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between us, share and share alike, we should not have a pound weight a-piece.' When the glaciers first burst, the Devil was seen swimming down the Rhone with a drawn sword in one hand and a golden ball in the other: as soon as he came opposite to the town of Martigny he cried out in patois, '*Aigue essauça,*' and immediately the obedient river swelled above its banks, and destroyed the greater part of the town, which is yet in ruins.

By philosophizing upon popular mythology were formed the Nymphs or Undines of Paracelsus. This 'most excellent, erudite and widely-famed physician,' who combined a certain portion of poetical and romantic fancy with his madness, has thought it necessary to give advice to those who chance to become the husbands of an Undine, and even those of a mere mortal might perhaps profit by a sober application of the moral of the apologue. Secrecy and constancy are enjoined by the nymph, and her commands are to be strictly observed, or her love is forfeited for ever; she will plunge into her watery home, leaving her partner in cheerless solitude. Paracelsus often appeals to the fate of that valiant knight Sir Peter of Stauffenburg in support of the problems which he lays down. Fairy love, according to the older authority of Gervase of Tilbury, was enjoyed upon the same conditions; and the doctrine is fully exemplified in the adventures of Lanval and Gralent, of Melusina and Meliora, no less than in the history of Venus and Anchises.

Thanks to the pious care of the Inquisition, there are but few memorials remaining of the popular mythology of the Spaniards; it therefore becomes interesting to collect its imperfect vestiges. Such is the legend relating to the demoniac origin of the princely family of Haro. Don Diego Lopez, the Lord of Biscay, was lying in wait for the wild boar, when he heard the voice of a woman singing. The damsel was standing on the summit of a rock; exceedingly beautiful, and richly attired. Don Diego offered to marry her; she told him that she was of high lineage, and accepted his hand, but upon this condition,—he was never to pronounce a holy name. The fair bride had one foot like the foot of a goat—this was her only blemish: yet Diego loved her well, and had two children by her, a son, named Iniguez Guerra, and a daughter. It happened, as they were sitting at table, that the Lord of Biscay threw a bone to the dogs; a mastiff and a spaniel quarrelled about it, and the spaniel griped the mastiff by the throat and throttled him. 'Holy Mary,' exclaimed Don Diego, 'who ever saw the like!' The lady instantly grasped the hands of her children. Diego seized the boy, but the mother glided through the air with the daughter, to the mountains. In the course of time, Don Diego Lopez invaded the land of the Moors, who took him prisoner, and bound him, and as a prisoner they led him to Toledo. Greatly did Iniguez Guerra grieve at the captivity

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captivity of his father; and the men of the land told him, that there was no help, unless he could find his mother. Iniguez rode alone to the mountains, and behold! his fairy mother stood on the rock.—'My son,' said she, 'come to me, for well do I know thy errand.'—And she called PARDALO, the horse who ran without a rider in the mountains, and put a bridle into his mouth; and told Iniguez Guerra that he must neither give him food nor water, nor unsaddle him nor unbridle him, nor put shoes upon his feet; and that in one single day the demon-steed would carry him to Toledo.*

There is a philosophy involved in these parables. The consortship of an immortal being is bestowed upon humankind, and the slight tribute of obedience to a single behest, will ensure the happiness of the mortal. But his will is enslaved; Destiny allows him not to rise above the frailty of his race by perpetuating the mystic union; and power is given to the evil principle to mock his transient bliss, and to dash away the cup of happiness which had been placed at his lips. The fated thought rankles in his mind, the forbidden word is uttered, and the ethereal intelligence departs for ever, but in sorrow and in mourning. And as she mourns the separation, she yet strives to shed a benignant influence upon the object to whom she was wedded. Aphrodite watches the fortunes of her son. The Rock-nymph of Biscay rescues her captive husband. And Melusina weeps over the cradles of her sleeping babes, and her lamentations are wafted by the nightly winds which eddy round the hoary towers of Lusignan.

Snorro Sturleson, or whoever else the compiler of the Prosaic Edda may have been, teaches us that the Elves of light, the white fays of Ben Jonson, sojourn in *Alf-heim*, the palace of the sky; whilst the bowels of the earth receive the Swart-elves, the Elves of darkness: immortality is the lot of the first, for the flames of 'Surtur' will not consume them, and their final dwelling-place will be in *Vid-blain*, the highest heaven of the blessed; but the last are obnoxious to disease and death. The modern Icelanders chuse to consider the elvish commonwealth as an absolute monarchy, at least they believe that their elves are governed by a viceroy who

* The conclusion of the legend exhibits the fairy dame as appearing again in Biscay in the shape of an incubus.

——— For spirits when they please
Can either sex assume, or both.

The steed of Iniguez Guerra reminds us of the mysterious horse of Giraldo de Cabrerio the Knight of Catalonia, who always brought good fortune to his master. This horse would dance amongst the beauties of the court of King Alphonso, to the sound of the viol, and do many other arts bespeaking strange intelligence, far surpassing a horse's capacity. Gervase of Tilbury could not settle the genus of this animal to his satisfaction. If he was a horse, exclaims the Chancellor, how could he perform such feats? If he was a fairy, why did he eat?—*Otia Imperialia*, l. iii. c. 92.

travels

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travels twice a year to Norway accompanied by a deputation of Pucks, to renew their fealty to the supreme monarch who still resides in the mother-country; it being evident from the contexture of the fable that the elves, like themselves, are merely colonists in the island. Closely allied to the dark elves are the Dwarfs or Dvergars of Scandinavia. The Norwegians ascribe the regularity and polish of rock chrystal to the diligence of the little denizens of the mountains, and their voice is heard in the dverga-mal, the mountain echo.—From this poetical personification arose a peculiar system of Icelandic metre called Galdra-lag, or the magical lay, in which the last line is repeated at the end of each stanza; and when a ghost or a spirit is introduced singing in an Icelandic Saga, it is the galdra-lag which is always employed. In another variety of the galdra-lag the beginning of each line is repeated: this system is found in some of the metrical charms of the Anglo-Saxons. Such repetitions have a solemn monotonous sound, and hence, without the help of fiction, it has occurred to other bards. Dante employs the *galdra-lag* in the inscription placed over the gates of Hell, and Pope concludes his elegy in this magic strain.

It has been thought that the real prototypes of the mythological Dvergars are found in the Finnic inhabitants of Scandinavia. But we now begin to doubt the accuracy of the opinion. Certain it is that the Finns were proud of dealing with the Devil, until that species of commerce was declared to be contraband; and they were ever dreaded as wizzards and conjurors. But notwithstanding their skill in magic and in metallurgy they must be distinguished from the cunning workmen who manufactured the hammer of Thor, the golden tresses of Siva and the wealth-begetting ring of Odin; and who hold a conspicuous situation in the wild cosmogony of the Asi. If we were to develope these mysteries according to the true hieroglyphical wisdom of the ancient Rosicrucians, we might contend that these beings were personifications of the metallic element, or of the gases which are its vehicles within the bowels of the earth, filling the veins which become pregnant with the ore, and circulating along with the electric and magnetic life of the macrocosm.—At all events they are too purely allegorical to have resulted from the ideas of magic annexed to the character of the scattered Finnlanders. A stronger inference of their primitive antiquity may be drawn from their appearance in the very ancient traditions of the Teutons as preserved in the Niebelungen lay, and in the Book of Heroes, which both originated and were matured in regions where the Finn never pitched his tent, and amongst mountains in whose recesses he never was secluded. Of late years there have been a great many doubts respecting the orthodoxy of the Edda; and the learned and intelligent Professor Rask of Berlin has

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has attacked its authenticity with great zeal: it is therefore satisfactory to the antiquary to compare the Book of Heroes with the Edda. Long as the Teutons had been separated from the Scandinavian nations, their fables still maintained the utmost uniformity, and this coincidence proves, that neither have been corrupted or interpolated.

Mining countries have often become the strong hold of popular mythology. Cornwall may be instanced; and thus also the Harzwald in Hanover, the remnant of the Hercynian forest, is entirely enchanted ground. 'In this district,' says an old author, 'are more than an hundred and ten capital mines, some of which have small ones belonging to them; some are worked for the king of Great Britain (as Elector of Hanover) on his own account, and the rest farmed out. According to ancient chronicles King Ilsung held his court at Weringerode in this forest, about the time of Gideon, judge of Israel, and Ilsung was the son of King Laurin the dwarfish monarch and guardian of the garden of roses, who flourished in the time of Ehud, judge of Israel, in the year of the world 2550.'—These dates have been ascertained by the diligent chroniclers of the uncritical ages, who took great pains to force ancient fables into synchronism with the facts recorded by authentic historians. In the existing text of the Book of Heroes the Hercynian forest is not assigned to the sway of Laurin; but the chroniclers were probably also guided by local traditions, and even now the dwarfs and cobolds (spirits of the mine) still swarm in every cavern.*

Malignity is constantly ascribed to the goblins of the mine. We are told by the sage demonologist quoted by Reginald Scott, 'that they do exceedingly envy man's benefit in the discovery of hidden treasure, ever haunting such places where money is concealed, and diffusing malevolent and poisonous influences to blast the lives and limbs of those that dare attempt the discovery thereof.—Peters of Devonshire with his confederates, who, by conjuration, attempted to dig for such defended treasures, was crumbled to atoms as it were, being reduced to ashes with his confederates in the twinkling of an eye.'

Peters of Devonshire sought his fate. But the Demons who

* The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius notices a lake in Thessaly, to which, if brass was brought in the evening it would be manufactured into any shape required, by certain genii who inhabited the waters. The old treatise de Mirabilibus Brittaniæ describes a similar lake in England. 'Est lacus si volueris reparare quodlibet suppellex ferreum domus tuæ exceptis armis: porta ad lacum quod volueris reparare, et prandium quantum volueris et mitte super ripam laci cibum et ferrum et recede. Postea perge ad lacum, et invenies suppellectilem bene paratum.' A third traditionary version of the fable has its seat in the Teutonic Harzwald, and there the dwarfs who inhabit the caverns of Elbiagerode assist the peasantry, by lending them brass pots and kettles, andirons, trivets, spoons, &c. when they wanted them for their weddings; and for which, as in England, they were paid in victual.

haunted

haunted mines were considered as most tremendous. 'The nature of such is very violent; they do often slay whole companies of labourers, they do sometimes send inundations that destroy both the mines and miners, they bring noxious and malignant vapours to stifle the laborious workmen; briefly their whole delight and faculty consists in killing, tormenting and crushing men who seek such treasures. Such was Annabergius, a most virulent animal that utterly confounded the undertakings of those that laboured in the richest silver mine in Germany called *Corona Rosacea*. He would often shew himself in the likeness of a he-goat, with golden horns, pushing down the workmen with great violence, sometimes like a horse breathing pestilence and flames from his nostrils. At other times he represented a monk in all his pontificals, flouting at their labour and treating all their actions with scorn and indignation, till by his daily and continual molestation he gave them no further ability of perseverance.'*

Like all other ancient nations, the Scandinavians cherished the belief in the existence of tutelary Spirits, and the Icelanders had reason to be peculiarly grateful to them for defeating the enterprize of king Harold Gormson. The king of Norway, as we are told in his Saga, was desirous of learning the internal state of the island, upon which he longed to wreak his vengeance, and to that intent he bade a skilful Troldman, or magician, fare thither, changing himself into such a shape as might best conceal him. The magician changed himself into a whale, and swam to the island; but the rocks and mountains were covered with opposing 'Landvættur,' or guardian spirits, who prepared to defend their trust. The magician, nothing appalled, swam to Vapna-ford, and attempted to land, but a huge and hideous dragon unwreathed his folds down the sides of the rocks, and followed by innumerable serpents, descended into the æstuary, spitting venom against the intruder. The whale could not oppose them, and swam westward to Oreford; but there came down a bird whose wings extended athwart the bay from mountain to mountain, followed by countless flocks of spirits in the same shape. And when he attempted to enter Bridaford on the southern coast, a mighty bull rushed down and waded into the sea roaring tremendously, and the guardian spirits of Bridaford accompanied their leader. The unwearied magician now swam to Vrekarskinda; there he beheld a giant

* Some will perhaps suspect that this virulent animal Annabergius was in truth a certain familiar spirit now called Hydrogen gas.—Sir Humphry Davy's safety lamp would have been an effectual spell against all the Demons of the Crown of roses; and Boulton and Watt, by employing the strong arm of the Enchanter Steam, would have enabled the luckless workmen to defend themselves against the inundations which they poured into the mine.

coming

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coming to meet him whose head ranged over the very summit of the snow-clad mountains. He was armed with an iron club, and a crowd of gigantic spirits followed him to the shore. This story is worthy of notice, because it proves that the Scandinavians had their elemental intelligences according to the true Paracelsian doctrine. Earth sent her spirits in the form of giants; the Sylphs appeared as birds; by the Bull, water is obviously typified; and the Dragon proceeded from the sphere of fire.

Hecla is in some degree connected with the Scandic mythology. The Northmen were converted soon after its terrors became known to them, and when they became Christians they could only consider it as the mouth of hell, like Etna and Vesuvius and Stromboli, each of which has good claim to be considered as the facilis descensus Averni; since (to say nothing of old Boots) Nero and Theodoric of Verona, and Julian the apostate, and Dagobert, and Queen Elizabeth, and Anna Bullen have all severally been seen to sink into their sulphureous flames: but this baleful mountain could not fail to be the resort of the spirits of fire, whom tradition had probably known in Scandinavia or in Asgard. Their great opponent was Luridan. It is written in the 'book of Vanagastus the Norwegian,' that Luridan the spirit of the air 'travels at the behest of the magician to Lapland, and Finmark, and Skrickfinia, even unto the frozen ocean.—It is his nature to be always at enmity with fire'—and he wages continual war with the fiery spirits of the mountain Hecla.—'In this contest they do often extirpate and destroy one another, killing and crushing when they meet in mighty and violent troops in the air upon the sea. And at such time many of the fiery spirits are destroyed when the enemy hath brought them off the mountain to fight upon the water: on the contrary when the battle is on the mountain itself, the spirits of the air are often worsted and then great mournings and doleful noises are heard in Iceland, and Russia, and Norway for many days after.'—

Amongst the minor spirits of the sphere of fire, Jack-with-the-lantern, whom Milton calls the Friar, and Will-with-the-wisp must not be forgotten. According to the chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, brother Sebastian was seduced by one of these infernal link-boys on the mystic eve of St. John, in the year 1034, as he was returning home in the evening after having preached at a neighbouring village—and on the following day brother Sebastian died. Well hath it been sung by the Frenchman,

> Où sont fillettes et bon vin
> C'est là où hante le Lutin—

and it is to be greatly feared that poor brother Sebastian met with his fate in consequence of having intruded into the Lutin's quarters. The German peasants believe with reasonable consistency that Will-

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Will-with-the-wisp is of a very fiery temper and easily offended. They have a 'spott reim,' or mocking verse, which angers him mainly when he happens to hear it.

Heerwisch! ho! ho! ho!
Brennst wie haberstroh
Schag mich blitzeblo!

About thirty years ago a girl of the village of Lorsch wantonly sang out this rhyme whilst Will was dancing over the marshy meadows: instantly he followed the maiden; she ran homewards as fast as her legs could carry her, vainly striving to escape the spiteful goblin, but just as she was crossing the threshold of the door, Will flew in after her, and struck every person in the room with his fiery wings so violently that they were stunned by the shock. It requires no great sagacity to divine the positive nature of this electric demon; with him also must be classed the fire-demons who point out concealed treasures by playing in livid flames on the surface of the ground, or over the sepulchral mound; the Trolds who light the Grave-fire, and the Moon of the grave, and the warden spirits who wrap the dungeon tower of the castle of Kufstein in lambent fire.

When the northern aurora beamed through the sky, the Scandinavians hailed the 'holy light:' as it is yet called in Norway; for they believed that it announced the approach of the Valkyrs, the maids of slaughter, proceeding from Valhalla to summon the warrior to the feast of Odin. But the Christian chronicler saw fiery armies, flaming spears and blazing swords in the splendid stream, and was appalled by the portentous illumination. A new guise was given to every vestige of the ancient faith, though the terrors which had once surrounded the King of gods and men still retained their influence long after his empire vanished before the converting swords of Charlemagne and Haco. An unwilling renunciation of the Deity of war was extorted from the Saxon; and it was a day of grief to him when, in the words of the old confession of faith, he was compelled to forsake 'all the devil's works and all the devil's words, the Thunderer, and Woden, and the Saxon Odin, and all the fiends who be their feres.' The kneeling catechumen repeated an insincere confession; succeeding generations learnt more truly to detest the errors of paganism, yet a distinct recollection remained of the warlike faith of their ancestors, nor did they doubt the existence of the Demon god. Hence the peasants still tremble when the murky air resounds with the baying of the hounds, and when the steeds holding their course between earth and heaven are heard to rush amongst the clouds, announcing the approach of the Wild Huntsman.

The origin of the name of Woden or Odin is to be traced to a root

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root existing in the Anglo-Saxon: it signifies the 'wild' or 'furious one.'* This etymology would alone indicate the connexion between the 'Wütend heer' or 'wild army,' as the Wild Huntsman and his train are popularly called, and the God. But in some parts of Germany the denominations 'Grodens heer,' and 'Wodens heer,' are also current. Woden is known in Brunswick as the hunter *Hackelberg*, a sinful knight who renounced his share of the joys of heaven on condition that he might be allowed to hunt until the day of doom. They shew his sepulchre in a forest near Usslar. It is a vast unhewn stone, an ancient monument of the class which, for want of a better name, we call druidical. This circumstance is of importance in confirming the connexion between the popular mythology and the ancient religion of the country. According to the peasants, this grave-stone is watched by the dogs of hell, which constantly crouch upon it. In the year 1558 Hans Kirchof had the ill luck to wander to it; he discovered it by chance, for no one can reach Hackelberg's tomb if he journeys to the forest with the express intent of finding it. Hans relates, that, to his great astonishment, he did not see the dogs, although he confesses that he had not a hair on his head that did not stand on end.

All is quiet about the grave of Hackelberg; but the restless spirit retains his power at this very moment in the neighbourhood of the Oden Wald, or the forest of Odin, and amidst the ruins of the old baronial castle of the Rodenstein family. His appearance still prognosticates impending war. At midnight he issues from the tower surrounded by his host: the trumpets sound, the war-wains rumble, the drums beat, and even the words of command are heard which are given to the ghostly soldiery by their leader. When peace is about to be concluded, Rodenstein and his soldiery return to the ruins, but with quiet and gentle steps, and borne along with harmony. Rodenstein will come when he is called. About four or five years ago, a Jæger in the employ of a neighbouring forester who, when in England, stated the fact to us, passed by the tower at midnight. Being somewhat the better for his potations, he called to the spirit—Rodenstein, ziehe heraus!—and instantly the army rushed forth with such violence that the presumptuous huntsman was nearly frightened out of his senses.

According to the mythology of Scandinavia, the power of death is given to HELA, who rules the nine worlds of Nifleheim.

* '*Woden*,' saith Verstegan, 'signifies fierce or furious (from the A. S. ƿoð), and in like sense we yet retain it, saying, when one is in a great rage that he is *wood*, or taketh, as if he were *wood*.' Verstegan also says that *Waithman* (waith being derived from the same root) signifies a *wild or furious man*. The chronicles of the Ward of Farringdon Without may furnish future Aubreys and Shandys with a new instance of name fatality.

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Concealment is implied by this name.* According to the popular belief of the Cimbric peasants, she spreads plague and pestilence, and diffuses all evil whilst she rides by night on the three-footed horse of hell (Helhest). Hela and the war-wolves retained their empire in Normandy, although, after the Northmen of Hastings became the Normans of Rollo, they seem to have lost the memory of their ancient superstitions as rapidly as they forgot their northern tongue. From Hela was generated HELLEQUIN; a name in which, under the disguise of romance orthography, we can have no difficulty in recognizing HELA-KIÖN, the race of Hela; it was those whom Richard Fearnought, duke of Normandy, the son of Robert the Devil, encountered hunting and reveling in the forest. As the romance tells, Hellequin was a knight who wasted his gold in the wars which Charles Martel waged against the heathen Saracens. When the wars were ended, he and his lineage, not having wherewithal to sustain themselves, took to wicked courses. They spared neither virgin, nor widow, nor orphan; and the sufferers cried out to heaven for vengeance. When matters had come to this pass, it chanced that Hellequin fell sick, and died, and was in fearful danger of condemnation; but the good works which he had performed by waging war against the heathen Saracens availed him: and it was allotted as a penance to him and his lineage, that, dead as they were, they should wander by night throughout the world, in bitterness and toil.

But the wild huntsman was not confined to the woods of Normandy. In the year 1598, when Henry IV. was hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau, he suddenly heard the baying of hounds and the notes of the horn, seemingly at the distance of half a league from the spot where he was placed; but as suddenly these distant sounds were close at hand. Henry ordered the Earl of Soissons to prick forward. We gather from the context that he guessed that the sounds were supernatural. Soissons obeyed; and as he advanced, he still heard the noises without being able to ascertain whence they proceeded; but a dark and gigantic figure appeared amongst the trees, and crying out 'M'entendez-vous?' instantly vanished. This story is remarkable for many reasons. Father Matthieu the Jesuit relates it in his 'Histoire de France et des Choses mémorables advenues durant sept années de paix du règne de Henry IV.' a work published in the lifetime of that Monarch, to whom it is dedicated. Matthieu was well acquainted with Henry, from whom, if Father Daniel is to be trusted, he obtained much information. It has been supposed that the spectre was an assassin in

* Þelan (A. S.) In the cognate dialects the root is found with scarcely any variation. Hence *hell*, that which is concealed or hidden or unseen, Ἅιδης.

disguise,

disguise, and that the hand of Ravaillac would have been anticipated if the good king himself had approached near enough to receive the dagger. Whatever the real nature of the apparition may have been, it seems that Henry did not wish that the story should be discredited. 'Persons are not wanting,' Matthieu concludes, 'who would have ranked this adventure with the fables of Merlin and of Urganda, if the truth, as affirmed by so many eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses, had not removed all doubts. The shepherds of the neighbourhood say that it was a spirit, whom they call the *Grand Veneur*, who hunts in this forest; but they hold that it is the hunt of St. Hubert, which is also heard in other places.' The spirit appeared not far from the entrance of the town, at a cross-road yet retaining the name of 'La Croix du Grand Veneur.'

In ages of romance, a romantic immortality has been bestowed by popular loyalty on those heroes who commanded the admiration as well as the fondness of their countrymen. Those who had seen their King flushed with victory and leading on his warriors, or enthroned in majesty and wisdom, were almost reluctant to admit that he too could die. The pious cares which saved the royal corpse from the insulting victor, the chance which caused it to fester undistinguished amongst the meaner dead, contributed to nourish the longing hope that the royal warrior had yet been spared; and though withdrawn from mortal ken, they would believe, in the hour of suffering and distress, that he who had been the guardian of his people was still reserved on earth to fulfil a higher destiny. Greece revered her yet living Achilles in the white island; the Britons expected the awakening of Arthur entranced in Avalon; and almost in our days it was thought that Sebastian of Portugal would one day return and claim his usurped realms. Thus, also, the three founders of the Helvetic confederacy are thought to sleep in a cavern near the lake of Lucerne. The herdsmen call them the three Tells, and say that they lie there in their antique garb, in quiet slumber; and when Switzerland is in her utmost need, they will awaken and regain the liberties of the land. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA has obtained the same wild veneration. He was a monarch of extraordinary intellect. Anathematized as the enemy of the papal see, he was thought to favour the faith of Mahomet; whilst some suspected that he acknowledged no other deity save his Star, his ruling Fate: yet he was wise and valiant, and commanded the respect of his warlike subjects. Frederick died in Apulia; he was the last sovereign of the Swabian dynasty; and so little was his death believed in the empire, that five impostors successively assumed his name, and obtained credit with those who were discontented with the reign of Rodolph of Hapsburg. The false Fredericks were successively unmasked and

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punished, yet the common people continued stubbornly to believe that Frederick was alive, and that he had warily and willingly abdicated the imperial crown. 'He is a wise man,' said they, 'and can read the stars; he is travelling in distant regions with his astrologers and his trusty companions, to avoid the evils which would have been his lot, had he remained on the throne;' and yet they trusted that he would re-appear when the good time should arrive. Obscure prophecies were circulated, which were even revived in the reign of Charles V. that Frederick was destined to unite the Eastern to the Western Empire. The Turks and heathens are to be defeated by his prowess in a dreadful battle near Cologne, and he is to regain the Holy land. Until the appointed time shall come, the Emperor is secluded in the castle of Kyffhausen, in the Hercynian forest, where he remains in a state not much unlike the description which Cervantes has given of the inhabitants of the cavern of Montesinos: he slumbers on his throne, his red beard has grown through the stone table on which his right arm reclines, or, as some say, it has grown round and round it. A variation of the same fable, coloured according to its locality, is found in Denmark, where it is said that Holger Danske, whom the French romances call Ogier the Dane, slumbers in the vaults beneath Cronenburgh castle. A villain was once allured by splendid offers to descend into the cavern and visit the half torpid hero. Ogier muttered to the visitor, requesting him to stretch out his hand. The villain presented an iron crow to Ogier, who grasped it, indenting the metal with his fingers. 'It is well!' quoth Ogier, who imagined that he was squeezing the hand of the stranger, and thus proving his strength and fortitude, 'there are yet *men* in Denmark.'

Frederick Barbarossa listens willingly to music. It came to pass many years ago, that a 'consort' of travelling musicians thought it might answer well, were they to serenade the Emperor; and so, stationing themselves on the rock, they began to play a hunt's-up just when the church clock of the town of Tilleda struck the hour of twelve. At the second strain, lights were seen above on the crag, sparkling through the leaves and underwood, and flitting behind the thick trunks of the trees; and immediately afterwards the Emperor's daughter advanced gracefully towards the musicians: she beckoned them to follow her, the rocks opened, and the musicians marched into the cavern, sounding their pipes and tinkling their citterns. There was no lack of good cheer in the presence-chamber of the Emperor: and they played on merrily till the dawning of the morning. Then the Emperor nodded graciously to the musicians, and his daughter presented each with a green branch, and dismissed them. The imperial donation gave little satisfaction to the poor musicians, but the awe inspired by his ghostly majesty compelled them to

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to accept it without murmuring; and when they found themselves in the open air again, all, except one, threw the branches scornfully away. The musician who kept his branch intended to preserve it merely as a memorial of the adventure; but when he reached his home it became heavy in his hand, rustling and glittering with metallic splendour, and every leaf was turned into a ducat of pure gold. When the others heard of his good fortune, they all went back to the rocks over which they had passed, and searched day after day for the treasure of which their destiny had deprived them; but they searched in vain.

The Norman peasants believe that there is a flower which is called the *herbe maudite*—he who treads upon it continues walking round and round, imagining that he is proceeding onwards, though in fact he quits not the spot to which the magic root has bound him. This spell seems to bind us; for we find ourselves still in company with the goblins of the mine, whom we imagined we had left far behind us. The Emperor is, undoubtedly, to be identified with those capricious powers. In the middle ages the winning of these riches became the trade of those sages who are the prototypes of the Dousterswivel of our northern enchanter, and the employment of treasure-finding was a regular profession in the mining countries, where some traces of it still remain. Each of these adepts had his own mode of operating. One was the Theurgist; he prayed and fasted till the dream came upon him. He was a pious man, and his art was holy; and if the eager disciple sinned against faith or chastity, the inspiration fled, the treasure vanished.

> Guilt, guilt, my son! give 't the right name: no marvel
> If I found check in our great work within,
> When such affairs as these were managing.

The natural magician smiled at the mystical devotee, whom he affected to treat either as the dupe of his own enthusiasm, or as an impostor. Trusting only to the secret powers of nature, he paced along with the divining rod of hazel* which turns in obedience,

* The employment of the divining rod when employed to discover *ore* or *metal*, was associated with many superstitious observances. The *fact*, however, of the discovery of water being effected by it when held in the hands of certain persons seems indubitable. The following narrative, which has been lately communicated to us by a friend residing in Norfolk, puts the subject in the clearest point of view. And we shall simply state that the parties, whose names are well known to many of our readers, are utterly incapable either of deceiving others, or of being deceived themselves.

'January 21st, 1818.—It is just fifty years since Lady N.'s attention was first called to this subject; she was then sixteen years old, and was on a visit with her family at a château in Provence, the owner of which wanted to find a spring to supply his house, and for that purpose had sent for a peasant, who could do so with a twig. The English party ridiculed the idea, but still agreed to accompany the man, who, after walking some

ence, attracted by the effluvia from the metals concealed beneath the soil. These are delusions, thought a bolder sage who had been instructed in the secrets of Cornelius Agrippa: and he opened the sealed book which taught him to charm the mirror, in which were seen all things, however distant or hidden from mortal view, and he buried it by the side of the cross-road, where the carcass of the murderer was wasting on the wheel, or he opened the newly made grave and caused the eyes of the troubled corpse to shed their glare upon the surface of the polished chrystal. Telesms and pentacles, and constellated idols also lent their aid. Such were the implements of art belonging to an Italian or Spanish Cabalist.—We give the story as it was related to us many years ago by a right learned adept. —This Cabalist ascertained that if he could procure a certain golden medal, to be worked into the shape of a winged man when the planets were in a proper aspect, the figure so formed would discover all secret treasures. After great pains, he was so fortunate as to ob-

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some way, pronounced that he had arrived at the object of his search, and they accordingly dug and found him correct.—He was quite an uneducated man, and could give no account of the faculty in him or of the means which he employed, but many others, he said, could do the same.

The English party now tried for themselves, but all in vain, till it came to the turn of Lady N, when, to her amazement and alarm, she found that the same faculty was in her, as in the peasant, and on her return to England she often exerted it, though in studious concealment. She was afraid lest she should be ridiculed, or should, perhaps, get the name of a witch, and in either case she thought that she should certainly never get a husband.

Of late years her scruples began to wear away, and when Dr. HUTTON published Ozanam's researches in 1803, where the effect of the divining rod is treated as absurd (vol. iv. p. 260-7.) she wrote a long letter to him, signed X. Y. Z., stating the facts which she knew. The Doctor answered it, begging further information; Lady N. wrote again, and he, in his second letter, requested the name of his correspondent: that Lady N. also gave.

A few years afterwards she went, at Dr. HUTTON's particular request, to see him at Woolwich, and she then shewed him the experiment, and discovered a spring in a field which he had lately bought near the New College, then building. This same field he has since sold to the College, and for a larger price in consequence of the spring.

Lady N. this morning shewed the experiment to Lord G., Mr. S., and me, in the park at W. She took a thin, forked hazel twig, about 16 inches long, and held it by the end, the joint pointing downwards. When she came to a place where water was under the ground, the twig immediately bent, and the motion was more or less rapid as she approached or withdrew from the spring. When just over it, *the twig turned so quick as to snap, breaking near her fingers*, which by pressing it were indented, and heated, and almost blistered; a degree of agitation was also visible in her face. When she first made the experiment, she says this agitation was great, and to this hour she cannot wholly divest herself of it, though it gradually decreases. She repeated the trial several times in different parts of the park, and her statements were always accurate. Among those persons in England, who have the same faculty, she says she never knew it so strong in any as in Sir C. H. and Miss F. It is extraordinary that no effect is produced at a well or ditch, or where earth does not interpose between the twig and the water. The exercise of the faculty is independent of any volition.'

So far our narrator, in whom, we repeat, the most implicit confidence may be placed. The faculty so inherent in certain persons is evidently the same with that of the Spanish *Zaheries*, though the latter do not employ the hazel twig.

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tain the talisman, which he confided to a workman, who gradually hammered the metal into the astral form, using his tools only at those moments when the Master, consulting the Alfonsine tables, desired him to proceed. It happened that the smith was left alone with the statue when it was nearly finished, and a sudden thought, inspired by his good genius, induced him to give the last stroke to the magical image. His hand fell in the right ascension of the planets; the virtue was imparted, and the statue instantly leaped from the table, and fixed itself firmly on the floor. No effort of the goldsmith could remove it; but, as he guessed rightly of the true nature of the attractive influence, he dug up the pavement, under which he discovered an earthen vessel full of coin, which had been concealed by some former owner of the mansion. Who could be more rejoiced than our goldsmith? Destiny had gifted him with the means of becoming the master of all the secret treasures of the earth. He instantly resolved to appropriate the inestimable talisman to himself; and, to evade pursuit, he embarked in a ship which was then setting sail. The wind blew briskly and favourably, and in a short time they were out at sea; when the ship sailed over a treasure concealed in the caverns of the deep. The talisman obeyed its call: it sprang from the hand of its astonished owner, and, with all his hopes, was lost for ever beneath the waves.

Wretchedness, disappointment, and delusion thus invariably conclude the mystic or legendary narrations, in which human avarice is represented as yearning after gold, and attempting to wrest it from heaven or from hell. If the gift is bestowed, it becomes a glittering curse; but oftener it is denied, and Fate tantalizes the eagerness of humanity. When the Arab searches the ruined temple, the chest of stone sinks lower and lower beneath the soil. The rocks fall in and bury the treasure just when his charm is about to take; if the cavern opens before the suffumigations of the sorcerer, the treasure vanishes from his grasp. The moral is as obvious as the source of the mythos, in which we again observe the varied sway of the good and of the evil.

Our subject is far from being exhausted; but our readers, perhaps, have already begun to suspect that we betray a greater degree of fondness for the superstitions of a rude and barbarous age than is altogether consistent with the good sense and information for which, without doubt, they are willing to give us credit. We frankly acknowledge, that the perusal of Piccatrix and Cornelius Agrippa, of Delrio and Remigius, of Glanvill and Sinclair, has amused us during many an idle hour, and solaced us during many a weary one: and, in justification of our taste, it may not be improper to observe, that the 'superstitions of the middle ages' are worthy of a more

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minute, and, we may add, a more philosophic and impartial investigation than they have hitherto obtained.

If the Fays sporting on the wold, or the Demons bursting from their prison-house, are considered merely as allowable subjects for the lay of the poet, and which his old charter of fiction authorises him to use with freedom, an inaccurate standard is assigned to the worth of popular mythology. So far as the idlest tales are believed and credited, they are facts; and it is as facts that they are to be studied. Poetic talent may give a graceful form to the spirit, who is uncouth in the fancy of the churl, but the essence and import of the airy being remain unchanged. And the whole creed of popular superstition is linked in the esoteric history of mankind, which is, perhaps, more instructive than the relation of the rise and fall of empires. This is equally the case with the occult sciences, as they are usually termed. Scarcely two centuries have elapsed since the whole category of magical and cabalistic and theosophic mysteries entered into the real business of life, and these fallacious pursuits were associated with severe and specious learning. Exorcisms were chanted by the priest; and arrayed in his stole, or even in his surplice, it oft became dubious whether the rites of the church were not assimilated by him to the forbidden arts of sorcery. The Astrologer was honoured in the presence-chamber of the prince. Denounced by the preacher and consigned to the flames by the bench, the Wizzard received secret service money from the cabinet, for the purpose of destroying the hostile armament, as it sailed before the wind. And the Senate quailed with fear at the recital of plots and conspiracies, when it was disclosed how traitors sought to shorten the days of the Monarch and overturn the state by tormenting waxen images with needles, or burying them with their heads downwards. In no rank of society were these hallucinations discredited or discouraged. A gloomy mist of credulity enwrapped the cathedral and the hall of justice, the cottage and the throne; and no mortal eye could discern the witchery of the visions in which all believed so strangely. Baseless as they are, they acquire an effective value, when we place ourselves in the era to which they belong; for an error which prevails universally, no one having the will or the ability to disprove it, has quite as much weight in human societies as a truth which cannot be refuted. Nor is it now an unprofitable or useless task to recall the memory of the fleeting pageant. If we wish to ascertain the strength of the human mind, we must begin our trial by searching out its weaknesses. Most faithful of all others is that warning which is given to the judgment, when it is compelled to bend back upon itself, and to dwell on the contemplation of its own follies. On the chart of the careful navigator are marked the banks of fog and vapour, which caused him to divert his helm from

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from the course which he ought to have pursued, and which inspired him with vain hope or with groundless terror; inducing him to believe in the existence of happy islands, in climates where there is nought but the waste bosom of the ocean, or to dread the craggy rocks and dangerous shoals, though the billows roll on in unbroken flow. And the delineation of these unreal lands will prove as useful to the future sailor as the bearings of the firmest shores, for they apprize him of the deceit to which he may be exposed. Our vessel is built with greater science than the gorgeous though inartificial galliot of ancient days. The loadstone guides us unerringly when the load-star is lost in clouds; yet still we are destined to be tossed upon the waters, and to wander from the harbour which, fruitlessly, we strive to gain. Doubt ought still to be our companion even when we flatter ourselves that we have attained to certainty: because we have not yet learned to know ourselves, or to distrust our inborn frailty. Though neither cheered by the apparition of protecting spirits, nor fearing the enmity of the goblin or the demon, we are still as liable, as of old, to be seduced by our own delusions.

Confidence, rather than humility, is now abounding, when an estimation is put upon the character of our times. It is the common boast, that the present age, our age, the age we live in, is a period of enlightened philosophy.—The words so employed mean, in fact, that we who use them are enlightened philosophers; but let that pass.—And when it becomes necessary to make good our title to the praise which we demand, we usually bless ourselves, and expatiate with much complacency in comparing the modern advances in 'arts and sciences' and philosophy with the rudeness and barbarity of the dark ages. At the first thought, it is not easy to avoid sharing in such sentiments. We find that the inheritance of falsehood, once peculiarly the portion of our forefathers, has not descended to us. Opinions were received by them, which are now known to be preposterous by the least informed. They were obstinate in the propagation of absurdities which we have abandoned; zealous in defending the misbegotten offspring of doting ignorance, whose deformity is now universally recognized. Struck by the contrast, and valuing, sometimes overvaluing, the advantages which we unquestionably enjoy, our triumph appears confirmed. Pointing to the steam-engine and the printing-press, the telescope and the barometer, we bestow gentle pity upon the ignorance of those who are sleeping in the grave, whilst we contemn and despise the errors which they committed. Yet if their demerits are compared with ours, we may perhaps pause before we confirm ourselves in the belief of our relative superiority. We have refused to adopt the innumerable false and foolish doctrines to which the mind was formerly subjected: another modification is now given to the follies and

and errors which owe their birth to the same generating cause, but they are still equally repudiated by common sense, and by the dictates of sound reason: and the rejection of ancient follies and errors has been effected, so far at least as the great multitude are concerned in the rejection, rather by the mighty revolution which has been brought about in our ideas and in our manners, than by any real amelioration in the intellect of the many-headed monster.

It would not be a difficult task to raise up a modern counterpart which should grin and mowe at every ancient folly; but inferences might be drawn from the array, which would be wholly contrary to our intent. Such comparisons would not be presented for the silly and heartless purpose of ministering to malice or scoffing at individual character. Let it not be supposed that they would be drawn in a spirit of sarcasm or satire, or result from a sullen insensibility to the blessings of knowledge and civilization. On the contrary, they are such as ever force themselves upon the judgment of those who are most anxious to witness the true advancement of their fellow-creatures, and to honour the great men who have been appointed to the task of leading mankind onwards in the noble path of intellectual improvement: and who, entertaining such sentiments, fear at the same time that a presumptuous estimation of the superiority which we certainly enjoy over our predecessors, may tend to foster sentiments which, if not vicious, are yet so unlike virtues, that knowledge becomes less desirable when allied to them. It is hardly a paradox to maintain that we may become uncharitable and spiteful in our treatment of our contemporaries in consequence of our scornful triumphs over the credulity of Albertus Magnus or Roger Bacon, and that by despising the ignorance of past times we crush the germ of real amelioration. Sir Thomas Brown, who stood upon the isthmus which divides us from them, has thus pointed out the main cause of their errors. 'The mortallest enemy unto knowledge, that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion to authority, and more especially the establishing of our belief upon the dictates of antiquity. For, as every capacity may observe, most men of ages present so superstitiously do look on ages past, that the authority of the one exceeds the reasons of the other.' Other foes to knowledge have now arisen, and which are to be combated with greater difficulty. Our prevailing fault is an impatience of all teachers, of all authority, of all experience, of all precedent; a fault which derives its principal support from the notions which we entertain of the great superiority of ourselves over all who have gone before us. Enthusiasm misleads us, and we form an estimate of the merits of our age which will be sobered by reflection. Our large words deceive us, and not only

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are they the vehicles of false ideas, but they also always associate themselves with opinions which involve an utter contradiction.

Such is the conclusion to which we arrive. And those who are most strenuous in extolling the improvement of the present age, are usually at the same time the most earnest in deploring the obstinacy of mankind in refusing to adopt the opinions which they advocate, opinions, which, according to their representation, are either the cause or the consequence of the intellectual pre-eminence of modern times. Praises are lavished on the 'enlightened world' collectively, which are denied to all its component parts save one. Under pretence of lauding our contemporaries we are simply whispering a tribute of flattery into our own ears. And the merits with which we are so willing to invest the universal age expand from our own egotism.

Nor even where the progress of knowledge is most cheering and undeniable, should we allow it to fill us with overweening glory, because we are then too often tempted to indulge in bitterness, or even in anger, towards those who, as we imagine, are disabled by their mental inferiority or ignorance from contributing to the causes of our exultation. Calm reflection will teach us to view the trophies which have been gained by the human intellect with less complacency, but at the same time we may perhaps become subdued into a greater degree of toleration towards its failings. Science has triumphed over matter. Fire impels the vessel along the hostile element. The aeronaut soars above the eagle in the thin expanse, and the firm metals torn from the bowels of the earth fume into gas at the touch of the chemist, and wing him on his way. The triple ray of the sun has been unravelled. We ascend in contemplation on his beams, and bathe in the central flood of light and life. And we have weighed in the balance the orbs which circle on the dark verge of our universe. Bounds however have been prescribed to us, and we must not sorrow, if we who are placed a little below the angels, are not allowed to pass them. There is a truer philosophy from which we learn that our present state of being is not the existence in which we are to advance in an unchecked career of excellence. Faculties of miraculous energy and force have been given to the human mind, but they have been imprinted on dust and ashes, and united to imperfections, reminding us that they are not our own; and that we are heedless of the will, and unthankful to the goodness of the Infinite Intelligence from whom they have been derived, if we merely deem those gifts to be subservient to the poor, proud selfishness of mortality. The learning of one generation becomes folly in the next. We change our baubles, but our infirmity remains the same; and if there are immortal spectators of the fleeting drama of human life, they witness in every century the same peevish actors though

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though in other garbs, and the same brief plot though slightly diversified by its interludes. Great, yet limited powers have been bestowed on man; but when he confides presumptuously in the strength which he thus attains, when the science which he derives from the study of second causes lulls him into a forgetfulness of the only Beginning of all wisdom, he is betrayed into an imbecility more lamentable than ignorance, and even the truth deceives him.—But we must cease.—Thoughts are arising which we did not anticipate, and upon which we dare not dwell; for we pleased ourselves when we began to write these pages in carelessness and in sport. And the recollections of levity should be dispelled, before it is fitting that we should cherish the feelings which we are now imparting, not by our words, but by our silence. It was forbidden even to tread the pavement of the sanctuary with the sandals which had clothed the feet, when they had walked in any paths except those contained in the hallowed precinct of the temple.

ART. IV.—1. *Grundsätze der Strategie erläutert durch die Darstellung des Feldzugs von* 1796 in Deutschland. 3 vol. 8vo. Wien.

2. *Principes de la Stratégie développés par la Relation de la Campagne de* 1796, en Allemagne; *ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand, et attribué* à S. A. I. l'Archiduc Charles. Paris. 3 tomes, 8vo. 1818.

3. *Geschichte des Feldzuges von* 1799 in Deutschland und in der Schweitz. 2 vol. 8vo. 1819. Wien. mit Karten und Planen.

'I WISH, Dr. Slop, quoth my uncle Toby, you had seen what prodigious armies we had in Flanders.' A wish which, we doubt not, was re-echoed by every veteran of the old school in the evening of his days, when fighting over his fire-side the battles of his youth: for until of late years, when greater forces have been required to 'keep France and Frenchmen in awe' than at any former period, the campaigns under King William and the Duke of Marlborough were referred to by every old soldier as the beau ideal of military prowess and exertion.

It was under those consummate generals that our troops first acquired that distinguished character which they have since maintained; and that such a degree of regularity and precision was given to the art of war, that the movements of hostile armies became more like a courteous and well-bred display of talent and enterprize, than the resolute and earnest attempts of men brought into the field for the slaughter of one another. After a summer spent in manœuvres, sometimes of no very decided kind, both parties retired into winter-quarters by mutual consent; if the commander

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commander of an army sat down before a town, it became the object of enterprize for all the daring spirits enlisted in his cause; and the bad season passed with a degree of intercourse which softened exceedingly the asperities of war.

'On portait,' says Hamilton in his Memoirs of Grammont, 'quelque respect aux places de guerre, avant qu'une puissance, à laquelle rien ne peut résister, eût trouvé le moyen de les abymer par une grêle affreuse de bombes, et par le ravage de cent pièces de canon en batterie. Avant ces furieuses orages qui réduisent le gouverneur aux souterrains, et la garnison en poudre, de fréquentes sorties vivement repoussées, de vigoureuses attaques vallaimment soutenues, signalaient l'art des assiégeans, et le courage des assiégés, et par conséquent les sièges étaient d'une longueur raisonnable, et les jeunes gens avaient le tems d'y apprendre quelque chose.'

This practice, it must be acknowledged, had the effect of protracting the duration of hostilities to a very indefinite length, and the process, from its slowness, had its disadvantages. But fortified places were in those days looked upon as insurmountable barriers; and sieges could not be carried on in the depth of winter, when the ground was too hard for working in the trenches.

We have lived, however, to see the notions of our forefathers on this subject completely exploded, and a total change introduced in the mode of making war. The restless energies of France, in her republican state, allowed no repose for her own troops or those of her enemies; and the daring and impetuous spirit of Buonaparte completed the establishment of a system which has set all former rules and practice at defiance: fearlessly leaving behind him those strong places which a fortunate campaign would naturally reduce, he advanced to his object with a rapidity and a power which seldom failed of success; and regardless of the expenditure of human life which his projects might occasion, he taught his men to bivouac under every extremity of the season.

In balancing the comparative merits of these opposite modes of warfare, it will, we believe, appear that, under the old system, the consumption of men by 'famine and the ague' during the protracted operations of sieges and blockades, was fearfully great, and that, generally speaking, the most rapid mode of making war will prove the most humane; but in Buonaparte's hands men were mere machines, and he sacrificed them without scruple.

'Never,' says the author of the "Grundsätze," 'had strategical advantages greater or more decided results than in the wars which marked the last of the 18th and the first of the 19th century, because the changes produced in the military art by the French Revolution demonstrated the possibility of moving greater masses of troops with more rapidity than had ever been done before. The facility of repairing strategical errors was at an end, the offensive gained a more decided advantage

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advantage over the defensive system, and the knowledge of tactics became, more than formerly, subordinate to the science of war. Hence it arose that campaigns of a few weeks duration produced results which could otherwise only have been expected from a series of wars; and places fortified, but not valuable in a scientific point of view (strategische), became useless, whilst others, which possessed this advantage, were enabled to resist the most vigorous attacks.'

In regard to celerity of movement, the generals of the new school certainly possess a decided advantage: for though the march by which Marlborough brought up his troops before the battle of Blenheim was conducted with astonishing regularity and dispatch, as well as his celebrated advance along the Meuse, by which he so rapidly expelled the French from Belgium, yet these were exceptions to the general practice, and armies proceeded for the most part with a more measured and regular step. The French Revolution has not only taught our soldiers to manœuvre with greater rapidity, but instructed them also how to bring up with effect greater masses of troops than were formerly employed; for although it is true that the immense number of men which Buonaparte, even in his most critical conjunctures, so wonderfully contrived to have at his disposal, will, in a great degree, account for the important victories which marked his career; yet it must be allowed that the same success has sometimes attended his arms when he has been met by forces upon the same gigantic scale as his own.

'In the time of Louis XIII.' says Hamilton, 'de grands hommes commandaient de petites armées, et ces armées faisaient de grandes choses.' But in these days a little army, like 'a little learning, is a dangerous thing,' and it is curious to observe, on examining the history of some of the most important expeditions, and of the greatest battles upon record, how much the military efforts of the world have increased of late years.

We of course do not admit into our calculation the undisciplined hosts which the East at various periods has poured forth; they have in all ages, from the time of Xerxes to the present day, far exceeded in number the armies of Europe; nor can the swarms from the north, which inundated the southern provinces of this quarter of the globe, fairly be taken into the account; we speak only of warfare between civilized nations; and in examining the greatest enterprizes of antiquity we shall find that Alexander conquered Asia with 30,000 men; that Hannibal had only 50,000 men at the battle of Cannæ; that Epaminondas commanded at Leuctra a force not exceeding 6000 men; and that the number of those assembled in the armies of Cæsar and Pompey to fight for the

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the empire of the world at Pharsalia is stated to have been under 70,000 men.

If we turn, on the other hand, to modern times, we may observe (as might be expected indeed) a progressive increase in the military preparations. The Duke of Marlborough had at Malplaquet 120,000 men under his orders, and the force opposed to him is represented to have been of equal magnitude: and without entering into statements which may be disputed, or attempting an enumeration of the numbers actually brought into the field at the several tremendous conflicts which took place during the last war, it will be sufficient for our purpose to remark, that Buonaparte acknowledges to have had at Wagram 180,000 men, and 1000 pieces of cannon, and that at Borodino each army mustered upwards of 130,000 strong.

Although of high birth and parentage, (for the Archduke Charles of Austria is now acknowledged to be their author,) we believe the works before us are little known in this country. Few give their attention to the German language, and fewer still care to undertake a long treatise on tactics. The earliest of these publications, and that which we shall in the first instance advert to, was for some time supposed to be written either by General Bellegarde or General Meyer. Copies were sent over to the Prince Regent and the Duke of Wellington, and a translation was begun, which has never been completed. In Paris, however, one has appeared, although it hardly deserves the name; for a few notes of little importance, attributed to General Jomini, by no means counterbalance errors so numerous as to require an apology in the preface from the editors themselves.

Of those generals who have given to the world any relation of their own achievements, there is no one from whose works instruction as well as amusement may not be derived. We peruse Xenophon's account of his famous retreat, with all that anxiety and interest which belongs for the most part to fiction alone; Cæsar, in like manner, carries us along with him through all the details of the difficult wars in which he was engaged; and Frederic the Great, in his Memoirs, shews the hand of a master, whether he describes political or military affairs. We have instanced the most celebrated of those who have exhibited in their own persons that rare combination, talents both for command and literary attainments. The Archduke's work will be found of less general interest, being more exclusively professional, if such a term may be here employed; but still it is a very curious and valuable production; and conclusions drawn by one who commanded armies of such magnitude as the empire entrusted to his Imperial Highness, when affairs were conducted on so extensive a scale, during a period so fertile in

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important events, cannot fail of being both useful and instructive to posterity.

The art of war is one of those sciences which no theory, no application of fixed and established principles can possibly teach: it is one thing to write from experience of the past, and another to acquire a facility of directing operations by a servile adherence to the maxims of others. The rules which the Archduke has laid down for the guidance of military men are clearly defined, and not only mathematically demonstrated in the diagrams which he has given, but exemplified by a minute detail of the campaign in the year 1796. This theory and these principles had already been enlarged upon both by Bulow and Jomini, in two* works which have obtained considerable celebrity. The Archduke, however, has perhaps the advantage in having adopted a more condensed and applicable mode of reasoning; and although he may appear, like all other German writers on military subjects, too much inclined to consider war as a game, where success may be obtained by an accurate attention to certain rules; yet there is sufficient proof that he allows its due weight to the ascendancy of talent fitted for command. He who plays chiefly by rule must often be embarrassed by the occurrence of a case for which his manual furnishes him with no precedent; and hence the danger of much theoretical knowledge, when not accompanied with the requisite experience and readiness of application.

According to M. Bulow's system, for instance, the several columns of an army when on the advance should be conducted like radii to a common centre, or point of attack, from which, when retreating, they must always diverge; and the whole art of war is thus reduced by him into these concentric and eccentric movements.

If we turn, on the other hand, to General Jomini's voluminous treatise, we shall gather, as the result of all which he has laid down, that the art of war, as exemplified by Buonaparte, consists in the proper application of three combinations: viz.—

1. The art of disposing the lines of operation in the most advantageous manner.

2. That of bringing forward large bodies of men with the greatest possible rapidity against the most important point of the main line of operations, or that which is incidental or simultaneous in its movements, &c.

3. The art of combining the simultaneous employment of the greatest part of the force which a general has under his command against the most important point of the enemy's line in the field of battle.

* Système de Guerre Moderne; par Général Bulow. Traité de Grande Tactique; par Général Jomini.

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Now there is less of the diagram and more that is practical in these directions; but though the principles which they contain were probably acted upon by Buonaparte to a certain degree, and were followed in most instances by brilliant success, it is very questionable whether they could with safety be adopted by others.

The General, like the rest of his school, is too enthusiastic an admirer of the ex-Emperor to see any faults in the conduct of his idol; and we were struck, in reading his comparison of the campaigns of Frederic the Great and those of Buonaparte, at his want of candour in not noticing the singular difference which marks the case of the two men; inasmuch as Napoleon achieved the greater part of his victories with half of Europe under his command, whilst the King of Prussia had to contend with the most powerful states of the continent, leagued together for his destruction.

The Archduke, in his Preface, combats the received opinion, that a general (as it has been said of poets) must be born with military talents; and that, in such a case, study is by no means requisite.

'This,' says he, 'is only the excuse of idleness or presumption—Genius is born with us, it is true, but a man can only become great by the cultivation of his talents. One so gifted may sometimes neglect the systematic course of instruction, and outstrip, as it were, common experience; he may advance to results without pausing to consider principles, but more frequently he becomes involved in inextricable difficulties, and should he reach to a high pitch of elevation, it is more commonly the effect of some peculiar good fortune than of his own individual merit. Genius, therefore, requires to be guided and directed—it must be refined, assisted, and, in some sort, kept in order; whether it be by an accidental or a fortunate train of circumstances, by the influence of what is passing without, by necessity, by the concatenation of events, by reflection, or by experience—in a word, it must be formed. And if it be true that without genius no man has ever become a great general, we shall find, on the other hand, proofs sufficient in the pages of history that those commanders of armies whose talent was rather acquired than natural, have, when they united perseverance and boldness with discernment in their projects, triumphed over those who had nothing beyond genius to trust to.

'The work which is here produced is the result of meditation, and of experience gathered both at home and abroad. It treats of the science of war, properly so called; to which we shall give the name of Strategy, to distinguish it from the art of war commonly called Tactics. The first part contains the principles of this science, with the application of them to a supposed seat of war. In the second and third parts these principles are illustrated by a portion of the history of the late war.'

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What is here observed of the dangers to which genius is too frequently exposed has been often urged to restrain the flights of talent and imagination; and there can be no question, that every officer who aspires to command should not only be skilled in the manœuvring of troops, but conversant in those higher branches of his profession on which the work before us exclusively treats: but we are inclined to think that more men are gifted with great talents for command than is commonly supposed; and that if proofs of this are not oftener exhibited, it arises more from the want of opportunity and means of distinction than from the rarity of its existence.

Marshal Saxe, in speaking of the qualifications necessary for the commander-in-chief of an army, gives the first place to courage, the second to genius, and the third to health. Under the first of these qualities must be classed that entire self-possession, that promptitude of decision, and that undaunted perseverance, which are absolutely essential to make a great general, for bravery is a virtue which he may be said to share in common with the whole of his army. By genius is here meant—a fertility of expedient, quickness of invention, and a readiness in the application and discovery of resources. Under health is included all bodily requisites—a quickness of sight, an unwearied activity, and a power of enduring continued fatigue. To find so many valuable requisites united in one person is certainly rare.

The great merit of the theoretical part of the Archduke's work consists in its simplicity and conciseness. The first chapter, which does not exceed forty-five pages, contains all he has to say on the subject; and in the first section of it, the definitions are laid down in the most clear and intelligible manner.

In order to exemplify the principles of it, the author has given us, in the second chapter, a supposed scene of action; one most fertile in military events during the course of the last war, and with which the Archduke has proved that he is most thoroughly acquainted. It comprises that extensive tract of country which lies between the Lake of Constance, the Rhine, the Main, the Eger, the Elbe, the Moldau, the Ems, and the mountains in the most northerly parts of the District of Saltzburg and the Tyrol. By the help of a very excellent map which accompanies this work, (to which also belong some well engraved plans of the principal engagements mentioned,) we are enabled to follow without difficulty, and with a degree of interest which seldom belongs to such minute description, the very masterly reconnoissance which is given of this tract of country. It may indeed serve as a model to military men; the course of every river, the direction in which the various ranges of mountains or hills extend, the different communications which connect the distant parts, every accident or circumstance

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circumstance of ground—all are detailed with the most careful minuteness.

Having marked out the theatre of war, and discussed such of its features as are most striking in a military point of view, a comparative estimate is given, in the next section, of the two bases of operation which the contending armies are supposed to occupy. That of the west extending from Mentz to Breisach, a distance of 41½ German miles, or fourteen days' march, is stated to have many advantages which do not belong to the other. The Rhine, in the first place, forms a strong line of defence, over which there are numerous crossings, and various roads beyond it which lead to the eastward, and which facilitate the communication between its several points; it is defended too by a line of fortresses, and at some little distance a second row is formed, which adds to its security.

The eastern basis of operation, which is supposed to reach from Steyer to Theresienstadt, a distance of 31 German miles, or ten days' march, presents no such favourable circumstances as that on the frontiers of France; the right wing alone is covered by Theresienstadt and Prague, and part of the left by the line of the Ems, but the passages across this river, as well as over the Moldau, on the right, are few and unfavourable; there is only one great road of communication, and the Danube divides it into two.

Even to those least conversant in military matters, the importance of a river, wherever the movement of troops is concerned, must be apparent. 'We shall accordingly find,' says the Archduke, upon a careful examination of the wars which have taken place in Germany at various periods, 'that the defile of the Danube is the key of this country, and that the possession of it has always decided the contest which has been fought upon the banks of that river.'

The historical part of the book opens with a summary detail of the first campaigns against France: they were altogether extremely discouraging, and gave little promise of that glorious termination which, after a long series of losses and disappointments, at last put an end to the agitations of Europe.

At the opening of the campaign of 1796, the superiority in numerical force rather leant to the side of the Austrians, as the annexed enumeration of the forces engaged will shew:—

Army of Rhine and Moselle.	Army of Upper Rhine.
General Moreau.	Field Marshal Wurmser.
71,581 . . . Infantry,	60,836 . . Infantry,
6,515 . . . Cavalry.	21,940 . . Cavalry.
Army of Sambre and Meuse.	Army of Lower Rhine
General Jourdan.	Archduke Charles.
65,000 . . . Infantry,	71,076 . . . Infantry,
1,100 . . . Cavalry.	20,702 . . . Cavalry.

But the advantage of ground possessed by the French was more than amply sufficient to make up for their inferiority in numbers—their basis of operations is described as in every respect preferable, and their position as of such strength that they might at pleasure assume the offensive, whilst their opponents could not attempt any forward movement of the kind without considerable hazard. In fact we should almost be led to imagine, that the Austrians hardly considered the forcible passage of the Rhine as a possible event, and this is the only mode of accounting for their neglect of the necessary precautions to strengthen the line of that river, and to bar the approaches into the German territory.

From the enumeration which we have already given of the contending armies, it will be seen that Moreau, one of the generals, was opposed to the Archduke Charles, on the Rhine; and of all the military characters which France has of late years produced, there is no one whose reputation stands so high both as a general and as a man. His retreat, in this campaign, has always been considered as a masterly display of talent, and his advance into Germany, in the following year, proved that his skill was no less adapted to the direction of the forward movements of an army.

According to the Archduke's view of the matter, Moreau's ability was not equally displayed in the whole conduct of this retreat; and as the Prince has most unreservedly pointed out the faults of his own proceedings, as well as those of the generals under his command, he may fairly be allowed to comment on those of his adversary. The chief merit of Moreau, on this occasion, appears to have been a skilful concentration of his forces, whilst those of the Austrians were scattered and divided; and the only mistake, of any importance, laid to his charge, (which is so considered by Jomini, and not even denied by his own biographer,) is that, from apprehension for the fate of Jourdan, he made a false movement to the left, which compelled him, after some loss, to abandon the project he had originally formed, of retreating by both routes of the Danube. He is blamed by the Archduke for relinquishing this advantage, as well as for a want of decision and activity after his retreat was determined upon; and it would also appear that, from an unwillingness to give up any portion of the ground he had gained, he did not fall back upon the Danube so rapidly as he ought, where he might have maintained a position the most advantageous for his future operations under every possible contingency.

Moreau's papers were seized by Buonaparte at the time of his banishment from France, which is much to be regretted, as it would have been curious to compare the accounts of two great generals of affairs in which they were so intimately engaged. From the meagre Memoir published by Beauchamp we extract what

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what he gives as a letter from Moreau written at the time of which we are speaking, since it explains the motives which decided him upon the retreat which he carried into effect with so much ability.

'The enemy,' says he, 'appeared only anxious to gain time, always escaping from us and giving way before us, as often as we shewed a disposition to make resistance. It was to be presumed that, after having succeeded in driving back the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, the Archduke Charles would turn with all his force upon us, and endeavour to extend himself in my rear. These powerful considerations determined me upon making a retrograde movement, in order that the army might be placed in a more compact position, where it might safely remain till that of the Sambre and Meuse should be able to resume the offensive. To assist in extricating the latter, I resolved upon detaching a body of troops to the left bank of the Danube, which might have the effect of annoying the rear of the Archduke, whilst the rest of the army, concentrated at Neubourg, might keep in check the force under General Latour, and threaten to take him in flank if he moved upon Augsburg.'—*Life of Moreau*, p. 21.

As may be expected in a work where two volumes are dedicated to the military operations of a campaign, these points are all discussed by the Archduke with great minuteness; but whatever differences of opinion may exist as to some of Moreau's movements during this campaign, the general conduct of it is clearly of a very masterly description; and the ability of General Jourdan, to whom the Army of the Lower Rhine was entrusted, scarcely appears to less advantage. He is, however, blamed by the Archduke for a certain degree of jealousy of Moreau, which is denied by the French commentator, and for a want of sufficient promptitude in his first advance, which he justly considers as a capital error.

'Many faults,' says he, 'can be amended, and many losses can be repaired, all excepting that of time. The commander-in-chief should therefore be always in the neighbourhood of his advanced-guard, all news must come to him by that channel, and by this means alone can he acquire the requisite knowledge of places and circumstances to direct his projects in sufficient time for their execution with rapidity and effect.'

Hostilities began in the quarter where Jourdan commanded, and his first operations were attended with considerable success. The Austrian generals had been forced to retreat, and the enemy was almost at the gates of Ratisbon, when the Archduke determined upon flying to the relief of the beaten army. Leaving, therefore, a force to watch Moreau, who had advanced into Bavaria, he effected a junction with Wartensleben; and, when so great a superiority of force was opposed to him, Jourdan had no chance of

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safety but in immediate retreat. Having thus compelled one army to re-cross the Rhine, the Archduke turned to attack that of Moreau, who still maintained his position in Bavaria, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian General Latour.

Augsburg and Munich had surrendered to the French arms; but fearful of the overpowering force which might now be brought against him, since his flank was left exposed by the defeat of Jourdan, Moreau's first object was to retire upon the Iller.

His retreat was a series of conflicts, of which the battle of Biberach stands the more conspicuous, and his passage through the Black Forest is certainly one of the most hazardous enterprizes of the kind upon record. To arrive at the Rhine, it was absolutely necessary for Moreau's plans that this route should be taken, though it led through the Valley of Hell, a dangerous defile, of the outlet of which the Austrians had possession.* Jomini appears to be of opinion that if the Archduke had advanced with greater rapidity, the progress of his enemy might have been more successfully impeded; but by skilful arrangements all difficulties were overcome, and after fighting two considerable battles, Moreau retired with the remainder of his troops across the Rhine little more than six months after his first crossing it in force.

The preliminaries of Leoben, in the following year, put a stop to the exertions of Austria, and in the autumn, by the treaty of Campo Formio, peace was proclaimed between the empire and France. This, however, can only be considered as a feverish truce, and in the year 1799 hostilities were renewed. The Archduke was for a time again employed, but owing either to the state of his health, or to political circumstances, we find the chief command of the Austrian armies shortly after entrusted to other hands. General Kray succeeded to this important post, and the emperor himself having joined the army, on quitting it left the command with his brother the Archduke John. The battle of Hohenlinden then occurred, and all its fatal consequences, for Moreau, like Turenne, who is said to have been timid and circumspect in his youth, appears, like him, to have become bold and enterprizing as he advanced in years. This battle clearly appears to have been lost from a want of previous concert, and an extraordinary and inconceivable degree of local ignorance.—A very little examination will be sufficient to shew that the Austrians ought never to have quitted the line of the Inn; for, by abandoning it, the

* When Marshal Villars, in the year 1702, was pressed by the Elector of Bavaria to traverse the Black Mountains in order to effect a junction with the Electoral forces, he is said to have written in reply, 'The Valley of Neustadt, which you mention, is that which is called the Valley of Hell. Your Highness, therefore, must pardon my using the expression, but I have not sufficient of the Devil about me to pass through it.'

Archduke

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Archduke John fell into the snare which was laid for him by Moreau, and found himself embarrassed in a country where his superiority of cavalry could be of no avail.

'It is an acknowledged principle,' says a very intelligent French writer on this subject, 'that the base of a plan for offensive operations should form the best possible line of defence,—and this fundamental principle cannot be violated with impunity, because nothing is more difficult than a sudden transition from offensive to defensive operations, when false measures, or an unlucky turn of affairs may have overset the plans of the General who attacks. If the line of defence which ought to have formed his basis has not been well taken up, if the advantageous points, and such as were strong by nature, have not served him as points from which to advance, they will not stand him in stead on the retreat; all will fall into confusion—the beaten army, however high in courage, cannot be brought into line except at a great distance, and will have lost at once all the advantages of the offensive in action, as well as those of positions for defensive warfare.'

This is what was unhappily experienced by the Austrians after the battle of Hohenlinden. By abandoning the Tyrol as a point of support, and the line of the Inn, they gave up almost every thing; that of the Salza, it is true, still remained, but when this also was given up, and Salzburg in the possession of the enemy, it was easy to perceive that the fate of Austria was decided; and that an army which had shewn itself unequal to maintain either of the strong lines which it had successively abandoned, was not likely to rally by retiring upon the capital of which it had already exhausted the resources.

Moreau shewed great ability in profiting by this state of affairs, and advancing with a rapidity which allowed his enemy no repose, no time to recruit his disorganized troops. The unfortunate divisions too, which at that time prevailed amongst the Austrian generals, in no small degree contributed to the want of unity which was evident in all the subsequent operations of the army; and the absence of the Archduke Charles, who possessed the talent of conciliating the good will of those under him without relaxing from the strict course of military discipline, could not fail of being felt most severely at this crisis.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into any lengthened inquiry on the probable causes of the decided superiority on the part of France, which marked the long succession of hostilities we have briefly noticed. A few remarks, however, on the subject will not be superfluous.

'Austria was worsted,' says the Archduke, in the conclusion of his work, 'because to the operations of the French, which were grounded on a well combined system of fortresses, a careful survey of the whole theatre of war, and the direction to one end of all the force employed,

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she had only to oppose the bravery and superior organization of her army, and some splendid, although insulated, exploits of her commanders.'

But we suspect that the seat of the evil lies deeper.

'In spite of the example of Laudon and of the Archduke Charles,' (says a writer who appears to have formed a very accurate estimate of the intrinsic merits of the different European armies,) 'the Austrians have always kept on the defensive within lines and positions, and have never availed themselves of the advantages which they might have derived from a more active and energetic saystem of warfare. There is no change required in the Austrian army, for it is, as a body, as much superior to that of the French, as the French soldier individually excels the Austrian; but the Imperial Generals always make war after their own heavy and immovable manner. The French only seek to attain their object with a total disregard of what it may cost; the chief care of the Austrian is to retain what he possesses, and every possible loss is calculated with a nicety unknown to the French.'

On many occasions, we believe, that a battle would have proved less destructive, and entailed fewer sacrifices by the abandonment of territory, than the retreat which was chosen as the alternative; and the constancy of the Austrian army under so many reverses of this description proves, in the fullest manner, the excellence of its composition, and its superiority under difficulties to that of the French. A very large proportion of its force is always employed in keeping up the chain of communications and other minor services, so that one portion of the troops which might, if near at hand, perform good service, cannot be brought into action, before that which it may be sent to succour is beaten or dispersed. The point of honour too which leads the Austrian officers to attach so much discredit to the loss of cannon is mischievous and absurd in the highest degree; for although the desertion of colours must certainly imply discomfiture and disgrace, it is not so with artillery, which ought only to be considered as one of the implements of war.

A state of hostilities has almost always proved disastrous to Austria, though her people are warlike in the extreme, and the love of arms and distinction the ruling passion amongst her nobility. This, generally speaking, has arisen from the same causes, and from similar defects in the conduct of her armies and the system of her government. Her trials in the course of the last twenty-five years have been greater by many degrees than she ever experienced before; and those who have attached credit to the assertions so frequently made by Buonaparte, that English gold alone for so long a period kept the nations of the continent at war, cannot be aware how little any subsidies from this country are able to compensate for the losses which Germany has suffered in her finances

finances and population during the late wars in which she was engaged.

A considerable portion of the disasters which have befallen the Austrian armies has been sometimes attributed to the Aulic Council, by which their operations are in a great measure directed; it is possible that some disadvantages have arisen from the check which this superintending body may have proved to the free and unrestrained exercise of military talent, but we are not inclined to impute to it a degree of blame beyond what it deserves.

This tribunal was originally confined in its jurisdiction to the hereditary domains of the Emperor; it formed a court which decided, without appeal, in all processes entered there; and though at first sight it appears extremely hazardous to allow of any control over armies actively engaged from such a quarter, the effects of an arrangement of this kind may not be so pernicious as might be apprehended. Many powers under every government are necessarily dormant; and it is not therefore safe to argue against the practice of any public body, because its constitution may be defective in theory.

Having concluded our remarks on the Archduke's first work, we must now advert to a second, which is of later date. To the military man both are valuable; but in the account of the campaign of 1799, as in the former publication, the great minuteness of local description, and the constant recurrence to the principles originally laid down, may perhaps fatigue the general reader. The causes which have produced such frequent reverses to the Austrian arms—the slowness of their movements—their defective commissariat—the disadvantages arising from a want of unity in command, and from the guidance of armies in the field by men in office at home—all the defects, in short, which we have already noticed in speaking of the first campaign, are acknowledged by the Archduke in their fullest extent; and his Imperial Highness seems more inclined to dwell upon the faults of the Austrians, and even upon such as may be attributed to his own military conduct, as illustrations of his own principles, than upon the success to which his countrymen may fairly lay claim.

After a very minute description of the whole seat of war, which is divided by the author into three regions, viz. the plain of Italy, the plain of Germany, and the mountainous country intervening, he proceeds to blame the two contending powers for supposing that the possession of the latter would ensure that of the plains.

'Instead (says he) of maintaining a contest for the Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, and the Grisons, the first object of the French should have been to push for Vienna, that of their opponents to defend the line of the Danube; but France was at that time under the unsettled government of

of the Directory, and although the peace lately concluded with Austria was not supposed to be lasting, she had not made the best use of the respite which it afforded.'

It is curious to observe to what rude shocks received opinions are subject in these days of new light and reform. By men of our un-military habits the occupation of the defiles, fortresses, and snug retreats of a mountainous region have always, we apprehend, been considered of the first importance; but here we are told, and that too by a great commander, that all the advantages attendant on mountain-warfare are on the side of the assailant; and are hence led to infer, that the only theatre of war upon which a General ought to perform is one where he may exhibit with effect his whole stock of strategical and tactical knowledge. To account for the prevalence of this error, (which it is one of the chief objects of the Archduke's work to correct,) we are told, that circumstances and the opinions of others give a bias and direction to the affairs in which most men are engaged, and that the majority of persons, especially in matters of importance, adapt their way of thinking to that of others. This, we doubt not, is very much the fact; but we must leave it to the military men of the age to decide, on an examination of his work, whether his Imperial Highness has made out his case against the Alps under their several denominations in the Tyrol and Grisons.

The French seem to have discovered by experience the insufficiency of their means to carry on the great designs they had projected at the outset; nor was a better order of things established until Massena became commander-in-chief, and considerable levies were ordered to reinforce his army. The Austrians, in the mean time, had overrun the Grison country, and were greatly superior to the enemy in numbers along the whole line of the mountainous region. The assistance they derived from the natives of this country appears to have been trifling, which affords another proof that the patriotism of the Swiss is greater in theory than practice—and that they fight with more spirit when in the pay of another country than gratuitously for their own.

Whilst the French armies in this quarter were placed under one head, the Archduke and Bellegarde were injudiciously kept independent of each other. In spite however of this disadvantage a severe attack was made on the French line in the neighbourhood of Zurich, in the beginning of June; and from that time, till the middle of August, both parties remained on the defensive in their several positions.

Omitting the operations on the Rhine, as comparatively of little moment, we shall now turn to the brilliant career of Suwaroff, in the plains of Italy—an insulated period of success during the long series

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series of reverses to which the Allies were exposed, in their early efforts to restrain the power of France.

It is not surprising that the value attached by the Archduke to set rules and principles in the conduct of military operations should lead him to under-rate the talents of a general who, like Suwaroff, despised all movements excepting those which led him in face of the enemy, and who from this had acquired the name of 'Field Marshal Forwarts' from the Germans, who served under his orders. No two men, in truth, could be more dissimilar; and to judge by a comparison of the statements made by the biographer of the Russian commander and of those contained in the work before us, no two generals were ever less likely to act together with advantage. Let us see how the case stands.

Suwaroff had in Italy, under his orders, at the opening of the campaign, a force exceeding 90,000 men, and thus possessed a great numerical superiority over the French in that quarter.—Moreau, who had succeeded Scherer in the command of the army of Italy, was too weak alone to make head against the Allies; his object therefore was to effect a junction with Macdonald, who commanded in the south of Italy, and to the attainment of it, all his efforts were directed.

'Suwaroff,' says the Archduke, 'superior as he was in force and with every advantage on his side, ought to have driven Moreau out of Italy, whilst unsupported by Macdonald; but having no military science beyond that which he had gained in his campaigns against the Turks, no plan of operations except an instinct which taught him to seek out the enemy wherever he was to be found, his movements were conducted without the necessary calculation as to time and place—they shewed bodily energy, but not intellectual decision. Suwaroff's campaign was brilliant—Moreau's scientific; each fortunately had a part to play which suited his character. Suwaroff would have done nothing without a superior force—Moreau would have failed had success depended on the boldness and celerity of his manœuvres.'

To the opinion here given of Moreau's great talents as a military man we are fully inclined to subscribe; with those which relate to the abilities of his antagonist we do not so entirely concur. In the first place it should be observed, that the embarrassments created by the cabinet of Vienna to those in command on foreign service, (and of which the Archduke himself in some places so heavily complains,) ought fairly to be taken into the account in forming our judgment of the conduct of Suwaroff. The reduction of the chief fortresses in Italy was absurdly pressed from that quarter as a necessary measure; and the force which the Marshal had at his disposal, after the requisite deductions for this object, was dwindled down to 32,000 men. Weakened as he thus was, it

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was so far from being in his power, without considerable risk, to continue the pursuit of Moreau, that fears were entertained by the Austrian court lest he should be crushed by the junction of his enemies, who would, when united, be more than a match for him. He was not however blind to his danger, or regardless of the necessary precautions. 'Quand j'aurai étrillé Macdonald,' said he, 'je reviendrai étriller Moreau;' and accordingly after enticing the former into the plains of Lombardy, he fought him for three days on the Trebia, in a conflict of unusual obstinacy, and so completely discomfited his army, that nothing but a diversion in his favour by Moreau prevented its complete destruction

Having thus disposed of Macdonald, this Northern Hannibal, as he was afterwards styled, turned upon Moreau, and compelled him to retire into the neighbourhood of Genoa; from which perilous situation he was only released by Suwaroff's recall from Italy, at a time when the French General had announced to the Senate his total inability to defend the place longer. Thus terminated this celebrated campaign. In five months this unscientific commander had gained as many great battles, and reduced all the fortified places in Lombardy and Piedmont.

The evacuation of Italy by the Allies at this conjuncture was most injudicious. It was prejudicial to the cause, not only in its immediate effects, as it called away troops from a quarter where they were gaining renown, but it also served most fatally to increase the jealousies which existed between the Allied Powers, and finally contributed to dissever one of them from the coalition. Those who are inclined to impute to the Archduke the adoption of this step should read what he says on the subject, and they will probably then agree with us as to the quarter where blame ought justly to attach.

Suwaroff, who fortunately had no turn for diplomacy, was accustomed to excuse his disinclination to write by saying, 'that the pen sat ill in the hands of a soldier;' and as the Archduke professes to touch as little as possible on subjects purely political, such parts of his book are hardly fair subjects for criticism. We are sorry however to observe the common cry of the continent, in regard to the selfish policy of England, re-echoed from so high a quarter. The views of this country, according to the general creed of foreign politicians, are exclusively directed to the maintenance of her maritime superiority: and thus in enumerating the different causes which led the Allies to agree to the abandonment both of Italy and Switzerland at this crisis, a jealousy lest Russia should obtain a port in the Mediterranean is said to have actuated the councils of England; whilst the Russians were stimulated by the hopes of singly beating the French armies, and perhaps of advancing victo-

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rious into France. The motives which led the Austrian cabinet to acquiesce in this arrangement were more obvious: it has been attributed to a desire on their part to appropriate to themselves certain of the King of Sardinia's territories; but at all events they were not sorry that such formidable allies as the Russians should be removed from their favourite possessions on the Italian soil.

From whatever combination of causes it proceeded, the measure itself was finally resolved upon, and orders were issued that the Austrian army should attempt a co-operation on the Lower Rhine with an expedition composed of English and Russians, to be landed at the Helder. The result of this enterprize is well known, and the danger which must accompany the attempt to land on an enemy's coast, without the necessary precaution in case of a reverse, appears to be so clear as to render the Archduke's observations on the subject almost superfluous.

The want of harmony between the Austrians and Russians, produced by this change in the object of their operations at this period of the campaign, had a very prejudicial effect. Previously to quitting his position in Switzerland, the Archduke resolved upon disturbing the French communication by an attack on Massena's left wing, which had been considerably weakened by the operations carried on upon the right, and in the mountains around St. Gothard. The dispositions for executing this project seem to have been well planned; but the whole failed, because, in consequence of an incorrect calculation, a sufficient number of pontoons could not be found to throw a bridge across the Aar. Time was thus lost—the French assembled in force, and a most discreditable picture is presented of the very defective state of the Austrian equipments for this branch of service. A long dissertation then follows on the art of throwing bridges over rivers. It is not every general who will be inclined to imitate Suwaroff, or much science on this subject would be completely thrown away.—At the battle of the Trebia he is said to have put himself at the head of a troop of Cossacks, and to have swum across the river, as a practical reproof to a corps of Austrian cavalry, who, although ordered to advance, were waiting for pontoons.

The Austrians have been highly censured for withdrawing so large a force as 60,000 men from Switzerland, before the arrival of Suwaroff, and for retarding his passage of St. Gothard, by withholding from his army the means of transport. As the key of the position, the Archduke distinctly pronounces that, in his opinion, Switzerland ought not to have been abandoned, and he even acknowledges that some share of blame may attach to himself, for not being sufficiently prompt in his support of the Russians against Massena's line. Under such circumstances, to communicate to Suwaroff

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Suwaroff the change that had taken place, and to suggest to him the propriety of remaining on the defensive, must have proved a task which his Imperial Highness would willingly have avoided. The communication however was made, and the reply is too characteristic to be here omitted.

'Dites à Monseigneur que je ne connois pas la défensive, je ne sais qu'attaquer. J'irai en avant, quand bon me semblera. Alors je ne m'arrêtrai pas en Suisse; je marcherai, selon mes ordres, directement en Franche Comté. Dites lui qu'à Vienne je serai à ses pieds; mais qu'ici je suis au moins son égal; il est Feld Maréchal; je le suis aussi. Il est au service d'un grand Empereur, et moi aussi; il est jeune, et moi je suis vieux. J'ai acquis de l'expérience à force de victoires et n'ai de conseils ni d'avis à recevoir de qui que ce soit; je n'en prends que de Dieu, et de mon épée.'

Suwaroff, thus abandoned to his own resources, commenced that retreat which has been justly considered as one of the most extraordinary military attempts upon record, and of which Massena himself is reported to have said, 'Je donnerois toutes mes campagnes pour celle de Suisse du Général Souworoff.' The idea of conducting a large army over mountains which could with difficulty be crossed by small detachments, and that too in the month of October, is treated by the Archduke as an absurd and visionary project, though full credit is given to the Marshal for the promptitude of his decisions in all cases of difficulty. The numbers of the Russians about to embark on this dangerous service are stated by the Archduke not to have exceeded 18,000 infantry and 4000 Cossacks, with 25 field-pieces, which, from necessity, were sent round by the Tyrol; and on this occasion we find a summary of his opinions on the composition of Russian armies, which although somewhat long and not very complimentary to his allies, we shall venture to transcribe.

'The Russians had appeared on the theatre of war with the reputation of possessing the best qualities of a soldier, namely, distinguished bravery, and a discipline of which the value can only fairly be brought to the proof when he who commands them knows how to direct it. This bravery is founded upon physical strength, which decides little except in close conflict, a species of fighting which, since the introduction of weapons which take effect from a distance, and of movements which prevent its application, seldom occurs, even in the greatest battles, and only when both sides are equal in the skilfulness of their manuœvres.

'Neither the Russian cavalry or infantry were accustomed to rapid movements. To arrive at perfect immovability was their aim; a degree of steadiness which, although essential in the first formation of the soldier, is not required in the management of larger bodies, where the detail is less considered than the tactical arrangement of the whole.

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As little were the heavy gun carriages of the Russian ordnance at that time adapted to rapid manœuvres, and the smallness of the balls compared with the size of the cannon operated against their firing, either with accuracy or to a distance.

'The chief safety of the army depends upon the Cossacks. Accustomed, by continual inroads, to watch every motion of the enemy, they become of little use in a country unfit for cavalry to act, and in defensive positions behind rivers the advantage is completely lost which may be derived from their desultory warfare.

'To supply the necessities of a Russian army an enormous train follows it, which impedes all its movements; adapted in its establishment for carrying on war in the inhospitable plains of the Turkish frontier, the possibility of dispensing with many things, according to the new system of finding every where articles of first necessity, of making shift with little baggage, hardly ever enter into their thoughts. Since the year 1763 the only wars of consequence in which they were engaged had been with the Turks, in which determined courage, personal bravery, and the maintaining a close and compact order in the ranks, had commonly decided the day, without any skill in tactics being required. Hence their generals and officers have, for the most part, formed themselves exclusively on these principles, and have remained unacquainted with every other department of the military art. Elated by their last victories over the Turks, inspired by the French emigrants with contempt for the Frenchmen of the new school, and latterly for the Austrians also, who had failed in bringing to a close the war which appeared so easy, and easily convinced that the arrival of Souwaroff had alone decided the fate of arms in Italy—both they and their general were now completely blinded by their own presumption. It was not that noble self-confidence which raises the soul and excites it to deeds of greatness, but the sign of mental weakness and of a correspondent dejection in times of adversity. Korsakow thought himself sure of such a superiority of force, that his opponents must of necessity direct their movements by his, and that precaution was not more indispensible in Switzerland than in the steppes of the Dniester. As if in common the stationary body were enabled to guide the decisions of that more easily set in motion—and as if every particular adversary and every particular country did not require a peculiar application of the principles laid down for the conduct of warlike operations.'

It was not until St. Gothard had been surmounted by the extraordinary perseverance of the Russian army, that Suwaroff became aware of the extent of the danger to which he was exposed. The corps under Korsakoff and Hotze, to which he looked for support in his progress through the mountains, had been successively defeated by Massena, and driven back into the Grisons, and on descending into the valley of the Reuss his soldiers, worn out with cold and fatigue, found new enemies to contend with in every direction. The Cossacks were compelled to dismount, as their beasts became useless, or, falling over precipices, were lost in the snow;

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snow; and the horrors of this situation were powerfully increased by the absence of all intelligence of what was passing elsewhere. What an accumulation of peril is presented to us in the following passage! We select it, as it relates to a remarkable spot, though even in describing a scene of so much interest, the didactic style is not departed from, which pervades the whole work.

'As Souwaroff then attempted to push forward into the Valley of the Reuss, he arrived at what is called the Urnerloch, a dark cavern, eighty yards long, through which it was necessary for his troops to defile in order to reach the Devil's Bridge by a steep declivity. This bridge connects by a single arch the rocks which run along the two sides of the valley, and over it the way leads to the left bank of the Reuss. The arch was sprung; and the French, posted on the opposite mountain, by a continued fire, rendered its repair impossible, and commanded not only the outlet but also the entrance of the Urnerloch. The first Russian battalion gallantly advanced to the cavern, and were completely swept away. The column followed, and as the shot of the enemy poured in thick upon them, all were hurried pell mell into this natural vault. The foremost were thrust forward by those in the rear, and thus became exposed to the murderous fire kept up from the other side, or fell over the rocks into the abyss beneath. At last it was resolved to turn the enemies' flank by a circuitous route,—an attempt which seldom fails among mountains, as the adversary rarely has sufficient time or advantages of ground to guard himself against it. A ford above the bridge was accordingly tried by the Russians—they threw themselves breast high into the impetuous stream—gained the heights on the opposite side, and drove the French from their positions there. The Devil's Bridge was repaired by trunks of trees and planks —and Souwaroff reached Wasen in the evening of that day.'

So much intrepidity and firmness deserved a better fate than the severe hardships which befel the Russian troops during the fifteen days in which they were left to scramble through the Swiss mountains. Suwaroff at last retired, with difficulty, to the east of the Lake of Constance; and, in the height of his indignation at what he termed the treachery of the Austrians, refused a conference with the Archduke, which was proposed at this time. The Emperor Paul shortly after withdrew his forces from the coalition, and Austria was thus left to cope single-handed with France. In the following year (1800) Buonaparte took the command of the Army of Reserve, and advanced into Italy; there the fate of the war was decided at Marengo, as it was in Germany by the battle of Hohenlinden.

We cannot bring our article to a close without a few words respecting that strange mortal, Suwaroff.—It is not surprising that his singularities, and his total contempt for all the forms and observances of war, should lower him in the estimation of a German tactician.

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tactician. Being moreover aware of the disadvantages which attend the tedious mode of Austrian warfare, he was apt to express, with too little reserve, his opinions on this subject; and it is even upon record, that he declined communicating some of his plans to the Emperor of Austria when asked so to do, alleging as a reason for this refusal, the want of secrecy which attended all the deliberations of the cabinet at Vienna, on matters connected with the war department.

A Russian army is, perhaps, more easily managed than any other; but no general, even of that nation, ever had a stronger hold over the affections of his troops than Suwaroff enjoyed in the midst of all his extravagancies. Though severe in his discipline, and apparently careless of the lives of his men, what he imposed upon others he submitted to himself, and whatever hardships his army suffered, he shared in common with the meanest soldier. His frequent visits to the tents of his people remind us of what is related of our Henry the Fifth—he was fond of conversing with them, of listening to their talk, and of tasting their soup and brandy, to be satisfied of its quality. Though much was assumed, a love of singularity pervaded his whole character; witness the strange exhibitions which have often been repeated of him, and his frequent addresses to his soldiers on parade. However burlesque his behaviour and uncouth his appearance, it was not ridicule or contempt that his conduct excited; and like the Hero of Cervantes, he always claims our respect even in the midst of his most ludicrous distresses. To accustom his troops to their duties in action his manœuvres were brought as near as possible to actual combat, and they even were sometimes carried on at night.

Though fully alive to all his defects, we should say, that justice has not been done either to the military or moral qualities of this extraordinary character. In loyalty to his sovereign no man ever surpassed him: few have been so careless of the world's goods, and so perfectly free from all selfish considerations. His movements, though conducted with singular rapidity, were not without calculation, as the enemies of his fame have so often asserted; and that quickness of decision for which he was distinguished, of itself led very frequently to the constant success which marked his career. His confidence in himself sprung from his ignorance of defeat; and had he possessed no other qualities of a great general than the addition of Felix to his name, we are inclined to consider that, of all the continental leaders who have appeared during these latter years, he was the most fitted to cope with Buonaparte in the field.

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ART. V.—1. *Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin, an Historical Tragedy.* By John Howard Payne.

2. *Evadne, or the Statue. A Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By Richard Shiel, Esq.

THE influence of the drama on the manners of a nation and its habits of thinking, few will question, who have considered the subject with the attention which it deserves. It is idle to calculate the extent of that influence by the number of specific characters formed, or actions done in direct imitation of dramatic personages; such are, rather, instances of mania, rarely to be found, and arising from a coincidence of irritable temperament with very favouring circumstances; in ordinary cases, the glowing enthusiasm, which the representation kindles within us, may indeed affect our dreams, but is cooled by the realities of the morrow. The moral influence, however, does not perish with it—it goes to strengthen the mass of opinions and feelings previously engendered by similar representations; that, which each individual may have entertained at first but coldly, numbers by communication feel warmly; and spread to greater numbers, who have no immediate connection with the first cause of the emotion. It would be too much to say that the drama has formed the national character; that undoubtedly is the result of many other, and more important circumstances: but we have no doubt, that the two act powerfully on each other; the national character is impressed strongly on the drama, while our drama is not the least potent of many agents to form and to cherish the peculiarities of our national character.

Entertaining these opinions, we watch with peculiar interest the progress of dramatic poetry, and the state of dramatic taste amongst our countrymen. We confess that we have no reason to congratulate them on either. We do not remember a single good tragedy of modern date; Mr. Coleridge's Remorse and Mr. Milman's Fazio, indeed, considered merely as proofs of poetic talent, are distinguished performances, though we think them, for reasons already given, very imperfect as plays. But if the productions themselves are not honourable to their authors, their fate seems to us to be decided in a way still less creditable to their judges. Chance, caprice, party, any thing but true principles appears to direct the judgment of a first audience, a judgment which, when unfavourable, with peculiar, and unreasonable hardship, is both summary and without appeal. It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of these things in an age certainly neither deficient generally in talent nor cultivation, as well as how far they act on each other; but the limits allowed to us on the present occasion forbid us from travelling so far from the immediate subjects under review.

Brutus

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Brutus and Evadne are, or have been, both favourites with the public; and though after what we have just said we shall not be expected to submit our own opinion to that judgment, yet we owe it so much of deference, at least, as not to differ from it essentially, without assigning our reasons. Neither of the plays professes to be wholly original; Mr. Shiel informs us that he has borrowed part of his plot from the Traitor of Shirley; Mr. Payne, with a generality that defeats all the proper purposes of the statement, tells us, that 'he has had no hesitation in adopting the conceptions and language of his predecessors, wherever they seemed likely to strengthen the plan which he had prescribed to himself.' We have no right to dictate to authors; they may, like Mr. Payne, adopt whole scenes from their predecessors; we certainly have a right to a little more honesty and explicitness in their acknowledgments: and while we agree with him that 'no assistance can be available without an effort almost if not altogether as laborious as original composition,' we would yet observe that the labour of adaptation is different in kind from that of composition, and entitled to a different degree of praise.

One of the predecessors to whom Mr. Payne is under great and unacknowledged obligations, Nathaniel Lee, in the dedication of his Brutus, speaks thus: 'There are some subjects that require but *half* the strength of a great poet: but when Greece or old Rome come in play, the nature, wit, and vigour of foremost Shakspeare, the judgment and force of Jonson, with all his borrowed mastery from the ancients, will scarce suffice for so terrible a grapple.' That there is a difficulty in rendering interesting to an English audience subjects taken from the Greek or Roman history, the experience of all our dramatists who have attempted them, sufficiently demonstrates—'even Shakspeare's Brutus,' says Lee, with much ado beat himself into the heads of a blockish age,' 'and Jonson's Catiline met no better fate.' It is not, however, we conceive, in any excessive loftiness of the subjects, or peculiar 'blockishness' of the audience that this difficulty consists; for after all, the loftiness of a subject in reference to the reader or spectator depends mainly on the author who treats it.—Shakspeare is certainly not less raised above his audience in Macbeth or Hamlet, than in Coriolanus, or Julius Cæsar, and they who have been delighted with the two former, may be well supposed, so far as intelligence is concerned, to be capable of receiving pleasure from the two latter. The truth seems to be that the subjects which have been most commonly selected from classic history have in themselves two defects, which render them impracticable in almost any hands for the English stage; they are too familiar to us in all their details as historical facts, and they are chiefly of a political nature. The interest of the

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drama must in the main be personal, though it may borrow indirect aid from the national feelings of the audience; it is unfortunate, therefore, that the Roman history has been more resorted to for subjects, than the far more romantic annals of Greece: for of all histories, the Roman is that in which personal character and individual interest are the most swallowed up by what is public and political.

The judgment of Shakspeare, in this respect, is altogether astonishing—of his three great Roman plays, two, Coriolanus and Mark Antony, are rare instances of direct violation or forgetfulness of that national spirit which we have been describing; the interest in them is almost wholly personal; and, in the third, (Julius Cæsar) he has dexterously contrived to rivet our attention rather on the qualities, the friendships, the quarrels, and the misfortunes of individuals, than on the public cause for which they are contending. In his English historic plays this is still more remarkable; he has indeed appealed to our feelings as Englishmen, in the wars of France and England, but when the scene is laid at home, he makes the interest entirely personal; it is not on public revolutions, a discontented people, or rival factions, that he suffers us to dwell, these are lost in such characters as the tragic and moralizing Richard, the impetuous Hotspur, the chivalrous Harry, shaking off his profligate companions, the ambitious and diabolical Gloucester, the stern and sublime Wolsey.

It is not easy to say how Shakspeare would have obviated the difficulties of Brutus, if he had chosen such a subject; for in spite of the opinion of Voltaire, who calls it 'the subject, perhaps, of all others, the most fitted for the English stage,' it certainly seems to us objectionable in an eminent degree, and for many reasons. The fall of Tarquin, and the conspiracy to restore him, are events which, whether true or not, we know familiarly as historic facts—any alteration or addition is a palpable contradiction of our received faith; at the same time the facts themselves are too meagre and too strictly political to suffice for the interest of a regular tragedy. Accordingly, the naked history has been departed from, more or less, by all who have written on the subject,—love has been universally one grand ingredient for filling up what Voltaire calls 'le vide de la tragédie,' and *he* has professedly made it 'le nœud nécessaire de la pièce.' Lee has introduced a 'Teraminta,' natural daughter of Tarquin, and Mr. Payne has his Tarquinia. This alone makes a material change in the character of the conspiracy; but Mr. Payne has wandered still farther from the history; he has given Tarquin a faithful army, and strong camp at Ardea, sunk all mention of his intriguing ambassadors, bestowed on Brutus but a single son, and though he has made that son perish for an attempt to fly with Tarquinia to her father, yet we are by no means assured

assured from any thing that appears in the play, that there was any regular conspiracy for the restoration of the monarch; or if there was, that the unhappy Titus was ever acquainted with it. This last refinement is a striking proof of deficiency of judgment: it was necessary that Titus should be an object of interest, Lee and Voltaire have therefore made him an unwilling and repentant partner in the treason; but it was necessary also that his death should be strictly equitable for the justification of Brutus, they have therefore made him consenting to the treacherous design of opening the gates which he was intrusted to guard. Mr. Payne had no way of making us feel for him but by so diminishing his guilt, that we become dissatisfied with what seems a mere strained and severe punctilio in Brutus.

These, however, are faults of conception; let us see whether Mr. Payne has been more fortunate in the execution of his plot. He has commenced at so early a period of the story, that it was necessary for him to represent the simulated madness of Brutus, and he attempts an imitation of the shrewd and biting simplicity of the clowns and fools in the older drama. This, in any case, must have been a difficult character to write; it demanded the most original humour; but the difficulty is doubled when the folly was to be assumed only for a time by one who was soon to throw it from him indignantly, and become the hero of the piece. In all this, Mr. Payne has wholly failed; his Brutus is neither a madman, a fool, a wit, nor what he ought to have been, a compound of all three. With none of the wildness of the first, the simpleness of the second, or the mercurial lightness of the third, he is in a perpetual and unsuccessful attempt to say bitter things covertly; and with all the aid of an unmeaning stare, and monotonous voice, the only wonder in the minds of the audience must have been that so bad an actor was allowed to play his part undiscovered so long.

But if the mad Brutus is a complete failure, the sober Brutus is not less so—and the failure is the more unpardonable, because the difficulties are not so great. It required a particular vein in the author to conceive and write well the former part of the character, which a man might have been without, and yet have given an adequate representation of the latter. But he who fails in this latter, should renounce the wooing of the tragic muse *maturè sanus;* for Brutus sober, is by no means a difficult character or one out of the common walks of tragedy. From the moment that he lays aside his masque of folly, he becomes pre-eminently simple and single minded; he has no conflicting passions in his heart, or double purposes in his conduct, and he is exhibited not under a variety of trials, but exposed to one only, and under circumstances, which

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though they aggravate the severity of the test, yet leave no room for uncertainty, or wavering conduct.

With none of those difficulties in which Mr. Payne might have failed without disgrace, Brutus is yet in many respects a highly tragic character, and in many places might have given scope to the most solemn strains of moral declamation, or the finest bursts of eloquent and pathetic poetry; so that without writing a good tragedy, the author might have been in some measure redeemed, by shewing himself a true poet. What, for example, can be conceived more likely to express itself in striking soliloquy than the indignation of Brutus, after having submitted in his feigned character to the gibes and insults of the wanton sons and courtiers of Tarquin? What more favourable for reflections of mournful and anxious love than his situation when Titus considering him deranged has refused to renounce Tarquinia at his command? Where shall we look for such a theme of glowing and heart-stirring eloquence, as the dead body of Lucretia, the bleeding dagger, the childless father, and widowed husband? What, lastly, can be more fine than the situation of Brutus with those appealing witnesses before him, and his astonished countrymen around him; if we consider, on the one hand, their minds in the very mood on which eloquence operates most powerfully, on the other, the orator urging them to vengeance and liberty, castigator lacrymarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque quod viros quod Romanos deceret, arma capienda adversus hostilia ausos; his soul, in the very circumstances and under the excitements most favourable for the impulses of an eloquent spirit, delighted to have cast off the loathsome clothing of madness and folly, glorying in the reassertion of its native powers, full of its great subject, and grasping the reality and fruition of dreams and hopes which for years had been the only solace of ignominy and oppression?

But if the character of Brutus affords full scope for all a poet's powers, the situations appeal very forcibly to the feelings. We do not know any thing more distressing than the agonies of a strong and severe man: the sorrows of softer natures we are accustomed to; we hear their sighs and see their tears come and go, sometimes upon occasions that scarcely seem to warrant their excess, and often without leaving any traces behind them; but there is something to make us shudder in the grief that convulses a manly bosom; we can hardly fancy that the scalding tear is suffered to start, or the deep groan to come up till the heart within is broken. In the whole of Scripture, full as it is of moving incidents, there is scarcely any thing more affecting than the exclamation of the king of Israel, 'O Absalom, my son, my son, would God I had died for thee, my son!'—but the situation of Brutus is even yet more bitter, for in his case

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case the rebellious and traitorous son is an unaffected penitent, and yet must die by his father's own hand.

Such is the dramatic character of Brutus, and we may spare ourselves the trouble of pursuing our analysis through all the minor characters of the play.—Brutus is in fact, and seems to have been intended to be, the only efficient personage. We should, in any case, be sorry to speak with unnecessary severity; and if Brutus were likely to be the last production of its author, we should gladly have let it sink unobserved into the oblivious tomb which is gaping for it; but the applause with which it has been received on the stage, may prompt Mr. Payne to another effort, and we are therefore bound to express our opinion promptly and decidedly.—We declare, then, that he appears to us to have no one quality which we should require in a tragic poet; he has neither comprehended nor arranged his subject properly, he has not surmounted its difficulties, nor profited by its advantages:—we will not dwell upon his faults, the foolish and presumptuous imitation of one of the most beautiful speeches in Shakspeare, the absurd mummeries, and pantomimic tricks, too long tolerated with patience by an audience, which might have commanded for their delight and instruction, the noblest productions of human nature,—it is enough to say conscientiously, that we cannot find in the whole play, a single character finely conceived, or rightly sustained, a single incident well managed, a single speech, nay, a single sentence of good poetry.

We turn with great, though not unmixed satisfaction, to Evadne; for if we compare it to the Traitor of Shirley, from which the plot is taken, we think it falls as much below in the balance, as it rises above the miserable attempt which has been just dismissed. But, whatever faults there may be, we are bound to thank Mr. Shiel for much pleasure; the action of his play is sufficiently busy, and the scenes are richly set with passages of elegant as well as vigorous poetry. The works of Shirley ought to be so well known, that no account of the plot of a play borrowed from them should be necessary; the lightness and humour of his comedies, with the gentlemanly feeling that pervades the characters in them; and the poetry, the honest sentiment, the beautiful conception of female innocence and dignity, and the romantic interest, which are to be found in his tragedies, ought to have secured their author as much fame and general acceptation in the present day, as they brought him popularity in his own. We fear, however, that this is not the case; it may not therefore, so far as the Traitor is concerned, be superfluous to give some account of the story of Evadne, and to make a few comparisons between the two.

The scene lies at Naples.—The king, a young man of good dispositions, but corrupted by pleasure, is represented under the in-

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fluence of a treacherous courtier, Ludovico, who has excited in him an unlawful passion for Evadne, that in his attempt to gratify it, he may fall a victim to the insulted honour of Colonna, a lofty minded Neapolitan, her brother. Ludovico has designs on the throne, and has prepared a party to assist him at any favourable opportunity; but this is not his only object; Colonna is his political enemy, has opposed his ambitious views, and openly accused him to the king; Evadne has repulsed his love, and preferred Vicentio to him; revenge therefore, and mortified pride, and a still cherished hope of gratifying his passion after the removal of the king, Colonna and Vicentio, are concurring motives for his conduct. Vicentio, to whom Evadne is betrothed, to further the king's designs had been sent in honourable banishment on an embassy to Florence. Ludovico recalls him, and by artful insinuations, and arranged circumstances, succeeds in convincing him that she is the king's mistress, and that he is to be rewarded by court honours, for a tame submission to the king's pleasures. Stung to the quick by this imagined discovery, Vicentio hastens to Evadne, bitterly and cruelly reproaches her, and renounces his engagement; Colonna, of course, revenges her desertion, and in a duel Vicentio falls, supposed to be mortally wounded. This puts the slayer into the hands of his enemy; he is arrested by the officers of justice, and Ludovico enters, not however to insult over his distress, but with apparent nobleness to set him free. He informs Colonna that he has obtained his pardon, but that the king insists upon his yielding up Evadne to him, as the price of his life. Colonna takes fire at the proposal, and when Ludovico has worked him up to the proper point, he with an appearance of frankness confesses himself a conspirator against the king's life, and asks him if—

> 'tis a sin
> To think a dagger were of use in Naples?'

Colonna catches at the suggestion, and making a shew of grateful submission invites the king to his palace to feast and sleep, intending there to murder him.

The king falls into the snare; the feast is over, and he retires to his couch; meanwhile Colonna grows every moment more reluctant to the task, which in his passion he had undertaken to execute, and he declares to Ludovico that he will call the king out, and kill him honourably; Ludovico observes that he may fall in the contest, and asks what will then become of Evadne. Stimulated by this question, he renews his design, but in the moment of advancing to execute it, Evadne herself crosses him, urges him not to proceed, and finally prevails upon him to call the king and leave him alone with her. This is done, and they meet in a hall adorned with the statues of her ancestors. The king naturally mistakes the purpose of

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of the meeting, but she parries his addresses for some time, and in a tone of mixed playfulness and solemnity leads him round the hall, describes the different statues as she passes; and at length, before that of her father, who had been his tutor, and saved his life in battle at the expense of his own, she stops, and in animated language unfolds all his virtues and the king's especial obligations to him. Rushing then to the statue, and clasping it passionately in her arms, she calls to the astonished monarch, and bids him, if he persists in his unholy purposes, to take her pure and spotless from that place, and reward the father by the shame and ruin of the daughter. This appeal effectually moves him, and he renounces his passion; Colonna, who had been a concealed witness, reappears in raptures, and discloses his own design, and Ludovico's treachery; to convince the doubting king, he places him behind the statues, and calls to the villain, who enters, and in the full belief of the murder being accomplished, exults over the dead, and with still more infernal joy over the living—the duped Colonna. To his confusion the king himself advances: for a moment he tries his old arts of dissembling; but finding them vain, rushes furiously forward to stab him, and receives his own death instead from the hand of Colonna.

This is certainly a story of deep and diversified interest; the labour of the author has not been confined, nor is the attention of the reader wholly riveted to any one character; that is a great thing to say in favour of a modern play. It is impossible, however, for us to forget that both the story *and the characters* are borrowed; if upon comparison of them with the original, we could say that Mr. Shiel had improved upon it, still we must in justice have subtracted much of the praise to which he would otherwise have been entitled. But this is not the case: Mr. Shiel's story is meagre, and his characters tame and uniform when compared to Shirley's. In the Traitor, indeed, that author has set thick his incidents and personages with the prodigality of Shakspeare, and he has conceived his characters with a vigour and truth not much inferior. Sciarrha, the Colonna of the Traitor, has a younger brother, Florio, whose tenderer age and softer character, sustained however by a gallant spirit, stand well between the sternness of the elder brother, and the delicacy of the sister. Two short passages will give our readers a better idea of him, than any description; in the early part of the play, Sciarrha makes a shew of persuading his sister to go to court and yield to the duke's solicitations: it is beautiful to see how, in repelling with proper indignation such proposals, she leans with entire confidence on the purity and affection of Florio, and the spirit with which he meets her confidence. Sciarrha affects anger at her language, and threatens to

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to strike her, but Florio exclaims, forgetful of all disparities of age and skill and strength—

> 'Offer to touch her
> With any rudeness, and by all that's virtuous—
> *Sci.* Why how now, *boy?*
> *Flo.* I do not fear thy sword—[*draws.*]
> This with my youth and innocence is more
> Defence than all thy armory—what devil
> Has crept into thy soul?'

The other passage speaks volumes as to the habits and intimacy of this delightful pair; it is exactly what might have happened between such a brother and such a sister, and it is a most natural and pathetic recollection at the moment at which it is made. Florio is employed to place the dead Amidea on a bed, dressed as if to receive the duke. As he leaves her, he says—

> 'Let me look upon
> My sister now—still she retains her beauty.
> Death has been kind to leave her all this sweetness.
> *Thus in a morning have I oft saluted*
> *My sister in her chamber, sate upon*
> *Her bed and talk'd of many harmless passages.'*

We cannot afford room to notice other characters, whom Mr. Shiel has dropped from his canvass, but we must not pass over one, the inimitable Depazzi, a miserable creature, and tool of Lorenzo, whose fears of the discovery and punishment of the treason to which he has consented haunt him in a manner truly comic. If we are not mistaken it adds too to the completeness of Lorenzo's character, to shew him thus turning to account the weakness and timidity of Depazzi with the same ease with which he blinds the discretion, and moulds to his purposes the intellect and valour, or the honour and pride of the higher personages of the play.

The inferiority of Mr. Shiel is however more conspicuous in what he has done, than in what he has left undone. Colonna is perhaps more severe and dignified than Sciarrha, but he is less truly and less vigorously drawn; in truth, he is too severe and too dignified for the part he is made to act; he seems rather like a Roman Patrician, than an Italian noble; Sciarrha has all the fire and impetuosity, the passion, the dubious principle, even the bold coarseness of his country. Evadne will bear a somewhat better comparison with Amidea; the original is very beautiful, but the copy is not without its charms; she is introduced to us gazing on Vicentio's picture, and pained at the delay of his appearance; he enters full fraught with the insinuations of Ludovico and resolved to upbraid and reject her for ever. His manner strikes her as cold, and embarrassed, and she says,—'you look altered:' he answers in lines

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lines which are very beautiful in themselves; they give an animated and a noble description of a lovely woman, but they have a peculiar and pathetic force spoken at such a time and under feelings so painful.

> 'But you do not look altered—would you did—
> Let me peruse the face where loveliness
> Stays, like the light after the sun is set.
> Spher'd in the stillness of those heaven-blue eyes
> The soul sits beautiful; the high white front,
> Smooth as the brow of Pallas, seems a temple
> Sacred to holy thinking—and those lips
> Wear the small smile of sleeping infancy,
> They are so innocent.—Ah, thou art still
> The same soft creature, in whose lovely form
> Virtue and beauty seemed as if they tried
> Which should exceed the other. Thou hast *got*
> *That* brightness all around thee, *that* appear'd
> An emanation of the soul, *that* loved
> To adorn its habitation with itself,
> And in thy body was like light, that looks
> More beautiful in the reflecting cloud
> It lives in, in the evening.—Oh Evadne,
> Thou art not altered—would thou wert!'—p. 26.

In a subsequent scene Vicentio treats her with great affected scorn, and informs her that he is about to marry Olivia; at this she breaks out into no anger, and utters no reproaches, but answers in lines, which have a tranquillity and affection in them, a sweet and solemn evenness in their flow, which is more moving than the most passionate exclamation of grief—

> 'May you be happy with that happier maid,
> That never could have loved you more than I do,
> But may deserve you better. May your days,
> Like a long stormless summer, glide away,
> And peace and trust be with you! May you be
> The after patterns of felicity,
> That lovers, when they wed, may only wish
> To be as blest as you were—loveliness
> Dwell round about you like an atmosphere
> Of our soft southern air, where every flower
> In Hymen's yellow wreath may bloom and blow.
> Let nature with the strong domestic bond
> Of parent tenderness unite your hearts
> In holier harmony—and when you see,
> What you both love, more ardently adore!
> And when at last you close your gentle lives,
> Blameless as they were blessed, may you fall

Into

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Into the grave as softly as the leaves
Of two sweet roses on an autumn eve,
Beneath the small sighs of the western wind
Drop to the earth together.'—p. 42, 43.

Pressed as we are for space, we must yet find room for that part of the old play, on which these beautiful lines are founded: it will not suffer from being brought into contact with the muse of Mr. Shiel, even in his happiest moments.

Amidea, aware of her brother's resolution to revenge her injuries, meets Pisano on his way to the altar with Oriana, whom he had forced from her lover Cosmo, by practising on the avarice and ambition of her relations. The dialogue follows.

'*Enter* AMIDEA *hastily.*

Ami. Not for my sake, but for your own, go back,
Or take some other way; this leads to death;
My brother—

Pis. What of him?

Ami. Transported with
The fury of revenge for my dishonour,
As he conceives, (for 'tis against my will,)
Hath vow'd to kill you in your nuptial glory.
Alas! I fear his haste; now, good my lord,
Have mercy on yourself; I do not beg
Your pity upon me, I know too well
You cannot love me now, nor would I rob
This virgin of your faith, since you have pleas'd
To throw me from your love:—but once again
I would beseech you, cherish your own life,
Though I be lost for ever.

Alon. It is worth
Your care, my lord, if there be any danger.

Pis. Alas! her grief hath made her wild, poor lady.
I should not love Oriana to go back;
Set forward.—Amidea, you may live
To be a happier bride: Sciarrha is not
So irreligious to profane these rites.

Ami. Will you not then believe me?—Pray persuade him,
You are his friends.—Lady, it will concern
You most of all, indeed; I fear you'll weep
To see him dead as well I.

Pis. No more;
Go forward.

Ami. I have done; pray be not angry,
That still I wish you well: may heaven divert
All harms that threaten you;
Indeed I cannot choose but pray for you.
This might have been my wedding day—

Ori.

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Ori. Good heaven,
I would it were! my heart can tell, I take
No joy in being his bride, none in your prayers;
I will resign my place, and wait on you,
If you will marry him.
Ami. Pray do not mock me,
But if you do, I can forgive you too.
Ori. Dear Amidea, do not think I mock
Your sorrow; by these tears, which are not worn
By every virgin on her wedding-day,
I am compelled to give away myself:
Your hearts were promis'd, but he ne'er had mine.
Am not I wretched too?
Ami. Alas, poor maid!
We two keep sorrow alive then; but I prithee,
When thou art married, love him, prithee love him,
For he esteems thee well; and once a day
Give him a kiss for me; but do not tell him,
'Twas my desire: perhaps 'twill fetch a sigh
From him, and I had rather break my heart.
But one word more, and heaven be with you all.—
Since you have led the way, I hope, my lord,
That I am free to marry too?
Pis. Thou art.
Ami. Let me beseech you then, to be so kind,
After your own solemnities are done,
To grace my wedding; I shall be married shortly.
Pis. To whom?
Ami. To one whom you have all heard talk of;
Your fathers knew him well: one, who will never
Give cause I should suspect him to forsake me;
A constant lover, one whose lips, though cold,
Distil chaste kisses: though our bridal bed
Be not adorn'd with roses, 'twill be green;
We shall have virgin laurel, cypress, yew,
To make us garlands; though no pine do burn,
Our nuptials shall have torches, and our chamber
Shall be cut out of marble, where we'll sleep,
Free from all care for ever: Death, my lord,
I hope shall be my husband. Now, farewell;
Although no kiss, accept my parting tear,
And give me leave to wear my willow here.'

We must now return to Evadne. In the last scene the character rises upon us with the occasion to a more commanding dignity. If Evadne however will bear a comparison with Amidea, it is not so with Ludovico and Lorenzo—Ludovico is tame and imperfect to the consummate Lorenzo. His plots are more clumsy and less various, (indeed they make us wonder at the ease with which the other

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other personages are duped by them,) his penetration is less acute, and his caution less watchful—he appears, though not upon a level with his fellow conspirators as to shrewdness, yet as one of the same men, differing in degree rather than in kind. Lorenzo stands aloof, a lordly, a superior villain. Ludovico is perpetually analysing, as it were, his own wickedness, babbling of his plots to others, and vainly courting their applause for his superior ingenuity; Lorenzo is his own confidant, working incessantly to the accomplishment of his plots, and delighting in his own subtleties, but not disclosing them to his agents, who are privy only to just so much of the plan as they must themselves be ministers to. Therefore it is that he can use all persons of whatever capacity for his purposes, the lordly Sciarrha, the fickle Pisano, the wily Petruchio, or the 'property' Depazzi. He urges Sciarrha to the murder of the duke, and when upon the repentance of this latter, the same trap is laid for the disclosure of his treachery, as that into which Ludovico falls, he extricates himself from it with a quickness and duplicity, which do not indeed shock us as incredible, but make us almost think, with Sciarrha, that he is a devil incarnate. But his greatest triumph is the delusion of Sciarrha even after all this; the moulding him once more to his purpose, the stirring up again the guilty passion in the duke's breast, and the piecing of the threads of mischief that had been so violently and unexpectedly broken.

We had noted some passages as instances of mannerism and errors in language; Mr. Shiel's mistakes in this respect seem to proceed from a too determined imitation of the style of our elder dramatists; their style certainly is the best, and we therefore wish that our modern play-writers could attain it. But this cannot be done by direct and deliberate imitation; the striking features indeed may thus be caricatured, but the spirit, the manner, the general flow and tone must become our own by long study of the models, and by growing at last even to think in the same train and with the same associations as they did. To write well, our expressions must flow naturally, both the thoughts and their clothing must be our own; if we are obliged to change our own language, that which first presents itself, into that of another person, the result is in fact a translation, and not an original composition. There is another and even more important rule which Mr. Shiel appears to have equally forgotten, though it is self-evident—every sentence should at least contain a definite idea, and the writer should be sure that he knows what it is. But in a number of expressions which we have noticed, the meaning is either perfectly uncertain, or different from what the context requires.

When we have made these, and all other deductions, however, from the merits of the play, much will still remain to be admired.

Mr.

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Mr. Shiel will not be offended when we say he has fallen greatly below the neglected original, from whom he has borrowed not merely his story, but *his principal characters*, (we make the latter part of this assertion in the face of a disclaimer in his preface;) but if forgetting what he has done, and estimating at its proper value the applause of a giddy audience under the influence of scenery, music, and powerful acting, he will remember that poetry is an art, like other arts, in which the gifts of nature are to be improved by discipline, study, and practice; that his own line demands a peculiar acquaintance with the workings of nature, and an earnest pursuit of the laws and felicities of language; and if therefore he will bestow more labour both on the conception of his characters, the arrangement of his plot, and the clearness and natural flow of his diction, we think we may safely promise him a higher rank than he has yet attained.

ART. VI.—*Sur l'Elévation des Montagnes de l'Inde, par Alexandre de Humboldt.*—Paris.

THERE is, perhaps, no man living who has made, in his own person, and collected from others, so many facts and observations connected with the various atmospherical phenomena as the Baron de Humboldt. His essay on 'Isothermal lines and the distribution of heat over the globe,'* was an able and elaborate production. Fond as he sometimes is of generalizing from a small number of insulated facts, he proceeded in that with all the caution which the delicacy and difficulty of the subject required. In the Memoir before us, more confined in its object, but still closely connected with the former, we cannot say that he appears in quite so advantageous a light. He had, in truth, fewer data to proceed upon; and indeed the only motive which could have induced him to write at all on a subject, of which the little that was known had already appeared in the Asiatic Researches, must have been a desire of extending the information contained in that work, for the edification of the Parisian philosophers; and his conclusions, as might be expected from the want of facts, are now discovered, by actual experiment, to be exceedingly erroneous.

We attach no censure to the arguments employed by M. de Humboldt on this occasion; they are grounded on principles the soundness of which, in Europe and America, he had himself experimentally proved. In the one country, he had the advantage of comparing his own observations with those of Saussure, Deluc,

* In the 'Mémoires de Physique et de Chimie de la Société d'Arcueil.'—Tom. iii. Paris. 1817.

Ramond,

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Ramond, and other men of science and research; in the other, he was not only in the possession of the observations made by Condamine, Ulloa and Bruguer, but, as he tells us, had had an opportunity 'of profiting by the advantages which the lofty *plateaus* of the New Continent offered, to examine the temperature of the strata of superincumbent air,—not from mere insulated facts, the fruits of a few excursions towards the summit of a volcano, but from a collection of a great number of observations made from day to day, and from month to month.' Here then he might theorize with confidence: but he had no such advantages with regard to the elevated regions of central Asia: the few data collected by Messrs. Crawford, Colebrooke and Webb, even supposing them to be accurate, (of which some doubt was entertained,) related only to the altitude of a certain number of the peaks of mountains which, M. de Humboldt admits, are not to be taken as the measure of the magnitude of mountain ranges. In the absence, therefore, of well ascertained facts, he applies to the mountains and elevated plains of this unexplored and unknown part of the Eastern world, (and he could not well do otherwise,) the data with which Europe and America had supplied him. These, however, as we shall presently shew, are utterly at variance with experiments recently made in the midst of the chain of the Himalaya and the extensive table-land of Tartary. The barometrical observations, which we have just received in a valuable manuscript communication from Captain Webb, will, we are sure, convince M. de Humboldt, as they have convinced us, that his theory of isothermal lines will require a very considerable modification when applied to the continent of Asia: and we are led to hope that Professor Leslie will likewise perceive, that the ingenious system,* on which he has constructed his 'curved line of the lower point of perpetual congelation,' is wholly inapplicable to these elevated regions; though it might be found sufficiently accurate for most of the parallels of latitude in all parts of the globe, provided the earth had been covered with water, or its surface one vast plain.

The name of Captain Webb is not unknown to our readers. After receiving an excellent education in the mathematical school of Christ's Hospital, he procured a commission in the military service of the East India Company; where his superior abilities in practical mathematics soon brought him into notice, and, after the experience of a few years, acquired for him the appointment of surveyor of Kumaon. Previously to this, he had been the principal observer in all the expeditions to discover the sources of the several branches of the Ganges; and had ascertained, by every means that good instruments and trigonometrical observations could afford, the height

* In the 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,' vol. iii. Article '*Climate*.'

of

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of no less than twenty-seven peaks of the Himalaya range. In his new situation of surveyor of Kumaon his attempts to pass the Himalaya mountains have been incessant. In 1816 he advanced to the Tartar station of Tuklakot, and through the pass of Lebong, in the hope of obtaining permission to visit the sacred lake of Manasarowar between which and the place where he then was, there interfered only the Kailas mountain, or rather that end of it which connects it with the Himalaya. The Tartar chief who opposed his passage was exceedingly civil, but said that his orders were positive; that in future none would be allowed to cross that mountain from the southward side of India; and that the Deba or governor of Ghertop had been removed from his government and ordered to Lassa, for having permitted two Englishmen to visit the lake: these, it appears, were Captain Hearsay and Mr. Moorcroft. The altitude must have been very considerable, as the snow lay deep on the ground in the pass of Lebong, at the end of May; and at a much lower elevation, in the end of September, Captain Webb was shut up for seven days by a fall of snow, which buried the surrounding country to the depth of two feet and more. He had at this time no barometer with him.

In the year 1817 he succeeded in carrying a good barometer to several places near the base of the great chain of the Himalaya mountains; and in 1818 made a number of observations with no fewer than five good ones, the results of which he had an opportunity of comparing with contemporary observations made at Calcutta. In 1819 he proceeded nearly to the base of those lofty peaks which tower above the temple of Kedar-nath whose altitudes he had previously determined by triangulation,—at a great distance however, and under very small angles. But he had now an opportunity, at this temple, to observe one of the peaks under an angle of elevation equal to 26° 15′ 15″, and this gave him a result which, he says, 'agreed as well as could be expected with the position and altitude he had formerly assigned to it.' The temple itself, according to the mean of results given by five barometers, is 11,897 feet above Calcutta, or about 12,000 above the level of the sea, yet no snow remained in the immediate vicinity of the temple later than the beginning of July.

At this Temple, in a spot unseen before by any European eye, Captain Webb received (and we notice the circumstance with some emotion of pride and pleasure) a copy of our Journal. It was No. XXIV., in which it may be recollected that we freely stated all the difficulties we felt in reconciling the enormous elevation of the Himalaya mountains, as resulting from Captain Webb's trigonometrical operations, carried on as they necessarily were at such an immense distance from them, and seen by him under such small

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angles. We examined the facts stated by Mr. Moorcroft relating to the Nitee Pass and the great plain behind, to which the mountains serve as a supporting wall or buttress; and, taking for our guide the theory which in Europe has been found to correspond with sufficient accuracy to ascertained facts, we drew conclusions with regard to the elevation of this Ghaut and the table-land to which it leads, as erroneous, it now appears, as those of the Baron de Humboldt; so little applicable is that theory to the upper regions of India and Tartary.

'The receipt of the Quarterly Review created,' Captain Webb says, 'in his mind an anxious desire to verify or refute our conclusions on the spot, which he knew his barometers would enable him to do.' With this view he determined at once to set forward, and to try his success at the Nitee Pass through which Mr. Moorcroft had entered the plain of Tartary: and the communication we are now about to lay before our readers is the result of the journey.

Kedar-nath is one of those numerous shrines, which neither difficulties nor dangers, neither mountain-roads, nor fierce torrents, nor steep precipices can deter the pilgrim from visiting, in order to perform those duties which are enjoined by the Hindoo religion —a religion which, Captain Webb justly observes, seems to delight in practically demonstrating to its deluded votaries 'that rugged as is the path' to that region of beatitude, to which in fancy they are pressing forward, its ministers endeavour, by every means which human ingenuity can devise, to render it yet more intolerable by wantonly strewing it with additional thorns.

The extraordinary instances of the pious frauds and inventions of the priests of Brahma, and the credulity, the fanaticism and the self-devotion of their followers, cannot be perused without feelings of indignation at the one, and of compassion for the mental imbecility and bodily sufferings of the other. The object, Captain Webb tells us, of so many toilsome journeys to this spot is nothing more than a misshapen mass of black rock, supposed to resemble the hind quarters of a buffalo; and the legend attached to the temple thus records the transmutation.

Kedar, (one of the Dii minores,) being pursued by the giant Bheem-sing, was overtaken near the spot where the temple now stands. With admirable presence of mind he transformed himself into a buffalo, and joined a herd of those animals then grazing in the vicinity. Scarcely, however, had he assumed his new shape when Bheem-sing was in the midst of them, and suspecting the trick, devised a notable expedient for detecting the object of his pursuit. Placing himself in an attitude something like that of the Colossus of Rhodes, he compelled the whole herd to pass singly between his legs; all went through but poor Kedar, whose unwieldy carcass (for the

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the god had ill-calculated his bulk) was jammed midway. Before Bheem-sing could execute vengeance on his enemy, however, the violence of Kedar's struggles caused his body to separate into two parts; the head and shoulders, diving underground, reached Nepaul (where they may still be seen) by a subterraneous passage; the rump remained a trophy to the giant.

If this idle legend was intended only to amuse the people, it would merely be ridiculous; but it is taught and believed, that at this black rock, the sins of the body may be expiated, and an intimate union with the ethereal essence of the deity be accomplished, by the voluntary sacrifice of life. The self-devoted victim is first required to distribute his property and his apparel among the Bramins; and is then directed to proceed in a state of nakedness, till he reaches the gorge of a snowy defile, when, having arrived at a perpendicular precipice of tremendous height, he is ordered to leap into the horrible abyss beneath—nor are victims wanting for this dreadful sacrifice.

'A few days (says Capt. Webb) before my arrival, three females of middle age had dared this fearful ordeal; but, strange to relate, had returned to the temple, after having sought death in vain for three days and three nights, in the midst of snow and without food, being unable to discover the precipice. One of these infatuated beings died a few hours after her return to Kedar-nath; the other two had been placed under a shed by the way-side, and asked for charity as I passed. One of them was likely to recover, with the loss of both feet and one hand; but the extremities of the other were in such a terrible state of mortification, that a few days must have terminated her misery, aggravated as it was by the perfect conviction, as she told me, that the God had rejected her sacrifice, and shut his ear to her prayers.'

Leaving, then, this scene of human infatuation, misery and imposture, Captain Webb proceeded without loss of time. On his arrival at Josimath, which may be considered as the commencement of the defile leading to the Nitee Pass, he unexpectedly encountered (a circumstance sufficiently discouraging to his hopes) one of the East India Company's civil servants, Mr. Traill, Commissioner for the Affairs of Kumaon, proceeding on a mission to the frontier, with a view to open a commercial intercourse with the Tartars. So thin, however, was the population, and so scanty were the supplies which this mountainous district afforded, that it was deemed inexpedient for the two *camps* to proceed in company, lest they should incur the danger of famine.

Captain Webb and his attendants were therefore left behind, and Mr. Traill proceeded on his mission. He reached the village of Nitee, the most advanced spot which is inhabited in the British possessions, where he experienced a severe attack of illness. He

had sent forward, however, a person to announce his approach, who on his return informed the Commissioner, that the Tartar chiefs had declined all intercourse, and that they had pushed forward piquets of cavalry towards the pass, to dispute his advance into Tartary, should any such attempt be made. These untoward circumstances, and the state of Mr. Traill's health, decided this gentleman to return immediately to Josimath, in the neighbourhood of which Captain Webb had found him, and where he had fortunately been detained by the violence of the periodical rains, during the interval of the Commissioner's absence.

Discouraging as this repulse might appear, Captain Webb determined at once to try his success with the people of the frontiers; conceiving that, as the road was now open, and as he had on a former occasion gained a little insight into the Tartar character by an intercourse with some of their chiefs at Lebong, he might prevail on them to allow him to pass the mountains: with this view, having obtained from Mr. Traill a small investment of goods intended for the border market, he set out in the garb of a trader, and passed with the natives as a 'Feringhee Beópar,' or Christian merchant.

In pursuing the same road to the Pass as that taken by Mr. Moorcroft, he had an opportunity of verifying many of the observations of that enterprizing traveller; among others, he found both the cypress and cedar, whose existence was doubted by Mr. Colebrooke, though they were not of those enormous dimensions given by Moorcroft, especially the cedar, for which Captain Webb supposes he must have mistaken the *deodar*, a tree which grows to a very large size. Both the species of cedar were, in fact, small, and one of them crept along the ground. The cypress appeared to be the *C. horizontalis*. The pinus strobus was very common; and a new species, to which Dr. Wallich, the Company's botanist, has given the specific name of *Webbii*, is described as having the habit and leaves of the silver fir, and the cones of the cedar. The berry-bearing yew was of frequent occurrence. Dr. Wallich, in speaking of the acquisitions made by Captain Webb in these more than Alpine regions, mentions 'several new and stately pines and junipers, the yew, walnut, horse-chesnut, hazel, birch, poplar, rhubarb, some highly interesting sorts of grains used by the Tartars, besides a great variety of others, accompanied with extremely important observations on their habits, cultivation and use.'

Without entertaining any doubt of the difficulty of respiration felt by Mr. Moorcroft in ascending the Ghaut, we observed that much more elevated regions had been ascended, without such an effect being produced, and therefore conceived that it might arise from his ill state of health. Captain Webb, however, confirms his statement, not only from the evidence of his own sensations, but from

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from that of the mountaineers themselves, who are as sensible of it as strangers; and he further assures us, that neither horses nor yaks are exempt from its influence. The natives call it *Bis-kee-huwa*, or the poisonous atmosphere, and conceive it to be owing to the effluvia of certain flowers, and that it is induced by walking or exertion of any kind.

'Every person (says our traveller) complained of loss of appetite for many days after our arrival at Nitee. For my part, I felt exactly those sensations which precede an attack of ague, with great oppression, increasing action of the heart, and of the viscera. But one man, who was with me, suffered one of those attacks to which the Bhoteas are subject, in the commencement of the season, and which they consider to be more directly produced by the *Bis-kee-huwa*. He had descended to the margin of the river about day-break, and while re-ascending, lost at once the use of his limbs and of his recollection; animation was not indeed quite suspended, but it appeared to me only a milder fit of apoplexy. His extremities became cold: and after vainly attempting his recovery by friction, and applying hot stones to his palms and feet for several hours, I ventured to give him an emetic; a large quantity of *foam* was thrown up, and in two or three days he recovered. I believe this secretion of foam is a peculiar effect of inhaling noxious vapours.'

On his arrival at Nitee, Captain Webb deemed it prudent to remain a few days, to negociate for the removal of the Tartar piquet of cavalry, and for his own honourable reception at the boundary; two points which were at once acceded to in consequence of a voluntary proposition on his part, to engage not to pass the frontier without a regular passport. Captain Webb, on a former occasion, had witnessed the ceremonial under which such engagements are made, and experienced the fidelity with which they are kept. The ceremony differs but little from the breaking of a sixpence between two lovers; the object to be broken, in the Tartar custom, which is probably as old as the world itself, being a more vulgar material —a common stone, a fragment of which is carried away by each of the contracting parties, and set up in some convenient place as a memorial and evidence of the agreement.

Proceeding from the village of Nitee towards the Ghaut of that name, Captain Webb was met, about one day's march on the British side of the frontier, by a deputation of respectable inhabitants from the town of Daba, who immediately entered into a friendly conversation with him. The confidence they thus at once shewed for an entire stranger was owing, in some degree, as Captain Webb soon discovered, to the accidental arrival at Daba (during his negociations at Nitee) of his old Tartar acquaintance, the ex-governor of Tuklakot, who being relieved from his office in the usual routine of three years, was now on his return to Lassa, his native city; and had made a strong impression on the

governor of Daba, in favour of Captain Webb. No objections were opposed to his advance as far as the frontier; and such was their confidence that he would not transgress that limit, that when Captain Webb proposed, on their leaving him, that one of their horsemen should remain behind to see that he kept the treaty, he was told it was not necessary; and that they had no apprehensions of his breaking the agreement.

The visitors now intimated a wish to inspect his merchandize, acquainting him, at the same time, that no barter or purchase could be allowed till permission should be received from Gertop, to the government of which that of Daba is subordinate. The bales were accordingly opened, the articles admired, and admitted to be prodigiously cheap.

'An old gentleman, to whom I gave a pair of spectacles to assist him in his task, made a most minute schedule of the whole, and of the prices fixed to each article; it was then proposed to me to return to Nitee, after I should have visited the Pass, at which place an answer was promised on the fifteenth day, and, if favourable, the goods would be taken off my hands; and so sanguine were they in their expectations that it would be so, that they actually gave commissions for the greater part of the articles, to some of the Booteas residing at Nitee.'

On the following day, the troop of horse set off towards home, leaving Captain Webb at leisure to make his observations on this interesting Pass, unobserved and unmolested. Punctually, as it had been settled, two Tartar horsemen returned on the fifteenth day, with the reply from Gertop, which stated the impossibility of compliance, without authority from the Viceroy of Lassa, whose decision was promised to be obtained and communicated, at the opening of the market on the following year: the people of Gertop had very little doubt of obtaining permission to trade at any mart, which might be opened on the British side of the frontier; but a reference, it was added, would be made by the Viceroy to the court of Pekin for further instructions:—if so, we have not much hesitation in saying that there is an end to all amicable intercourse with Tartary; the Chinese government being already far too jealous of our progress on the side of Nepaul and Bootan, to admit, if they can help it, any closer intercourse with their Tartar provinces.

The barometrical observations made by Captain Webb in the Nitee Pass are very interesting and important, as giving results utterly at variance, as we before stated, with M. de Humboldt's isothermal lines of temperature, and inconsistent with the facts, and the theory on which the tables of 'the lower limit of perpetual congelation' have been constructed. Every one must be aware that these tables are subject to anomalies, and that allowances must necessarily be made for various local circumstances. Accordingly,

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Accordingly, in forming some estimate of the elevation of the Nitee Ghaut above the sea, from Moorcroft's description, we conceived that a deduction ought to be made for the immense mass of mountain ranges, backed by an extensive table-land, and for their great distance from the sea; circumstances which, in ordinary cases, might be supposed to increase the refrigeration of the super-incumbent atmosphere, and, consequently, to lower the tabular point of permanent snow. Just the reverse, however, are the results of Captain Webb's observations; and we have so much confidence in the care and accuracy with which they were conducted, that not a shadow of doubt remains in our minds on the general correctness of them.

The observations made by Captain Webb on the crest or highest ridge of Nitee Ghaut, taken on the 21st August, at 3 p. m. by the mean of four barometers, the thermometer standing at 47°, gave a mean of 16.27 inches.

From a journal of the weather kept by Colonel Hardwicke, at Dumdum, about 50 feet above the sea, it appears that, on the two days preceding, and two days following, the one on which Captain Webb observed in the Nitee Ghaut, the state of the barometer and thermometer, at 2 p. m. was as under:—

	In.	
August 19th. Barometer	29.46	Thermometer 88°
20	29.46	84
21	29.48	85
22	29.48	84
23	29.65	81
Mean .	29.51	84.4

The difference of elevation corresponding with these observations, between the Nitee Ghaut and Dumdum, is 16,764 feet.

Dumdum above the sea . . . . + 50

Height of the Pass above the sea . . 16,814 feet.

As compared with a diary kept by Mr. Colvin, (but not complete for the five days, and the observations made at noon when the barometer generally stands higher than at 2 p. m.) the altitude of the Pass would be 16,976 feet; but the comparison with Col. Hardwicke's instruments is so satisfactory, that 16,814 feet may be taken for the height of Nitee Ghaut above the level of the sea. Yet not a vestige of snow appeared in the Ghaut, nor on the projecting shoulder of the mountain ridge, rising about 300 feet on the left or western side of the Pass; so that we may assume the height of the lower point of congelation, on the northern side of the Himalaya Mountains, at not less than *seventeen thou-*

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sand feet! We say the *northern* side, because it would appear that, on the southern face of this enormous chain, the lower point of perpetual congelation differs very considerably from that on the opposite side; though neither on the southern face does the line of perpetual snow agree with the theory of Humboldt, Leslie, Kirwan, or any of the tables constructed in Europe. Thus Kedar-nath, on the verge of perpetual snow, was found, as we have stated, to be 11,897 feet above Calcutta, or 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; being about 700 feet higher than Leslie's table would give for the height of this temple. Captain Webb had previously ascertained that the village and temple of Milem, in lat. 30° 25′ were, one 11,512, the other 11,790 feet above the sea, both of which, according to theory, would have been some hundreds of feet within the limit of perpetual snow; yet, here he found extensive fields of buck-wheat and Tartaric barley, occupying the space between the village and the temple. The following year, on the 21st June, 1818, on a ridge of mountains south of the Dauli river, he ascertained, barometrically, the elevation to be 11,790 feet above the sea, being considerably within the limit of eternal snow according to theory; yet, says Mr. Colebrooke, 'his encampment, where the observation was made, was surrounded by flourishing woods of hoary oaks, long-leaved pine, and arborescent rhododendron; and the surface was clothed with a rank vegetation of herbs.'* Nay more, from an observation made the following day, on the summit of the *Pilgointi-churhai* Pass, he concluded the elevation to be more than 12,700 feet above the sea, yet no snow was visible, and the black soil was clad with creeping plants, and flowering herbs, in luxuriant abundance; and, the shoulder of a mountain, on the one hand, rising still higher, was without a vestige of snow, and appeared, as far as the view extended through the mist, enamelled with flowers; on the other hand, a sloping declivity exhibited a forest of birch, pine, and rhododendron.

Considerable as these anomalies are on the southern side of the great Hindoo range, they dwindle into nothing when compared with those which Captain Webb subsequently discovered to exist within the Ghaut, and on the northern side of that range. The crest of the Nitee pass, where the observation which gave 16,814 feet for its elevation was made, appears to be close to its northern extremity, and so situated as to command a view across the great elevated plateau or table-land, known to the Hindoos by the name of Undes or Oon-des, 'the region of *Wool*,' it being from this lofty country that the Cashmere manufacturers are chiefly supplied with the material from which their celebrated shawls are made.

* Quar. Journ. of Lit. Scien. and the Arts. No. XIII.

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It is part of that country marked in our charts with the name of Little Thibet,—a name however which Captain Webb found to be unknown to the Tartar Chief with whom he conversed at Tuklakot, and derived, as he conjectures, from *Teiba*, signifying, in the Ghorcali language, 'high-peaked mountains.'

Faithful to his contract, Captain Webb did not presume to advance beyond the crest of the Ghaut; but as he could from thence discern the Sutledge river winding through the plain to the westward, he observed the angle of depression, which the nearest point of this river made with his station; and from this angle, and the distance, he calculated the elevation of the lowest part of the table-land, (which is of course that through which the river flows,) to be about 14,924 feet: and in coming to this conclusion, he could not be far amiss. The angle of depression was no more than 1° 28′ 10″, and the distance which he assumed for the nearest part of the river was 15·5 British miles, taken from Moorcroft's map;—'and as the distance (says Captain Webb) in that map which I had actually travelled over, appeared to be tolerably correct, or at least agreed tolerably well with my measurement, I conclude that there is still less chance of its being erroneous, where his route lay over a comparatively level surface.' This testimony, it is but justice to observe, is highly creditable to the accuracy of Mr. Moorcroft, and his Hindoo pundit, whose *four-feet strides* furnished the only means of his measurements.

Notwithstanding the enormous elevation of fifteen thousand feet, so far is this table-land of Tartary from being buried under eternal snows, and uninhabitable by man or beast, as theory would suppose it to be, that the banks of the Sutledge afford the finest pastures for myriads of quadrupeds throughout the year. The town of Daba too, which Mr. Moorcroft informed us was a mere summer residence, appears to be tenanted in all seasons. In the neighbourhood of this place, and near Doompoo, both considerably higher than the bed of the Sutledge, Captain Webb was informed that the finest crops of a grain called Ooa were gathered, from which the natives make their bread. There is a species of barley of this name or something like it (awa), which is cultivated by the Booteas on the southern side of the Himalaya mountains; and Captain Webb supposed, from its appearance, the Ooa of the plateau to be also a barley. Dr. Wallich, however, an experienced botanist, has pronounced it, from the specimens sent to him by Captain Webb, to be a new species of wheat. But whether barley or wheat, the meal which it yields is said to be remarkably fine. 'To an *unlearned* observer,' says Captain Webb, 'the Ooa while in the ear resembles barley, (*bearded*, we suppose) but when deprived of its husk, wheat.' This hardy grain, growing at the elevation of fifteen thousand feet, may

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may prove of the utmost importance to Great Britain; as it would unquestionably thrive well in the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides; and might not be an unimportant article in the projected cultivation of Dartmoor, and other elevated moors, which, from their bleak and exposed situation, have been deemed unfit for the cultivation of grain. Samples of this Tartar grain have been sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and in better hands it could not possibly be placed.

Whether there be any remarkable degree of heat developed in these elevated regions, we have not the means of knowing experimentally; but the fact can scarcely be doubted. The summers, however, are exceedingly short, commencing about the middle of June and ending about the middle of August, scarcely ever extending to the close of that month. Even so early as the 10th of August, we are told by Mr. Moorcroft, the thermometer in the morning fell to 32°, and his tent was covered two inches thick with snow; on the 28th, near the Nitee pass, the mercury stood at 28°, and the ice was 2½ inches thick. How then does this grain ripen? Is the degree of temperature which produced the 'tamarisk shrubs of eight feet high,' seen by Mr. Moorcroft on the banks of the Sutledge, and the 'two very beautiful poplar-trees, in which were many goldfinches,' sufficient to ripen barley? or was Captain Webb misinformed? We know, at least, that a particular species of this grain does ripen on the southern side of the Himalaya, at an elevation of eleven or twelve thousand feet. It is true, as we find from Mr. Traill, that there the temperature varies during the hottest part of the day, from 60° to 75° of Fahrenheit, in the shade, and in the night is not lower than from 45° to 50°; that the sun shines out during his whole course, and that scarcely a shower of rain ever falls. This shining out, however, in a clear blue sky, and at such an elevation, would rather retard than hasten the ripening of the crop, the upper regions of the atmosphere acquiring, in such a state, an increased capacity for heat.* 'After the middle of August,' says Mr. Traill, 'the weather becomes very precarious. From that period, none of the inhabitants are suffered to ascend to the tops of the surrounding mountains, or to use fire-arms in the neighbourhood of the villages; as the occurrence of either of these events at that time, is found from experience generally to occasion a fall of snow above, and a frost below, by the latter of which the ripening crops would be wholly destroyed.'†

* In the clear blue sky of the valley of Chamouni, if the crops should not have ripened towards the end of the season, the peasants make fires of green wood, on the two sides of the enclosing mountains, the smoke of which uniting in the middle, forms a kind of cloudy canopy, which is found not only to prevent the escape of radiated heat, but to increase its intensity and to check the descent of frost.

† Royal Institution Journal, No. XIII.

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This is neither superstition, nor a mere vulgar error. The sudden concussion of the air is well known to produce very extraordinary effects. Thus the inhabitants of the valley of Chamouny are aware, that the discharge of a fowling-piece, or even loud speaking, would bring down an avalanche, or break off some of those huge icy pinnacles, known by the name of *aiguilles*, rising out of the glacier. The firing of a musket by the late discovery ships, in one of the bays of Spitzbergen, shivered in pieces an enormous iceberg, whose fragments covered a square mile of the surface of the sea. With regard to the 'fall of snow, and the frost,' it must be recollected, that any sudden concussion of the air, when in a calm state, at or below the freezing point, will produce an instantaneous congelation of the suspended vapour; just as water cooled below the temperature of melting snow will remain liquid, but is immediately congealed on the slightest concussion; or, as Glauber's salt, dissolved in warm water, will, if shaken, when cold, crystallize at once, and assume a solid form.

Whatever be the cause, it is now pretty certain that an extraordinary degree of heat does prevail in the summer months on the elevated plain of Tartary; otherwise the point of the curve of congelation, in the 30th parallel of latitude, could not be higher here, as it is, than under the equator on the continent of America: for the limit of perpetual snow on the side of Chimboraço is, according to the observations of Baron de Humboldt, at an elevation of 15,747 feet, whereas that in the Nitee Ghaut is, as we have seen, at not less than 17,000 feet, or 1,253 feet higher than the former, and at 5,500 feet, or more than a mile, higher than it ought to be in that parallel of latitude, according to the table constructed by Professor Leslie.

The only explanation, which this anomaly seems to admit, is just contrary to that which would be applied to the comparatively small mountain masses of Europe, or other parts of the world; as in the instances of the Pic of Teneriffe, and the Abyssinian Geesh, the one at 13,000 having no snow for three or four months, the other, by Bruce's account, from 14,000 to 15,000 feet, being without snow at all times, owing, it is thought, to their peaked forms and their proximity to the sea. In the Himalaya and its northern plateau, we have a vast extent of elevated land, which rises out of central Asia, as M. Pauw has observed, like the boss of a shield; whose extensive surface, instead of cooling the superincumbent atmosphere, has the effect of raising its temperature, by the radiation of the heat collected from the rays of the summer sun; while the surfaces of slender pointed peaks, affording not the means of such radiation, suffer the heat to mount into the higher strata, where the capacity for caloric is greater. M. de Humboldt observes, that these

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these mountainous ranges of central Asia, and the vast plains which they support, form an immense mass of elevated land, stretching from Daouria on the East to Belur-tagh, on the West, through forty-seven degrees of longitude, and from the Altai on the North, to the Himalaya on the South, a mean breadth of twenty degrees of latitude:—presenting thus a surface of regions more or less elevated, equal to 3,266,500 square British miles, scarcely one of which is known in modern times, though it formerly contained the flourishing cities of Balk, Samarcand, Bokhara, Cashgar, &c., and was, as some have conjectured, the cradle of the human race. The Kylas, however, which joins the Himalaya in an acute angle, within the sides of which is the sacred lake of Manasarowar, appears to be the highest ridge; for behind it the waters flow northerly, by north-westerly, and north-easterly; shewing that, in all these directions, this vast plain declines in a gradual slope, interrupted only by insulated mountain masses, or broken ranges. In crossing one of the gorges of the Kylas on the 15th and 16th of July, Moorcroft experienced a hard frost at night, beds of frozen snow lay in the ravines, and splashes of snow half melted in various parts, all which denoted a higher elevation than that of the Nitee pass. Baron de Humboldt further observes, that the Cordilleras of the Andes, though they extend from North to South one hundred and twenty degrees of latitude, are not more, generally speaking, than from two to three and very rarely from four to five degrees in breadth. It was no doubt a want of consideration of this great difference in the extent of surface, that led the Baron to make the erroneous comparison of the elevation of the great plateau of Tartary with that of the province of Los Pastos, in the Andes, the mean height of which he states only at 3000 metres, or 9,928 English feet.

This conclusion of his is the more remarkable, as the explanation which we have offered of the high degree of temperature, at the extraordinary elevation of the plains of Tartary, seems to coincide with the doctrine laid down in Baron de Humboldt's essay on Isothermal lines. 'As the heat,' he says, 'of high regions of the atmosphere depends on the radiation of the plains, it is conceived that, under the same geographical parallels, one may not find, in the system of trans-atlantic climates, the isothermal lines at the same elevation above the level of the sea, as in the system of European climates.' Had this observation on the difference caused by the radiation of plain surfaces occurred to him when writing on the height of the plains of Tartary, he would scarcely have thought of comparing the effects of the latter with those of the very circumscribed plains of Los Pastos.

Besides, the extraordinary effect produced by radiation on elevated plains of vast extent had been demonstrated by him in the instance

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instance of the great height which the line of perpetual congelation reaches on the mountains rising out of the plain of Mexico. This line he finds by actual experiment to be, in lat. 19°—20°, at 15,090 feet above the sea, which is much higher than it ought to be according to theory; by Professor Leslie's table it would only be at 13,560 feet, making a difference of 1,530 feet, occasioned no doubt by the radiation of the plain. This effect is also obvious from the small difference in the height of the lower point of congelation on the side of Chimboraço, nearly under the equator, and on the mountains of Mexico, in 20° of N. latitude, the former being 15,746 and the latter 15,090 feet, making a difference only, in twenty degrees difference of latitude, of 656 feet—whereas, according to Leslie's table, the difference ought to be 1,729 feet.

With every reasonable allowance for the peculiarity in the magnitude, form and situation of the land of central Asia, the enormous difference between the results of Captain Webb's observations, and those of the tables computed on a mixture of facts and theory, would almost lead us to suspect the accuracy of this officer's observations, as we certainly should have done, had they been made with a solitary barometer; but the mean of four instruments, all of the best kind and acting well together, can scarcely be considered as doubtful; and the knowledge and experience of the observer will not permit us to call in question the accuracy of his experiments. We regret, however, that he was not allowed to proceed as far as the Sutledge, to mark the height at which the mercury might have stood in the tube in the bed of that river, and to ascertain how far, on a comparison with the elevation obtained trigonometrically, it corresponded with that elevation; and thus to ascertain whether the density of the atmosphere, as well as its temperature, had suffered any variation from the mean density of the air at the same elevation in other parts of the world—but mostly we regret it, as the great plain would have afforded to Captain Webb an admirable opportunity of obtaining the heights of the peaked summits of the Himalaya range, by angles taken at the extremities of so elevated a base, and at so short a distance from them; and of comparing those new results with those of his former observations, made under such disadvantageous circumstances, as to leave the correctness of them somewhat doubtful.

While Captain Webb remained in these elevated regions, he collected a variety of objects of natural history, and a few organic remains, among which were some fossil bones, which he says, the cognoscenti in Calcutta seem to consider as belonging to the human species; and, 'as I observe (he adds), that M. Cuvier in his essay denies that any such have yet been discovered, it will be gratifying to the curiosity of geologists should the fact be so established.' The fact,

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fact, however, has *not* been established; M. Cuvier's theory is yet safe; and the 'cognoscenti of Calcutta' have proved themselves not very *cognoscent* in these matters. The bones have been carefully examined in London, and pronounced *not* to belong to the human species, but (from a comparison made in the excellent collection of the College of Surgeons) to the deer family: they are considered however as objects of curiosity from the position in which they were found—in a bed of gravel on the side of the Kylas mountain, 16,000 feet above the level of the sea—a height at which it is more than probable no organic remains had hitherto been discovered.

We have pleasure in adding that, assisted by Dr. Wallich in the part of natural history, it is the intention of Captain Webb speedily to publish a narrative of his proceedings in that most interesting part of the globe, in which he has passed so many years of his life.

ART. VII.—*A Letter respectfully addressed to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent on occasion of the Death of her late lamented Majesty.* By Lysias. pp. 20.

IF the value of a publication were to be estimated by its magnitude, the pamphlet at the head of this article must be doomed to stand low in the scale of merit; and, amidst the larger works to which our attention is usually directed, might probably pass unnoticed. But if we regard less the size of a book than the subject of which it treats, and the spirit and ability of its composition, the case will be altered; and Lysias will have no need to shrink from the presence of his more portly contemporaries:—

Μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής.

The design of this address is to submit to the attention of the Prince Regent (by the recent dispensation of Providence, now placed in a station yet more exalted) the importance of maintaining the order and purity of his court. Individuals may possibly differ in the construction which they would affix to the terms 'order and purity'; and from the influence of education, the force of habit, or the nature of the society in which they are usually to be found, some persons would probably condemn in the detail what others, who concur with them in the general principle, would as cordially approve; but upon the main question itself, whether it be desirable to preserve from moral contamination the palaces of kings, he must be either very wicked or very foolish, who would answer in the negative.

It is an indisputable fact that the manners of the higher classes of society must, under any circumstances, produce considerable effects upon the ranks below them. This will be more especially the case in a free country; where every man is acquainted with the

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the conduct of his superiors, and the influence of example has all the range which publicity can give it. A virtuous court will have therefore a very powerful tendency to create a virtuous population; and if it were proposed to corrupt the principles and to vitiate the manners of a people, the object would be most certainly attained by commencing operations under the shadow of the throne. This is not more the fountain of honour than of morals; and if these waters be tainted, the evil will neither be slow in its progress nor partial in its effects.

Nor does the mischief lie merely in the contagion of bad example. There is a certain reasoning process, which unhappily lends its aid to the same bad cause; and of this the enemies of order and religion are but too ready to avail themselves. The use which has been recently made, and on a public occasion, of the name of a privy counsellor whose principles were alleged to be infidel, may serve to point out what would be the impression upon multitudes of our people, if the day should ever arrive, when the court of our sovereigns shall cease to be conspicuous for that moral rectitude and moral feeling which the religion of the country so imperiously requires. Many, we fear, would be inclined to believe that, in the judgment of their rulers, christianity is a fable—a mere engine of state—a piece of political machinery, of which the sole object is to preserve the constitution and to secure especially the permanence of the throne;—and it would follow, as a necessary consequence, that the clergy, in place of retaining their character and influence as the ministers of sacred truth, would be held up as the mere agents of the state under the cloak of religion? Could any common spectator in the reign of Charles II. suppose for one moment that either the sovereign or his courtiers had the slightest regard for that revelation, which, with whatever outward respect they might occasionally treat it, they daily and publicly insulted by their shameless profligacy? If it be important that the people should hold in due reverence the religion of their fathers, it is not less so that it should be treated with habitual reverence and respect by the constituted authorities of the state.

Without going farther into the argument, we may on these grounds venture broadly to affirm that the best and dearest interests of a nation are deeply involved in the purity of the court. In whatever degree the morals and principles of the community are affected by it, in that same degree will its influence be visible through the general course of their public and private conduct, and mix itself with all that constitutes the strength and greatness and welfare of a people.

We are happily no otherwise concerned in this subject than as it

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it relates to the *preservation* of that order and purity, which has so long been established and so inflexibly maintained at the court of Great Britain. Among other obligations which we owe to our late lamented and venerable Queen, this is by no means the least that, for half a century, she stood forward with unwearied vigilance and unbending resolution, as the guardian and protector of public morals; she neither countenanced indecorum by her example, nor would tolerate it in her presence; and, at a time when nearly all the other courts of Europe were open, with little discrimination, to the most abandoned and profligate characters, she raised around the throne of these realms a barrier, which no rank, however exalted, without the additional recommendation of a spotless name, was suffered to pass.

The pamphlet of Lysias is founded upon the melancholy event of the Queen's death; he considers it as a crisis in the public life of the Prince Regent; and takes occasion, from the new circumstances in which his Royal Highness is thus necessarily placed, to offer such advice as he deems suitable to the emergence.

Rulers have not seldom the fortune to be furnished with gratuitous counsel from the press; nor is it unusual in such cases for the self-constituted adviser to shun publicity. But unhappily it often appears that this shrinking from the public gaze is occasioned by motives, which but too well justify it. The authors love darkness, not retirement, and may be said to hate the light because their words are evil. We have in Lysias the example of another spirit; he writes with all the deference, which is due from a subject to his Prince; he has no wish to withhold the tribute of his approbation, where approbation is due; and from an honest love to his country as well as a virtuous attachment to its ruler, he evidently takes pleasure in expatiating upon that taste and feeling, and rectitude of principle, of which, with equal delicacy and judgment, he has adduced such gratifying instances in the conduct of the personage addressed.

The following passages will serve to convey a fair idea of the tone and manner of this writer, and will supersede the necessity of further commendation.

'I have already, Sir, referred to the important services of her late lamented Majesty, as the uniform and judicious guardian of our public manners. There can be no doubt that her character, in this point of view, is fully appreciated—that it is venerated—that it is cherished—by the filial mind of her son. For half a century, this country has been permitted to exhibit to the world the unusual spectacle of a court distinguished by irreproachable purity and decorum, without any sacrifice of the taste and elegance that belong to a civilized age, or of the splendour and magnificence that befit a throne. There cannot be the smallest

doubt

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doubt that your Royal Highness would wish the court over which you preside, to retain this enviable pre-eminence of character.

'I shall not, I am persuaded, be thought to question the strength of this sentiment in the mind of your Royal Highness, if I attempt to remove some imaginary difficulties that may be thought to oppose its being carried into practice. There are those who appear to conceive, that the court, while a female sovereign presided over it, admitted of a strictness and correctness of decorum, which it cannot be expected to exhibit under the superintendence of a Prince. The opinion of the world certainly sanctions a degree of laxity in the social habits of a house where there is no female head; and it may be argued that the same licence must, under the same circumstances, be allowed to a court.

'The force of this reasoning I own that I am utterly unable to perceive. Let it be granted, for argument's sake, that a Prince, in his strictly private habits, in such parts of his life as are unseen, and into which the public cannot pry without impertinence, may claim to himself that privilege of measured laxity, which opinion (though, in my judgment, most unjustifiably) grants to individuals of the same sex in stations less exalted. But a Prince *at the head of a court;* a Prince acting or appearing *on state occasions;* a Prince even on such social occasions as are of a more formal nature, and which only half divest him of his robes of state; a Prince, even in such parts of his properly private and domestic life, as are conspicuous to the public eye, and must be influential on public fashion; seems to me to be at least as much bound by the laws of decency, and by the obligation of paying respect to appearances, as a private gentleman at the head of a table at which females of rank and character should be the guests.

'Let not the aim of this Address be misconceived. There is no one characteristic of the present day, which the writer presumes more entirely to dislike and disapprove, than the too prevalent habit of exercising an inquisitorial scrutiny into the follies, the faults, or even the vices, be they more or less, of the great. On the ground of vague surmises and suspicions; on the credit of reports more wicked than the crimes they impute; the private characters of persons in eminent stations are daily traduced and vilified. All this proves the bad morals, not of the accused, but of their accusers; for what more comprehensive breach of duty can be conceived, than thus at once to forget the spirit of that charity which enjoins us to think no evil, and the obligation of that respect for rank which forbids us to speak evil of dignities?

'An author*, with whose writings, in all their original force and beauty, I am told that your Royal Highness is familiar, has somewhere described the Roman people, in their declining days, by the term *Civitas rimandis offensis sagax;* and perhaps the expression may without much perversion be applied to those censorious aspersers of rank and dignity to whom I have just been alluding. But, fully admitting and strongly maintaining the impropriety of such censure and such censor-

* Tacitus.

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ship, I must yet be allowed to think that the public and visible part of a public man's life is, in some sense, public property. I must be allowed to believe that the great, when in the actual and ostensible exercise of their greatness, are bound by the strongest obligations to remember the influence, and to consult the decencies, of those high places of the earth, of which they enjoy the privileges, and shine in the splendour.

'Here then, Sir, is that which I have ventured to describe as a new crisis in the public life of your Royal Highness. There is no one fact, past or present, more certain than that the attention and hopes of all that large proportion of your Royal Highness's subjects, whose affections are best worth having; of all those who form, comparatively speaking, the moral strength of your Royal Highness's throne; the faithful friends and loyal disciples of the Church and State of England; are deeply interested in the conduct which your Royal Highness shall on this occasion be pleased to adopt. Take nothing, Sir, on the word of an anonymous writer: what I have just stated, I have stated as a matter of fact, and its truth, like that of other matters of fact, may be ascertained by evidence. Be pleased to question those about you, who have the opportunity of familiar intercourse with the middling classes of society, and they will make the same report as your Royal Highness has already received from me.

'Yes; we long to be satisfied that the spirit of our late revered and excellent Queen will yet live in the order, the decorum, the unstained purity, of the court over which she so long and so beneficially presided. Whether the principle of strictness on which her Majesty acted, was in every single instance justly or properly applied, we are too far removed from the immediate walks of royal and noble life to pretend to determine; but of the justice and propriety of the principle itself, we have the deepest conviction.—We are anxious to see that principle maintained in all its force and dignity; and we should regret our recent loss, not indeed with a deeper or sincerer, but certainly with a far bitterer sorrow, if we were to find that a principle, which shed so much honour on the British name and nation, had been buried in the same grave with its late revered patroness.'—p. 14.

We cannot resist the inclination to lay before our readers the spirited and eloquent passages with which the Letter concludes. They touch upon subjects to which we have already adverted, and they will be read with pleasure by every Briton, who possesses a right taste or an English heart.

'If it were at all necessary, in addressing so enlightened a mind as that of your Royal Highness, to enlarge on this important subject, I might remark, what is a curious fact, that the brightest and most successful reigns recorded in the English history, have generally been distinguished by the purity of the court. And this is perhaps one reason why our female reigns have been so prosperous. The comparative decorum maintained by Queen Elizabeth, contributed, and, as I believe, in no small degree, to rally round her the affections of her subjects with a strength

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a strength and constancy which were found battle-proof in the hour of aggravated peril and difficulty. The great counsellors and mighty captains of Queen Anne were as true, but scarcely as effective friends to her glory, as her moral virtues. But, happily, the exemplification of this truth has not been confined to female reigns. The third William bound together a divided and a distracted people, not so much by his genius or his courage, though the one was on the whole commanding, and the other was altogether heroic, as by standing forth the guardian of pure religion and public morals, and by chasing away from the neighbourhood of the throne, all that shameless dissipation and licentiousness which had no less corroded its strength than debased its sanctity under the baleful influence of his two immediate predecessors.

'There is yet another example, the last and the brightest. Of all the reigns in the English history, none can be found more eventful, none in which our dangers and even our losses have been greater, than that in which we live. America torn away;—Ireland in rebellion;—England in trouble;—all the continental ports shut against us, from Venice to Gibraltar, and from Gibraltar to Archangel;—manufactories of treasonous arms established in the very heart of some of our chief cities and towns;—the majesty of our monarchy derided;—the life of our King openly attacked;—the name of our God shamelessly blasphemed;—such are some of the fearful sights and sounds that we have witnessed. But by what splendid lights these heavy shadows have been relieved! Peace gained in the West, and an empire in the East;—the sovereignty of the constitution established;—our manufactures thriving;—our population nearly doubled;—our wealth tripled;—the prodigious range of our commerce;—the boundless extent of our charities; the immortal memory of Nelson;—the field of Waterloo;—our fame, like the mighty angel of old, bestriding sea and land at once;—such, and many more, are the bright parts of this crowded and interesting picture. At the present moment, our political importance and reputation are unquestionably, and even beyond comparison, greater than in the most brilliant of former periods. Now, should it be required to assign the causes of this phenomenon, far be it from me to undervalue the vigour and wisdom of our political counsels: I have already ventured to say how highly I deem of these. But it is not inconsistent with that sentiment to add, what I do not believe any competent judge will dispute; that no small part of the glorious results in which we thus triumph, is to be ascribed to the steady countenance which our venerable sovereigns have afforded to the cause of good morals. The British court, compared with every other in Europe, has been the court of the virtues. The personal character of the exalted possessors of the throne, and the character of their court, have been a triple rampart to us during the whole of the tremendous struggle in which we have been engaged. This is, indeed, among the most secure of all defences; for, when a state is so fortified, the hearts of the people are ever found to form its garrison.

'But the influence of a favourite subject is betraying me into a tediousness beyond my privilege.

'I will therefore check my hand; and shall only add that, on revising the last page, I perceive in it what I hope is a material error. In glancing at the examples, which the British annals afford, of the promotion of national greatness by the virtues of the court, there is one period which I have called the *last* and the *brightest*. A new period has just commenced; and may my application of both these epithets be speedily falsified!'—p. 17.

Here also we shall close our extracts. To seek for trivial objections against such a work, would offend equally against good sense and good taste. While we write, however, an event is announced, in the highest degree calculated to increase the impression of the author's argument. The British court is now bereaved of both those illustrious persons, under whose auspices it attained its high reputation for morals and religion. How affecting to stand, as it were, by the graves of these partners in royal virtue, and to meditate upon the mighty effects which have resulted from the influence of their private character! Which of those princes, the disastrous magnitude of whose exploits, (measured by the consequent miseries inflicted on a weeping world,) has obtained for them the splendid title of *great*, will hold the same place in history with George III., the pattern of domestic excellence, and in the best sense the Father of his Country, because the father of its virtues? Who so worthy of the appellation of *Defender of the Faith* as he who illustrated the faith which he professed by his actions; by the steady rectitude of his public principles, and the mild and blameless purity of his private life?

In dropping, however, these 'natural tears' over the departed guardians of the national virtue, let us not for a moment believe that the place, which *shall know them no more*, will not be filled by emulous and by kindred merit. The cause of public morals, though now doubly an orphan, will find another parent, who will protect and cherish it with the same high-minded resolution which distinguished his immediate predecessors. Like us, he venerates their virtues, and loves their example: and those virtues and this example are endeared to him by all the feelings and affections which live in the heart of a good son toward the noblest and the best of parents. Long may he be preserved thus to honour their memory, and thus to fulfil the ardent expectations of a loyal and generous people! And when at length it shall please the Great Disposer of events to visit these realms with another day of sadness like that which has now wrapped the nation in mourning, may he be followed to the tomb by the same unaffected sorrow which now flows for his venerable Father, and, like him, be held forth as a pattern and example to future kings!

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ART. VIII.—*Travels in Nubia; by the late John Lewis Burckhardt.* Published by the Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa. 1819.

THE friends of John Lewis Burckhardt, now alas! no more, will receive this memorial of a part of his labours with mixed emotions of satisfaction and regret. In every page they will be reminded of that ardour of research, that patience of investigation, that passionate pursuit after truth, for which he was eminently distinguished. His simple and unstudied narrative will recall that easy, cheerful and unruffled mind, that evenness and serenity of temper which he displayed in social life, and which neither the fatigues nor the privations nor the insults to which he was so frequently exposed in his long and arduous journies, could for a moment unsettle or disturb. Those who have yet to learn his character will learn, from the record now before us, 'what manner of man he was,' and will join in deploring the untimely fate of one whose place, we fear, must long remain unfilled. They will discover that he was a traveller of no common description:—that no food was too coarse for him—no clothing too mean—no condition too humble—no treatment too degrading, when the object was knowledge, and the acquirement of it considered, as it always appeared to be considered, a duty to his employers. In the Deserts of Syria, Arabia or Nubia, and in the hospitable mansion of the venerable president of the Royal Society, Burckhardt was always the same cheerful and contented being.

A gentleman by birth and a scholar by education, he added to the ordinary acquirements of a traveller, accomplishments which fitted him for any society. He had also the happy faculty of adapting himself to all circumstances. With Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Turks, Nubians, Negroes, he completely identified himself, and put on and threw off their language and manners with the same ease as he did his garment. His descriptions of the countries through which he travels, his narratives of incidents, his transactions with the natives, are all placed before us with equal clearness and simplicity. 'Although,' says his editor, 'Mr. Burckhardt was gifted by nature with sagacity and memory for making accurate observations, and with taste and imagination to give a lively description of them, it must not be forgotten, that he wrote in a language which was not his native tongue, which he did not learn until he was twenty-five years of age, and in the writing of which he had little exercise, until he had arrived in those countries, where he very seldom heard it spoken, and where he had still more rarely any opportunities of referring to English models of composition.'

Mr. Burckhardt was not unacquainted with the systematic no-

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menclature of objects of natural history, but he deemed it more useful to insert the native names than to encumber his journal with technical terms, or to load it with scientific descriptions or philosophical discussions, which, if thought necessary, might at any time be added. In this respect no two travellers, each excellent in his own way, could differ more widely than Humboldt and Burckhardt. Of the former, science and philosophy were the leading objects; while the chief concern of the latter was men and manners, the state of society, the modes and conditions of life, languages and opinions; next to these, the geography of countries, and their natural productions; the affiliation of various nations and tribes; and the means resorted to for supplying their wants or increasing their comforts through the instrumentality of commerce:—and on all these points his inquiries were so ably conducted, and the result of them so clearly and distinctly recorded, as to leave little to be gleaned by future travellers. But a short review of his life and his labours, of which indeed we gave a hasty sketch in our XXXVIth Number, will furnish the best panegyric on the character and merits of this extraordinary man.

John Lewis Burckhardt, descended from an ancient family of Basle, was born at Lausanne. He was the eighth child of John Rodolph Burckhardt of Kirshgarten, whose prospects in life were blighted by the French revolution; in the early part of which he was falsely accused, tried, proved innocent, and acquitted. Innocence and acquittal, however, are feeble safeguards among revolutionary demagogues. Young Burckhardt, who daily witnessed the misery inflicted on his country by the republican French, imbibed at a very early age a detestation of their principles, and a determination never to submit to their yoke. In 1800, being then sixteen years of age, he entered the University of Leipzig, whence, after a stay of nearly four years, he was removed to Göttingen. In both places, his exemplary conduct and high feelings of honour, his distinguished talents and ardent zeal for knowledge, ensured him universal esteem and respect; while a remarkable frankness, cheerfulness, kindness, and evenness of temper made him particularly beloved by his more intimate acquaintance. On leaving Göttingen in 1805, he returned to his mother at Basle, where an offer was made to him by one of the Royal Courts of Germany of some employment in the diplomatic line; but as the whole continent was either subject to the French, or in alliance with them, he resolved to try his fortune in England. He arrived in London in July, 1806, bringing with him many letters of introduction, and among others, one to Sir Joseph Banks, from Professor Blumenbach of Göttingen.

At the house of the President of the Royal Society he soon became

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came acquainted with the wishes of the African Association to make a new attempt at discovery in the interior of Africa from the north. To a mind equally characterized by courage, a love of science, and a spirit of enterprize, such an undertaking offered peculiar attractions; and accordingly Burckhardt hastened to make a tender of his services to Sir Joseph Banks and the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Association. He was gladly accepted; and, in January 1809, received his final instructions, having diligently employed the interval in London and Cambridge in the study of the Arabic language, and in attending lectures on chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, medicine and surgery. He allowed his beard to grow, assumed the oriental dress, and exercised himself by long journeys on foot, bareheaded, in the heat of the sun, in sleeping upon the ground, and living upon vegetables and water.

As an intimate knowledge of Arabic was of the utmost importance, his instructions directed him in the first instance to proceed to Syria, where, while studying that language in one of the purest schools, he might acquire the oriental manners, at a distance from the intended theatre of his researches, and without the risk of being afterwards recognized. After a stay of two years in Syria, he was to proceed to Cairo, thence by the Fezzan caravan to Mourzook by the route traversed by Horneman; and subsequently, to avail himself of such opportunities as might offer for the countries farther in the interior.

On the 2d March, 1809, Burckhardt sailed from Cowes, and reached Malta about the middle of April; from thence he proceeded for Aleppo, in the character of an Indian Mohammedan merchant, and as the supposed bearer of dispatches from the East Indian Company, to Mr Barker, the British Consul, and the Company's Agent in that city. His fellow-passengers were three Tripolines, and two Negro slaves. In the course of the voyage numerous questions were put to him by these people relative to India, its inhabitants and its language, 'which I answered,' says Burckhardt, 'as well as I could; whenever I was asked for a specimen of the Hindoo language, I answered in the worst dialect of the Swiss German, almost unintelligible even to a German, and which, in its guttural sounds, may fairly rival the harshest utterance of Arabic.' He was at all times willing to lend a helping hand to the merchants and seamen, to divert their attention from his person and affairs.

At Suedieh, where he first went on shore, he joined a caravan, which was on the point of setting out for Aleppo. Here, after a short stay at Antakia, during which he associated chiefly with the muleteers, he arrived in safety, and took up his residence with Mr. Barker the British Consul, as an Indian Mussulman, but still wear-

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ing his Turkish dress, and continuing the name he had assumed of Ibrahim, that he might pass unnoticed in the streets and bazars. His first object was to provide a master to instruct him in the literal and vulgar Arabic, preparatory to a projected visit to the Bedouin Arabs in the Desert, among whom it was his intention to dwell for some months. Though his progress was so rapid, that in the course of one year he was able, with little assistance, to turn Robinson Crusoe into an Arabian tale, adapted to Eastern taste and manners, under the title of *Dur El Bahur*, 'The Pearl of the Seas;' yet such are the niceties and difficulties of a language, which to express *wine* (for example) employs no less than one hundred and fifty different terms, that he thought it expedient to remain two years and a half in Syria, in order to lay in a sufficient stock of literature, and to familiarize himself with the character, manners, and customs of Mahommedans.

He was not, however, entirely sedentary during this period; he made, in 1810, a six months' tour to Damascus and through the Haouran and Mount Libanus, the journal of which is in the possession of the African Association: and in 1811, he set out for the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which, he spent seven or eight weeks: all traces of this journey are lost, his epistolary correspondence not having reached the Association. The tribes of Arabs which he was anxious to visit were of the most savage kind, and his means of protection insufficient. 'The consequence was,' says Mr. Barker, 'that poor Burckhardt was stripped to the skin; and he returned to Sukhne, his body blistered with the rays of the sun, and without having accomplished any one of the objects of his journey. It was on this excursion to the desert that he had so hard a struggle with an Arab lady, who took a fancy to the only garment which the delicacy or the compassion of the men had left him.' He had previously been robbed of his watch and compass.*

In May, 1812, we find him at Damascus, on the eve of making a journey along the borders of the Dead Sea, into Arabia Petræa on his way to Cairo. In this, which lasted from the middle of June to the end of September, he states himself to have been 'considerably worn by the fatigues of the road and the intense heat of the season.' By the treachery of a Sheik, and the villainy of a Bedouin

* It is prudent in travelling among the Arabs to wink at their impositions rather than quarrel with them. Last year a party of English officers got into a dispute with their Arab guides, on their way to Palmyra, when one of the former (Captain Butler of the dragoons) was wounded; their camels were taken from them, and they were obliged to tread back their steps on foot. Unfortunately they lodged a complaint before the Pasha of Damascus, who sent out his troops that very evening, and they brought in the heads of ten Arabs. The consequence will be, that sooner or later ten travellers on that road must be sacrificed, as the retribution of blood is never abandoned by the Bedouin Arabs.

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whom he had recommended, Burckhardt encountered many difficulties, and was obliged to walk from one encampment to another, until he found another Bedouin, who engaged to carry him to Egypt. His account of the Valley of Ghor, or Araba, contained in a letter to the Secretary of the Association, is too interesting to be passed over.

'The valley of Ghor is continued to the south of the Dead Sea; at about sixteen hours distance from the extremity of the Dead Sea, its name is changed into that of Araba, and it runs in almost a straight line, declining somewhat to the west, as far as Akaba, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red Sea. The existence of this valley appears to have been unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers, although it is a very remarkable feature in the geography of Syria, and Arabia Petræa, and is still more interesting for its productions. In this valley the manna is still found; it drops from the sprigs of several trees, but principally from the Gharrab; it is collected by the Arabs, who make cakes of it, and who eat it with butter; they call it Assal Beyrouk, or the honey of Beyrouk. Indigo, gum arabic, the silk tree called Asheyr, whose fruiten closes a white silky substance, of which the Arabs twist their matches, grow in this valley. It is inhabited near the Dead Sea in summer-time by a few Bedouin peasants only, but during the winter months it becomes the meeting place of upwards of a dozen powerful Arab tribes. It is probable that the trade between Jerusalem and the Red Sea was carried on through this valley. The caravan, loaded at Eziongeber with the treasures of Ophir, might, after a march of six or seven days, deposit its loads in the warehouses of Solomon. This valley deserves to be thoroughly known; its examination will lead to many interesting discoveries and would be one of the most important objects of a Palestine traveller. At the distance of a two long days journey north-east from Akaba, is a rivulet and valley in the Djebel Shera, on the east side of the Araba, called Wady Mousa. This place is very interesting for its antiquities and the remains of an ancient city, which I conjecture to be Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa, a place which, as far as I know, no European traveller has ever visited. In the red sand stone of which the valley is composed, are upwards of two hundred and fifty sepulchres entirely cut out of the rock, the greater part of them with Grecian ornaments. There is a mausoleum in the shape of a temple, of colossal dimensions, likewise cut out of the rock, with all its apartments, its vestibule, peristyle, &c. It is a most beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and in perfect preservation. There are other mausolea with obelisks, apparently in the Egyptian style, a whole amphitheatre cut out of the rock with the remains of a palace and of several temples. Upon the summit of the mountain which closes the narrow valley on its western side, is the tomb of Haroun (Aaron, brother of Moses). It is held in great veneration by the Arabs. (If I recollect right, there is a passage in Eusebius, in which he says that the tomb of Aaron was situated near Petra). The information of Pliny and Strabo upon the site of

Petra,

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Petra, agree with the position of Wady Mousa. I regretted most sensibly that I was not in circumstances that admitted of my observing these antiquities in all their details, but it was necessary for my safety not to inspire the Arabs with suspicions that might probably have impeded the progress of my journey, for I was an unprotected stranger, known to be a townsman, and thus an object of constant curiosity to the Bedouins, who watched all my steps in order to know why I had preferred that road to Egypt, to the shorter one along the Mediterranean coast.'—p. xlv.

Of this journey the Association are in possession of a detailed and very interesting account.

A caravan of Twatees, who dwell on the great road between Fezzan and Tombuctoo, was setting out on their return, when he arrived at Cairo; but having no funds to equip himself, and too little acquaintance with the Egyptian and African character to take such measures as would secure his real character from being discovered, he determined on a voyage as far as Dongola, as a preparatory step to the knowledge of the Negro nations, and of those who traffic for slaves; and thus to facilitate his future travels in the interior of Africa. In January 1813 he left Cairo on his first journey through Nubia, (the journal of which forms part of the present volume,) and returned to Assuan on the 30th of March, thirty five-days after setting out from this place, during which he only allowed himself a single half-day's rest at Derr.

No opportunity offering of proceeding into western Africa, he projected a second journey to the banks of the Atbara, or Astaboras, and from thence to Djidda or Moka, and to return by land along the eastern shore of the Red Sea to Cairo. The detailed account of this expedition as far as Djidda on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, forms the subject of the greater part of the volume now before us; and we may here remark, that the extraordinary economical manner in which he travelled, and the conscientious feeling with which he expended the funds of the Association, are among the prominent characteristics of Mr. Burckhardt. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from Djidda, he says, 'When I left Egypt, I had only sixty dollars, and an ass to carry me; twenty-five dollars were spent on the way to Shendy. I was thus much straitened, and I had scarcely enough to buy a slave, a camel, and the necessary provisions for my journey to the Red Sea.' In this journey he crossed that desert to the westward of Dongola by which Bruce returned from Abyssinia, and which has been described in such frightful terms by this enterprizing traveller; but the dangers and the sufferings of Burckhardt were occasioned neither by the privations of the Desert, nor its poisonous winds, nor its moving pillars of sand;

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sand; but by his apparent poverty, which exposed him to every kind of insult from the wretches with whom he travelled.

At this place, (Djidda,) he was fortunate enough to obtain a supply of money by the means of Yahya Effendi, the physician of Tousoun Pasha, a man educated in Europe, who had known him at Cairo. A whole year nearly had elapsed after his departure from Djidda before the Association received any further advices from their traveller, his first letter being dated from Cairo, after his return from Arabia; but we are told by the Editor, that, 'in the following year, he transmitted to the Association the most accurate and complete account of the Hedjaz, including the cities of Mekka and Medina, which has ever been received in Europe;' that 'he resided at Mekka during the whole time of the pilgrimage, and passed through the various ceremonies of the occasion, without the smallest suspicion having arisen as to his real character;' and that 'the Pasha of Egypt having thought proper to put his qualifications as a Mussulman to the test, by directing the two most learned professors of the law, then in Arabia, to examine him on his knowledge of the Koran, and of the practical as well as doctrinal precepts of their faith, the result was a complete conviction upon the minds of his hearers, or at least of his two examiners, of his being not only a true, but a very learned Mussulman.'

Important as were the experience and information acquired by this journey into Arabia, it would appear that they were but too dearly purchased, as his constitution never recovered from the effects of that fatal climate, which seldom fails to exert its pernicious influence on all strangers who visit it. In June 1815, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from Cairo, he says, the 'approbation of my employers has been to me the source of most heartfelt joy, and the encouragement which I have derived from it has entirely banished from my mind that despondency which my bodily sufferings had caused!' After telling him that he had passed three months at Mecca, he adds: 'I performed on the 25th of November, in the company of more than eighty thousand pilgrims, the Hadj to Mount Arafat.' In January he set out from Mecca to Medina, a journey of ten or eleven days, mostly through deserts. Six days after his arrival at the latter place, he was attacked by a fever, which, he says, 'kept him chained to his carpet until April.' From Medina he descended to the sea-coast at Yembo. Here the plague, a calamity hitherto unknown to Arabia, had lately made its appearance, and its ravages were so great that the inhabitants had fled, and the town was found almost deserted. After a stay of fifteen days, he embarked in a country ship, landed on the promontory of Ras Mohammed, in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, whence he reached Tor, where he suffered a relapse of his fever, which detained him a fortnight; he then

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then took the road of Suez, and arrived at Cairo on the 19th of June, 1815, after an absence of nearly two years and a half.

In the course of the succeeding nine months spent in Egypt, in anxious expectation of a caravan setting out for western Africa, he had several relapses of his fever: on the appearance of the plague in Cairo, in April 1816, unwilling to shut himself up, and more so to expose himself to infection, he conceived that he could not do better than retire, while it lasted, to the Bedouins, who enjoy a total exemption from it. Accordingly, he set out for the peninsula of Mount Sinai on the 20th of April, and returned to Cairo on the 18th of June.

His account of this journey, together with his history of the Bedouins, whom he pronounces infinitely superior in all respects to the Turks, will prove exceedingly interesting; as it is from a perfect knowledge of their manners, laws and institutions, that we are able duly to appreciate the truth of the early history of mankind; and it is satisfactory to find in so able an observer as Burckhardt, 'the vindicator of the authenticity of the sacred historian of *Beni Israel*.'

He now felt himself quite confident of bringing his African expedition to a happy issue: 'If,' says he, 'I fail, it must cost my successor many years of apprenticeship to be able to enter the gates of Lybia with as much confidence as I shall now be able to do.' Among the pilgrims collected at Mecca, in the Hadj of the year 1817, he had encountered a party of Moggrebyns, or western Africans, who were expected to return home, as usual, by the way of Cairo and Fezzan. With this caravan he intended to set off for Fezzan, with hopes not more sanguine than reasonable of being able to penetrate from thence to the countries bordering on the Niger; and by tracing its course, to reap the reward of his long perseverance in acquiring authentic information respecting the unknown regions of Africa, traversed by this celebrated but mysterious stream. Providence ordained otherwise. Early in October, he was attacked by a return of dysentery, which in the course of ten days carried him off,—the afflicting account of his death will be found in No. XXXVI. of this journal. To that we must refer our readers; and conclude the brief introductory sketch of this highly gifted man in the words of his editor.

'As a traveller, he possessed talents and acquirements, which were rendered doubly useful, by his qualities as a man. To the fortitude and ardour of mind, which had stimulated him to devote his life to the advancement of science, in the paths of geographical discovery, he joined a temper and prudence, well calculated to ensure his triumph over every difficulty. His liberality and high principles of honour, his admiration of those generous qualities in others, his detestation of injustice

justice and fraud, his disinterestedness and keen sense of gratitude* were no less remarkable, than his warmth of heart and active benevolence, which he often exercised towards persons in distress, to the great prejudice of his limited means. No stronger example can easily be given of sensibility united with greatness of mind, than the feelings which he evinced on his death-bed, when his mother's name, and the failure of the great object of his travels, were the only subjects upon which he could not speak without hesitation. By the African Association his loss is severely felt, nor can they easily hope to supply the place of one whom birth, education, genius and industry, conspired to render well adapted to whatever great enterprize his fortitude and honourable ambition might have prompted him to undertake. The strongest testimony of their approbation of his zealous services is due from his employers, to their late regretted traveller; but it is from the public and from posterity, that his memory will receive its due reward of fame; for it cannot be doubted, that his name will be held in honourable remembrance, a slong as any credit is given to those who have fallen in the cause of science.'—p. lxxxix.

In the review which we are about to take of the two Nubian journeys contained in this volume, we must necessarily confine ourselves to a very limited and imperfect outline, in which, however, we shall be careful to use the traveller's own words, wherever we can do so; for although they are those of a foreigner, and, as he tells us, but once transcribed from the collection of daily notes, written in the corner of an open court, by the side of his camels, under the influence of the burning winds of the desert, and the sufferings of a painful ophthalmia, they are penned in all the simplicity of truth, and we feel that no alteration of ours would tend to their improvement.†

Mr. Burckhardt left Assouan, 'the most romantic spot in Egypt, but little deserving the lofty praises which some travellers have bestowed on it for its antiquities,' on the 24th of February, 1813,

* His present to the University of Cambridge, of the choicest collection of Arabic manuscripts in Europe, was intended as a mark of his gratitude, for the literary benefits, and the kind attention which he received at Cambridge, when preparing himself for his travels. Of his disregard of pecuniary matters, and his generous feeling towards those who were dear to him, a single example will be sufficient. His father having bequeathed at his death about ten thousand pounds, to be divided into five equal parts, one to his widow, and one to each of his children, Lewis Burckhardt immediately gave up his portion, to increase that of his mother. If, he said, I perish in my present undertaking, the money will be where it ought to be; if I return to England, my employers will undoubtedly find me some means of subsistence.'

† In the number of the barefaced impositions of the knight of the press in Bridge-street, (published among his Monthly trash,) is a something under the name of 'Burckhardt's Travels in Egypt and Nubia.' It consists merely of a few letters of a Mr. Buckingham, who happened to fall in with Mr. Burckhardt at Esné, and again at Djidda on his return from Mecca; and collected a few particulars from him in the course of conversation. These letters the knight has 'conveyed' out of the Calcutta Journal: the lying 'Introduction' is all his own.

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with two dromedaries and an Arab guide. This man was a native of Nubia, for whose services he bargained as far as Derr, a journey of 140 miles, and for which *one Spanish dollar* was considered as ample payment. The Nubians of Assouan were, at the time of his departure, at war with their southern neighbours, on account of the latter having intercepted a vessel laden with dates belonging to a merchant of the former. In the scuffle a woman in a state of pregnancy had been killed by a stone. The southern party, to whom the deceased belonged, were now demanding from their enemies 'the debt of blood,' not only for the woman, but for the child also which she bore in her womb; and this dispute had not been adjusted on our traveller's return.

Immediately beyond Assouan the mountains approach so near to the Nile as to leave scarcely the width of a hundred yards of cultivable ground. Our traveller passed the first night with the Shikh of Wady Debot: (it may here be observed, once for all, that though the term *wady* generally means a river, it is used, along the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar, for a valley, or ravine in the mountains.) 'Here,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'I first tasted the country dish—which, during a journey of five weeks, became my constant food—thin, unleavened, and slightly baked cakes of Dhourra, *(Holcus Arundinaceus,)* served up with sweet or sour milk.' As the mention of this universal dish is perpetually occurring, we shall here give our author's description of it. It seems to be nearly allied to the *teff* cakes of the Abyssinians, and not very different from our English *crumpets*.

'The chief article of food is dhourra bread. As they have no mills, not even hand-mills, they grind the dhourra by strewing it upon a smooth stone, about two feet in length and one foot in breadth, which is placed in a sloping position before the person employed to grind. At the lower extremity of the stone, a hole is made in the ground to contain a broken earthen jar, wooden bowl, or some such vessel, which receives the dhourra flower. The grinding is effected by means of a small stone flat at the bottom; this is held in both hands and moved backwards and forwards on the sloping stone by the grinder, who kneels to perform the operation. If the bread is to be of superior quality, the dhourra is well washed, and then dried in the sun; but generally they put it under the grinding stone, without taking the trouble of washing it. In grinding, the grain is kept continually wet by sprinkling some water upon it from a bason placed near, and thus the meal which falls into the pot, resembles a liquid paste of the coarsest kind, mixed with chaff and dirt. With this paste an earthen jar is filled, containing as much as is necessary for the day's consumption. It is left there from twenty-four to thirty-six hours, during which time it slightly ferments and acquires a sourish taste. No leaven is used; the sour liquid is poured in small quantities upon an iron plate placed over the fire, or when

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when no iron is at hand, upon a thin well smoothed stone: and if the iron or stone is thoroughly heated, the cake is baked in three or four minutes. As each cake is small, and must be baked separately, it requires a long time to prepare a sufficient quantity; for it is the custom to bring several dozen to table while hot, in a large wooden bowl: some onion sauce, or broth, or milk, is then poured upon them; the sauce is called Mallah. The bread is never salted, but salt is mixed with the sauce. This dish is the common and daily food both at dinner and supper. Although very coarse it is not disagreeable, and the sourish taste renders it peculiarly palatable during the heat of the mid-day hours. It is of easy digestion, and I always found it agree with me; but if left to stand for a day it becomes ill tasted, for which reason it is made immediately before dinner or supper. Cakes of this kind, but still thinner, and formed of a paste left for two or three days to turn quite sour, are made for travelling provision. After being well toasted over the fire, they are left to dry thoroughly in the sun, they are then crumbled into small pieces and put into leather bags, called Abra. They thus keep for many months, and serve the traders upon occasions, when it is impossible to prepare a supper with fire. Some melted butter is poured over a few handfuls of this food, and appetite is seldom wanting to make it palatable. Sometimes the crumbs are soaked in water, and when the water has acquired a sourish taste it is drunk off; this is called by the traders "the caravan beverage, Sharbet el Jellabe." '—p. 219.

The whole of the road to Derr, on the east bank of the river, is perfectly safe, provided the traveller be accompanied by a native. The people were every where curious and inquisitive. From Assouan to Dehymt the granite chain of mountains had been uninterrupted; from the latter place to the second cataract at Wady Halfa, the mountain next the river was sand-stone, with the exception of some granite rocks above Tafa, extending as far as Kalabshé. At Gyrshé, two days journey from Assouan, the plain between the river and the mountains is about a mile in width; it is a poor village, and two-thirds of the cottages were abandoned in consequence of the oppressions of the Mamelouks in their flight from the Turks, and the arrival of the latter. The Mamelouks were driven to Dongola, where they still remain. After their expulsion from Nubia 'a terrible famine broke out, in which one-third of the population perished through absolute want; the remainder retired into Egypt, and settled in the valleys below Assouan and Esné, where numbers of them were carried off by the small-pox.' A part of the inhabitants who had survived this dreadful malady had but just returned.

On the arrival of the Mamelouks at Argo, one of the principal places belonging to the king of Dongola, they were only able to muster about 300 effective men, and as many armed slaves, the wretched

wretched remains of upwards of 4000, against whom Mohammed Aly commenced the contest for the possession of Egypt. The fate of the twelve hundred, who, with their chief, Shahin Beg, were treacherously slaughtered in the castle of Cairo, has more than once been described; but a similar massacre at Esné is but little known, and, as Mr. Burckhardt observes, the circumstances attending it furnish another proof of the infatuation which has always presided over the councils of the Mamelouks.

'These fierce horsemen had sought refuge in the mountains inhabited by the Ababde and Bisharye Arabs, where all their horses died from want of food, and where even the richest Begs had been obliged to expend their last farthing, in order to feed their troops, provisions being sold to them by the Arabs at the most exorbitant prices. Thus cut off from all the comforts and luxuries of Egypt, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, Ibrahim Beg thought it a propitious moment to ensnare them, as his father had done their brethren at Cairo. With this design, he sent them the most solemn promises of safe conduct, if they would descend from the mountain, and pledged himself that they should be all placed in situations under the government of Mohammed Aly, corresponding with the rank which each individual then held among themselves. It will hardly be believed that, well acquainted as they were with the massacre at Cairo in the preceding year, more than four hundred Mamelouks, headed by several Begs, accepted the delusive offer, and descended in small parties from the mountains. They were stripped in the way by faithless guides, so that, with the exception of about thirty, the whole reached the camp of Ibrahim Beg, then near Esné, in a state of nakedness. After the different parties had all joined, and it was ascertained that no others were ready to follow them, the signal of carnage was given, and the whole of them, with about two hundred black slaves, were unmercifully slaughtered in one night. Two French Mamelouks only were saved, through the interest of the physician of Ibrahim Beg. Similar instances of perfidy daily occur among the Turks; and it is matter of astonishment, that men should still be found stupid enough to allow themselves to be thus ensnared by them.'—p. 13.

At Korosko the shore widens, and a grove of date trees enlivens the banks of the Nile the whole way from hence to Ibrîm. Groups of houses occur at every hundred yards; and as far as Derr, the fields are as carefully cultivated as in any part of Egypt. At Derr Mr. Burckhardt alighted, as all travellers do, at the house of Hassan Kashef, who inquired the object of his journey. Encouraged by the success of Messrs. Legh and Smelt, he replied that he had merely come on a tour of pleasure through Nubia, like the two gentlemen who had been at Derr before him; but his Turkish dress and manners and his perfect knowledge of Arabic created a suspicion

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cion in the bystanders that he was practising deception. His present to the Kashef, though handsome under ordinary circumstances, when contrasted with that which he had just received from Mr. Legh, to the value of about 1,000 piastres, appeared very insignificant and 'un-English.'—'Besides,' said Hassan, 'this gentleman proceeded only as far as Ibrîm; whereas you give me a few trifles, and wish to go even to the second cataract!'—Thus it is, that Englishmen in every part of the world spoil the market by their extravagant generosity. The Kashef, however, had a caravan just proceeding with merchandize to Egypt; and Burckhardt hinted, that if he sent him back to Esnè, and the Beg was there informed of the little attention paid to his letter of recommendation, (which Burckhardt had presented to him,) he might be induced to levy a contribution on his merchandize. This became a matter of serious reflexion with the Kashef, who shortly after thus addressed our traveller: 'Whoever you may be, whether an Englishman, like the two other persons who passed here, or an agent of the pasha, I shall not send you back unsatisfied; you may proceed; but farther than Sukkot the road is not safe for you; and from thence therefore you will return.' Thus sanctioned, he proceeded to the southward, accompanied by a Bedouin guide.

As far as Derr, the eastern bank of the Nile is better adapted for cultivation than the western, being covered with the rich deposit of the river; whereas on the western side, the sands of the desert are impetuously swept to the very brink of the river by the north-west winds which prevail during the winter and spring seasons; and it is in those places only, where the sandy torrent is arrested by the mountains, that the narrow plain admits of cultivation: the eastern shore is in consequence much more populous than the western; though it is not a little singular that all the chief remains of antiquity are on the latter—'perhaps,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'the ancient Egyptians worshipped their bounteous deities more particularly in those places, where they had most to dread from the inimical deity Typhon, or the personified desert, who stands continually opposed to the beneficent Osiris, or the waters of the Nile.'

Not far from Derr our traveller noticed a temple of the most remote antiquity. It was hewn entirely out of the sand-stone rock with its pronaos, sekos or cella, and adyton; 'the gods of Egypt (he observes) seem to have been worshipped here long before they were lodged in the gigantic temples of Karnac and Gorne, which are, to all appearance, the most ancient temples in Egypt.'

The Bedouin who accompanied our traveller was of that branch of the Ababde, who pasture their cattle on the banks of the river and its islands from Derr to Dongola: they are very poor; mats

of the leaves of palm-trees form their tents: they do not permit their women to intermarry with the Nubians; and they have through ages preserved the purity of their race. 'They pride themselves, and justly,' (says our traveller,) 'in the beauty of their girls.' They are an honest and hospitable people, and of a more kindly disposition than any of the other tribes of Nubia. The inhabitants of a small island near the village Ketta are thus described.

'These people, who all speak Arabic as well as the Nouba language, are quite black, but have nothing of the Negro features. The men generally go naked, except a rag twisted round their middle; the women have a coarse shirt thrown about them. Both sexes suffer the hair of the head to grow; they cut it above the neck, and twist it all over in thin ringlets, in a way similar to that of the Arab of Souakin, whose portrait is given by Mr. Salt in Lord Valentia's Travels. Their hair is very thick, but not woolly; the men never comb it, but the women sometimes do; the latter wear on the back part of the head, ringlets, or a small ornament, made of mother of pearl and Venetian glass beads. Both men and women grease their head and neck with butter whenever they can afford it; this custom answers two purposes; it refreshes the skin heated by the sun, and keeps off vermin.'—p. 31.

The castle of Ibrîm and the inhabitants of its territory have an Aga who is independent of the governors of Nubia, with whom they are often at war. They are of white complexion as compared with the Nubians, and still retain the features of their ancestors, the Bosnian soldiers who were sent to garrison Ibrîm by Sultan Selym. 'In no part of the eastern world,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'have I ever found property in such perfect security as in Ibrîm. The inhabitants leave the dhourra in heaps on the field without a watch during the night; their cattle feed on the banks of the river without any one to tend them; and the best parts of their household furniture are left all night under the palm-trees around the dwelling.'—But he adds 'that the Nubians in general are free from the vice of pilfering;' and, what is more important, that 'travellers in Nubia have little to fear from the ill will of the peasants: it is the rapacious spirit of the governors that is to be dreaded.'

Near Wady Halfa is the second cataract of the Nile, whose noise was heard in the night at a considerable distance. This part of the river is described as very romantic: the banks, overgrown with large tamarisks, have a picturesque appearance amidst the black and green rocks, which, forming pools and lakes, expand the width of the river to more than two miles. Between this place and Sukkot the navigation is interrupted for about 100 miles by rapids, similar to that at Assouan: in some places, however, the river is tolerably free from rocks and islands; in these its bed is narrow,

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narrow, and its banks are high; near Mershed, Mr. Burckhardt says, 'I could throw a stone over to the opposite side.'

At Wady Seras our traveller put up for the night, at a hut of Kerrarish Arabs, who were watching the produce of a few cotton fields, and bean plantations. They had not tasted bread for the last two months. Burckhardt made them a present of some dhourra, on condition of their letting the women (who are seldom permitted to enjoy this luxury) partake of it with them; the latter immediately set to work to grind it between two granite stones; 'and the girls sat up eating and singing the whole night.'

The rock, which as far as Wady Halfa had every where been sand-stone, changed at the second cataract into grunstein and grauwacke. The mountain crossed by our traveller to the southward of Seras was of granite and quartz. The Arabs, who act as guides in these desolate mountains, have devised a singular mode of extorting presents from the traveller. They first beg a present; if refused, they collect a heap of sand, and placing a stone at each extremity of it, they apprize the traveller that his tomb is made. Before he got out of this mountainous district, Mr. Burckhardt had a practical proof of this custom: having refused to give any thing to one of these grave-diggers, the man set about making his sand-heap; upon this our traveller alighted and began another, observing, that 'as they were brethren, it was but just that they should be buried together.' The fellow laughed; and they mutually agreed to destroy each other's labours: on Burckhardt's remounting his horse, the disappointed Arab exclaimed from the Coran, 'No mortal knows the spot upon earth where his grave shall be digged.'

At Wady Okame, the dominions of the governor of Sukkot begin, and the country opens out on each side of the river. Having a letter of recommendation from Hassan Kashef to the governor of Sukkot, who resides at Kolbe, an island in the Nile, Mr. Burckhardt crossed over in a kind of ferry-boat called a *ramous*. It consists of the trunks of date-trees loosely tied together, and worked by a paddle about four feet in length, forked at the upper extremity, and lashed to the raft by ropes of straw. Its close resemblance to those represented on the walls of the Egyptian temples, shews that man, here at least, has not been an improving animal. 'This is not a country,' said the Governor, (who received him very coldly,) 'for people like you to travel in, without being accompanied by caravans.' He gave him, however, a letter to his son, then at Ferke. Here the whole neighbourhood was assembled to partake of a cow slaughtered in honour of a deceased relation of the chief. A present of a piece of soap procured his permission to proceed.

The district of Say begins at Aamara, on the plain of which

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are the ruins of a fine Egyptian temple. The shafts of six large columns of calcareous stone remain, being the only specimen to met with of that material, those of Egypt being all of sandstone. Mr. Hamilton has observed, that 'the ancient Egyptians do not appear to have employed granite in any of their buildings in Upper Egypt, except in the obelisks and some few of their propyla.' The castle of Say is built of alternate layers of stone and brick, on an island of the Nile, and, like Ibrîm and Assouan, has its own Aga, independent of the governors of Nubia; like these, too, its territories are inhabited by the descendants of Bosnian soldiers. Beyond Say, thick groves of date trees and numerous habitations crowded both banks of the river. 'The dates of Sukkot and Say are preferred to those of Ibrim, and are considered superior to all that grow on the banks of the Nile, from Sennaar down to Alexandria; they are of the largest kind, generally three inches in length.'

On the 13th March, Mr. Burckhardt reached the territory of Mahass, and passed several villages, the houses of which were constructed only of mats of palm-leaves. The castle of Tinareh had been seized by a rebel cousin of the king of Mahass, but having been besieged for several weeks by the two brothers Hosseyn and Mohammed Kashefs, it had capitulated the evening preceding his arrival. He visited the camp of the latter, the son, on the mother's side, of a Darfour slave, but without any of that mildness which generally characterizes the negro countenance.—'He rolled his eyes at me,' says our traveller, 'like a madman, and having drank copiously of palm-wine at the castle, he was so intoxicated that he could hardly keep on his legs.' Goat-skins of palm-wine were brought in, and in the course of half an hour, the whole camp was as drunk as their chief. Muskets succeeded; and a feu-de-joie was fired with ball in the hut where all were sitting. 'I must confess,' says Burckhardt, 'that at this moment I repented of having come to the camp.' At length, however, the whole party dropped asleep, and a few hours brought the kashef to his senses, so that he could talk rationally. Burckhardt's situation, however, was not much improved. He was suspected of being an agent of the Pasha of Egypt; —'But,' said the kashef's Arabic secretary, 'at Mahass we spit at Mohammed Aly's beard, and cut off the heads of those who are enemies to the Mamelouks'—a fate with which he was frequently threatened during the night; and which, had it not been for the arrival of the governor of Sukkot's nephew who confirmed his account of himself, would in all probability have been carried into execution.

'I was now,' says our traveller, 'without a friend or protector, in a country only two days and a half distant from the northern limits

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limits of Dongola, the newly conquered kingdom of the Mamelouks, against whose interests I was suspected to be acting, while the governors of Mahass supported them.' Under these circumstances, he prudently determined to return; but the kashef abruptly ordered him to stay till next day. Burckhardt however expressed his anxiety to reach Derr as speedily as possible, and was dismissed with the usual mixture of insult and contempt. His intention was to cross over to the western side of the Nile, but there was no conveyance of any kind. This the more mortified him, as opposite to Soleb there was a fine village and the ruins of a temple, which appeared to have been of the size of the largest found in Egypt; besides, he had reason to believe it to be the most southern specimen of Egyptian architecture.

At the village of Kolbe, our traveller obtained a *ramous* for the baggage, and he and his guide swam the river at the tails of their camels, each beast having an inflated goat-skin tied to its neck. He now availed himself of the opportunity of examining, in his way down, the hitherto undiscovered temple of Ebsambul, whose front, sculptured and fashioned out of the living rock, and rising immediately from the bank of the river, is still in a state of complete preservation. In this front stand six colossal figures, representing juvenile persons; they are placed in narrow recesses, three on each side of the entrance; their height from the ground to the knee is about six feet and a half. The spaces of the smooth rock between the niches are covered with hieroglyphics, as are also the walls of the apartments. This temple Mr. Burckhardt thinks to have been the model of that at Derr, but much anterior to it in point of time, the style in which the sculptures are executed denoting a high antiquity. On the side of the mountain facing the north, against which there was a vast accumulation of sand, and at a distance of about 200 yards from the temple, the upper parts were discovered of four immense colossal statues cut out of the living rock, all the other parts being buried beneath the sands, which are drifted here in torrents from the desert. The head of one of these statues was yet above the surface; 'and,' says our author, 'it has a most expressive youthful countenance, approaching nearer to the Grecian model of beauty than that of any ancient Egyptian figure I have seen; indeed, were it not for a thin oblong beard, it might well pass for a head of Pallas.'—'This statue,' he adds, 'measures seven yards across the shoulders, and cannot therefore, if in an upright posture, be less than *sixty-five or seventy feet in height!* the ear is one yard and four inches in length.' Mr. Burckhardt conjectured, that if the sand could be cleared away, an immense temple would be discovered, to the entrance of which the four colossal figures served as ornaments, in the same manner as the six belonging to the neighbouring,

bouring temple of Isis; and he concluded, from a hawk-headed figure surmounted by a globe, in the centre of the four statues, that this buried temple had been dedicated to Osiris. It was this conjecture that induced Belzoni to undertake the bold enterprize of uncovering it as far down as the doorway, which he effected, with the able assistance and personal exertions of Captains Mangles and Irby, of the royal navy, whose names were unintentionally omitted in our former account. Mr. Burckhardt does not hesitate to pronounce the works of Ebsambul to belong to the finest period of Egyptian sculpture.

The account given by Belzoni and his associates of these extraordinary excavated temples, sculptured out of a whole mountain, induced Mr. Bankes, whose name we have frequently had occasion to mention, to make a second visit, in company with Mr. Salt, to explore the sacred recesses more minutely. For the fatigue and expense of this enterprize, and the exertions of a month in removing the sand, and excavating the rubbish, &c. they were amply rewarded by many new and brilliant discoveries; among the first of which must be reckoned that of a Greek inscription on the leg of one of the colossal statues which guards the entrance, recording the visit of Psammeticus (spelt ΨΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟΙ, in the dative, and written in very ancient letters) which, from appearances, it was judged must have been engraved when the temple was already encumbered with sand. This is probably the most ancient inscription that exists in any *intelligible* language, as Psammeticus died more than 600 years before Christ—more than 100 years before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses the Persian—and nearly 200 years before the visit of Herodotus to that country. It is valuable as an additional corroboration of the truth and accuracy of the Father of Profane History, from whom we learn that this Psammeticus was one of the twelve princes who ruled Egypt; that by the assistance of some Ionians and Carians—' men of brass'—he subdued his eleven associates, and became sole sovereign of the country; that in return for this service they had lands assigned to them, and that they taught the *Greek language* to the Egyptian youth; a circumstance which affords a satisfactory explanation of the existence of a Greek inscription at that early period. It is for those, if there be such, who affect to doubt or to deny the existence of Greek letters at this time, to prove the contrary; but without the knowledge of letters, it would be difficult to understand on what ground Herodotus could affirm, that ' we certainly know all things that passed in Egypt since the reign of Psammeticus to our time;' or how Pisistratus in less than a century afterwards could have collected at Athens a large library.

This inscription is valuable in another point of view, as it may assist,

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assist, with the corresponding hieroglyphics, to decypher those mysterious characters: and it is peculiarly valuable as an undoubted specimen of the advanced state of the arts among the ancient Egyptians; for the temple of Ebsambul* is said to contain the finest examples of sculpture, of painting, and of design, now existing either in Nubia or in Egypt. By a new and ingenious contrivance for giving light within the temple, Mr. Bankes has made out the complete historical design on the wall of one of the chambers, in which, besides the usual delineations of fortresses, war-chariots, &c. he observed three horsemen mounted without saddles, but with regular bridles.

But Mr. Bankes's discoveries are not confined to Ebsambul. He has examined, and re-examined, every ruin between it and Thebes; and the result of his discoveries and those of Mr. Salt has fully established the value and importance of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, (as suggested and exemplified in Mr. Hamilton's excellent work on Egypt,) in ascertaining the dates of many of the temples, and in discriminating those built by the Greeks and Romans from those of the ancient Egyptians. Thus at Philæ, besides the discovery of three new chambers in the great temple, an inscription of the time of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, on an altar which has been built into the lower part of the wall of the long colonnade next the river, as a part of the materials, proves unquestionably the whole building to be posterior to that reign, and probably to the Ptolemean dynasty. In the same temple were discovered, under the painted plaster, several Greek inscriptions relating to Ptolemy Philopater; and one of them, that had been hid by the plaster, to the Cæsars; thus affording undoubted proofs that the paintings, the colours of which were as vivid as those in the Egyptian chambers, are of a later date than the building of the temple. The sculpture on the first propylon of the great temple was of a more ancient date, but our travellers had sufficient proof that the engraving on the wings or side moles was subsequent to the time of Tiberius. From the other inscriptions copied by Mr. Hamilton, it is obvious that the Greeks had added much to the ancient Egyptian temple of Philæ, and particularly a small peripteral temple, which from the volutes in the capitals, and the elegance and lightness of the design, leave no doubt of its Grecian origin—'For,' as this gentleman observes, 'if its date must be referred to the ages anterior to Grecian civilization, it must be confessed that, after they had seen and

* Mr. Burckhardt observes, that the termination of the word Ebsambul sounds like Greek—*bul—balli*—πολις. Might not the man who built so many cities in Egypt, or those Greeks to whom he afforded his protection, have caused one bearing his own name, *Psamm-polis*, to be erected near this celebrated temple?

studied it, the Greeks had little to add, in order to produce the finest models of architecture.'

We have another proof of the labours of the Ptolemies in preserving and adding to the ancient temples of Egypt. The following inscription, on a plate of gold, was recently found over one of the side columns of the gateway of the great temple at Canopus, carefully placed between two pieces of very curiously coloured pottery.

ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC . ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟC . ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ . ΚΑΙ
ΑΡCΙΝΟΗC . ΘΕΩΝ . ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ
ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ . Η . ΑΔΕΛΦΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΓΥΝΗ . ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΤΟ · ΤΕΜΕΝΟC · ΟCΙΡΕΙ

'King Ptolemy (son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, adelphic Gods) and Queen Berenice, his Sister and Wife, [*have dedicated*] this Temple to Osiris.'

The discovery of many other Greek inscriptions, with corresponding ones in those mysterious characters known by the name of hieroglyphics, may prove of infinite use to Dr. Young in his laudable and persevering efforts to decypher them; and it must afford him high gratification to know that, on the temple of Dakke in Nubia, Greek inscriptions of the Ptolemies have been discovered over the principal entrance, on each side of which is a tablet of identical hieroglyphics, and each nearly of the same length as the inscription on the Greek tablet. The meaning of the two languages was therefore considered by Mr. Salt to be identical; and on referring to Dr. Young's explanations, the two travellers were gratified to find that the hieroglyphics of the 'immortal Ptolemy,' in an oval, the same as that of Dr. Young, appeared on each tablet, and were immediately followed by those of Hermes on one side, and of Isis on the other, to whom all the Greek inscriptions declare the temple to be dedicated. In several other parts of the temple was the name of Ptolemy, inscribed over figures in the act of making offerings, but without the epithet 'immortal,' besides those hieroglyphics which Dr. Young has assigned to the names of Osiris, Isis and Horus, as well as Hermes, each over its respective figure, and every where throughout the numerous representations on the walls. At the little temple also near Esnè, Mr. Bankes had satisfactory proofs that the sculpture and hieroglyphics were executed in the reign of Antonine, and dedicated by persons whose names were Grecian.

These discoveries prove beyond a doubt, what Mr. Hamilton indeed had satisfactorily shewn, that, after the conquest of the country by Alexander, the native Egyptians and the naturalized Greeks had no scruple to meet in the same sanctuary to perform the

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the ceremonies of their respective superstitions; and that the Greek inscriptions by the side of hieroglyphics establish the correctness of Diodorus Siculus and other Greek writers in asserting, that many rich and magnificent temples were built by the Ptolemies in Egypt; and that the number of temples before their dynasty was by no means so great as are the ruins existing at the present day. This union of the two languages leaves little doubt that the hieroglyphics continued to be used, and were understood, in the Ptolemaic dynasty; and affords a hope that other monuments, similar to that of the Rosetta stone, may yet be discovered among the ruins of the temples, to assist Dr. Young in the arduous task of unfolding those mysterious characters.

The mixture of Greek edifices with those of the ancient Egyptians is no disparagement to the merit and genius of the artist who could conceive and execute such gigantic works as Carnac, Luxor, Dendera and Ebsambul, which are confessedly Egyptian, and superior in every point of view, and far more sublime than any of those which have risen out of their ruins.—We return to Mr. Burckhardt.

Opposite to Derr our traveller fell in with Hassan Kashef, who told him that he had no business in Mahass, and seemed surprised that his brothers had suffered him to proceed thither. Here he witnessed one of those wanton acts of despotism which are but too common in the east.

'In walking over a large field, with about thirty attendants and slaves, Hassan told the owner that he had done wrong in sowing the field with barley, as water-melons would have grown better. He then took some melon seed out of his pocket, and giving it to the man, said, "you had better tear up the barley and sow this." As the barley was nearly ripe, the man of course excused himself from complying with the Kashef's command: "Then I will sow them for you," said the latter; and ordered his people immediately to tear up the crop, and lay out the field for the reception of the melon seed. The boat was then loaded with the barley, and a family thus reduced to misery, in order that the governor might feed his horses and camels for three days on the barley stalks.'—p. 94.

None of the numerous temples nor of their inscriptions escaped Mr. Burckhardt's notice, on his return by the western bank of the Nile. Those of Dakke, Gyrshe, Dondour, Kalabshe, Tafa, Kardassy, Debot, are all particularly described, and the comparative excellence of each characterized; this, however, we must pass over, as well as his judicious observations on those interesting remains of ancient days. The natives regard them with perfect indifference, and are only attracted by the prevalent idea of Europeans examining them for no other purpose than that of discovering hidden

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hidden treasures. With this view the Shikh of Gyrshe followed our traveller, with great haste, into the temple at that place, to lay claim to one half of the gold which he had found, or at least to get a handful of it. He assured Mr. Burckhardt, that the two Englishmen (Legh and Smelt) had found an immense treasure, with which they had loaded their vessel, for one of the peasants had actually seen the gold.

The mounds of rubbish and fragments of pottery which were observed at El Meharraka, and which occur in various parts of Egypt, suggest the following explanation, which we believe to be new.

'Several travellers have expressed their astonishment at the immense heaps of rubbish consisting chiefly of pottery which are met with on the sites of ancient Egyptian towns; and, if we are to attribute their formation to the accumulation of the fragments of earthen vessels used by the inhabitants for domestic purposes, they are indeed truly surprising; but I ascribe their origin to another cause. In Upper Egypt, the walls of the peasants houses are very frequently constructed in part of jars placed one over the other, and cemented together with mud; in walls of inclosures, or in such as require only a slight roof, the upper part is very generally formed of the same materials; in the parapets also of the flat-roofed houses a double or triple row of red pots, one over the other, usually runs round the terrace, to conceal the females of the family when walking upon it. Pots are preferred to brick, because the walls formed of them are lighter, more quickly built, and have a neater appearance. They possess, likewise, another advantage, which is, that they cannot be pierced at night by robbers, without occasioning noise, by the pots falling down, and thus awakening the inmates of the dwelling, while bricks can be removed silently, one by one, as is often done by nightly depredators, who break into the houses in this manner. If then we suppose that pot walls were in common use by the ancient inhabitants, the large mounds of broken pottery may be satisfactorily accounted for. As for stone, it seems to have been as little used for the private habitations of the ancient Egyptians, as it is at the present day.'—p. 102.

On the evening of the 30th March, after a hazardous journey of thirty-five days, in which he had rested only one day, Mr. Burckhardt returned to Assouan, having travelled generally at the rate of ten hours a day. What follows is not the least remarkable feature of his enterprize; 'I put,' says he, 'eight Spanish dollars into my purse, in conformity with the principle I have constantly acted upon, namely, that the less the traveller spends while on his march, and the less money he carries with him, the less likely are his travelling projects to miscarry; and I returned,' he adds, 'after a journey of nine hundred miles, with three dollars,

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lars, having spent about five dollars, including every expense, except the present to Hassan Kashef.'

We have briefly dispatched what may be called the personal narrative of this most interesting expedition, to enable us to give a more ample summary of the observations made by our author, on the country and its several inhabitants.

Nubia is divided into two parts, called the Wady Kenous, and the Wady Nouba; the former extending from Assouan to Wady Leboua, and the latter from thence to the frontier of Dongola. The inhabitants of these two divisions are separated by language, but in manners they appear to be nearly the same. The Kenous Arabs derive their origin from the deserts of Nedjed, and, according to their own tradition, settled in those regions at the period when the great Bedouin tribes from the east spread over Egypt. They adopted the language of the natives, which has no Arabic sounds whatever, and which has penetrated into Upper Egypt, as far as Edfou. 'It is a fact,' says our author, 'worthy of notice, that two foreign languages should have subsisted so long to the almost entire exclusion of the Arabic, in a country bordered on one side by Dongola, and on the other by Egypt, in both of which Arabic is exclusively spoken.'

Availing himself of the quarrels of the various tribes of Arabs which settled in Nubia, Sultan Selym sent a number of Bosnian soldiers, who built or repaired the three castles of Assouan, Ibrîm, and Say. The descendants of these soldiers continue to enjoy an immunity from all taxes and contributions. The Nubians call them *Osmanli*, (Turks.) Their skin is a light brown, while that of the Nubians is nearly black. The chiefs in power at present are the three brothers Hosseyn, Hassan, and Mahommed, whom we have had occasion to mention. Instead of the *miri* (or land tax), they pay each to the pasha an annual tribute of about 120*l.* and extort from their Nubian subjects and the caravans, about 3000*l.* each, of which they do not spend a tenth part. Their wealth consists in dollars and slaves.

The revenue of Nubia is principally derived from the *sakies*, or waterwheels, used for irrigation; the number of which between Assouan and Wady Halfa (or between the first and second cataract) is estimated from six to seven hundred; for each wheel, so many fat sheep, and so many measures of dhourra are levied; and from every date tree are taken two clusters of fruit, whatever quantity it may bear. But the whole system is arbitrary and irregular; poor villages are frequently ruined, while the richer ones are spared, lest the inhabitants should be driven to acts of open resistance. The three kashefs are also the judges; and the administration of justice is an article of merchandize.

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If a Nubian kill another of his tribe, the debt of blood must be paid to the family of the deceased, and a fine to the kashef of six camels, a cow, and seven sheep; but if a Nubian be killed by one of the kashef's tribe, no debt of blood is exacted, but the chief demands his fine. The Kenous and the Noubas are almost perpetually engaged in disputes and sanguinary quarrels; and when death ensues, the family of the deceased has the option of receiving a stipulated sum, or claiming the right of retaliation: in the latter case, the brother, son, or first cousin only can supply the place of the murderer, which frequently causes the whole family to fly the country.

If a wealthy Nubian happens to have a daughter, the kashef generally demands her in marriage; the father is afraid to refuse, but he seldom escapes ruin by his powerful son-in-law, who extorts from him every article of his property under the name of presents to his own child. 'Thus,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'are the governors married to females in almost every considerable village. Hosseyn Kashef has above forty sons, of whom twenty are married in this manner.'

The Nile, from the first cataract to the frontiers of Dongola, never overflows its banks. The fields are therefore watered entirely by the *sakies*. The grain chiefly sown is dhourra, after which they have a crop of barley, of French beans, lentils, and sometimes water-melons. Tobacco is every where cultivated; it is the chief luxury of all classes, who either smoke it, or mix it with nitre and suck it between the lower gums and the lip. Animal food is scarce; even the kashefs do not indulge in eating it every day. In the larger villages palm wine is the common beverage; it is made from ripe dates, well boiled in water, strained, put into earthen jars, and buried in the ground till it has fermented; this liquor will keep sweet, when properly prepared, a whole year. A spirit is also distilled from dates; and there is another liquor made from dhourra, or barley, which they call *bouza*, and which resembles beer—the zythum, probably, of the ancient Egyptians. All these are sold in shops, and particularly at Derr, where the more wealthy classes get intoxicated with them every evening. A jelly, or kind of honey, is also extracted from the date, which serves as a sweetmeat. Except palms and a few vines which Burckhardt saw at Derr, no fruit-trees are to be found in Nubia, though almost every species of fruit might be cultivated there.

The houses of the Nubians are either of mud or loose stones; those of stone are generally in pairs, one for the males and the other for the females. The mud huts are covered with the stems of dhourra, till consumed by the cattle, when they are replaced by palm leaves.

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leaves. The utensils of a Nubian family consist of about half a dozen coarse earthen jars, from one to two feet in diameter, and five feet in height, in which the provisions of the family are kept; a few earthen plates; a hand-mill, or two separate stones; a hatchet, and a few round sticks, over which the loom is laid. A woollen cloak, and a linen cap, with a few rags to give it the appearance of a turban, constitute the dress of the better class; boys and girls run about naked; the women wrap themselves up in black woollen gowns; and let their hair fall in ringlets. South of Derr, and particularly at Sukkot and in Mahass, grown up people go quite naked, excepting that the men wear a belt with a small sack before; and in the right ear a ring of silver or copper.

The Nubians are generally well made, strong and muscular, with fine features. Mr. Burckhardt says, that 'in passing along the Wadys of Nubia, it often occurred to him to remark, that the size and figures of the inhabitants were generally proportioned to the breadth of their cultivable soil.' This is curious, and we doubt not perfectly correct. The women of this country are not handsome; but they are perfectly well made, and possess in general sweet countenances and pleasing manners. They are, besides, modest and reserved; and, from the highest to the lowest, strictly observant of their conjugal duties. At home they are usually employed in weaving coarse woollen mantles, and cotton cloth for shirts; they also weave mats of the date leaves, small drinking bowls, and plates to serve up the dhourra bread; all made by the hand, and in the neatest manner. The girls are fond of singing, and the Nubian airs are very melodious.

The Nubians seldom go unarmed; the first purchase a boy makes is generally a short crooked knife, which is tied over the left elbow, under their shirt, and drawn on the slightest quarrel. The men usually carry a lance, and target, made by the Skeygya Arabs of the hide of the hippopotamus, which is proof against the thrust of a spear, or the blow of a sabre. Fire-arms are not common; some have match-locks; but ammunition is scarce and highly valued. The nephew of Mohammed Kashef ran after Burckhardt two miles, to obtain a single cartridge, saying that he had shot off the only one he had, during the rejoicings of the preceding day.

The climate of Nubia, though intensely hot in summer, is remarkably healthy, probably on account of the extreme aridity of the atmosphere. The small-pox, however, makes occasionally dreadful havock among them, and the vaccine, though once introduced, has been unfortunately lost. The plague never prevailed in Nubia so high as the second cataract, and is entirely unknown in

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in Dongola, and along the whole route to Sennaar. Though numbers of Nubians repair to Cairo, where they act as porters, and are esteemed for their honesty, they always return to their native village with the little property which they may have realized in a servitude of six or eight years, without importing either the diseases or the vices of the Egyptians; and well knowing that the only luxuries they can there expect, in exchange for those of Cairo, are dhourra bread and a linen shirt.

The sketch which we have given offers no very favourable picture of the state of Nubian society; and we shall find it still worse in advancing, with our author, on his second journey to the southward. As no caravan for Eastern Africa set out in the year after his return, Mr. Burckhardt remained quiet at Esnè; he kept no company, dressed himself in the poorest garb of an inhabitant of Egypt; and, in order to conceal his real character more effectually, spent as little money as possible, the amount of his daily expenses, of his servant, dromedary, and ass, being about eighteen-pence, and that of his horse sixteen-pence a month. Yet with all these precautions he was not free from the suspicion of possessing some hidden treasure. In Egypt there is no such condition in life as that of a man living on his income without employment. If he neither follows any business, nor wanders about begging, he is sure to become an object of suspicion. Here, however, he remained, till the end of February, when a caravan being on the point of starting from Daraou, (three days journey to the northward of Esnè,) for the confines of Sennaar, he determined to accompany it, and to try his fortune in this new route unattended by any servant. At Daraou, therefore, he appeared in the garb of a poor trader. It may be useful to the future traveller to know the contents of his baggage and of his provisions; they were as follows.

'I was dressed in a brown loose woollen cloak, such as is worn by the peasants of Upper Egypt, called *thabout*, with a coarse white linen shirt and trowsers, a lebde, or white woollen cap, tied round with a common handkerchief, as a turban, and with sandals on my feet. I carried in the pocket of my thabout a small journal-book, a pencil, pocket-compass, pen-knife, tobacco-purse, and a steel for striking a light. The provisions I took with me were as follows: forty pounds of flour, twenty of biscuit, fifteen of dates, ten of lentils, six of butter, five of salt, three of rice, two of coffee beans, four of tobacco, one of pepper, some onions, and eighty pounds of dhourra for my ass. Besides these I had a copper boiler, a copper plate, a coffee roaster, an earthen mortar to pound the coffee beans, two coffee cups, a knife and spoon, a wooden bowl for drinking and for filling the water-skins, an axe, ten yards of rope, needles and thread, a large packing needle, one spare shirt, a comb, a coarse carpet, a woollen cloth (heram) of Mogrebin manufactory

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tory for a night covering, a small parcel of medicines, and three spare water-skins.'—p. 167.

Thus equipped, and with a little merchandize to save appearances, our traveller set out on the 2d March, 1814, with the caravan for the south, preceded by all the women and children of the village, who burnt salt before them as a certain means of keeping away the devil from the party. He had been very kind to the host with whom he lodged at Daraou; this man, at parting, recommended him to his brother, son, and other relations, who formed the largest and most wealthy portion of the caravan: 'he is your brother,' said the old man to his son, 'and there,' opening his waistcoat, and putting his hand upon his bosom, 'there let him be placed.' 'This ceremony,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'has some meaning in the Arabian desert, but among these miscreants of Egyptians it is mere hypocrisy;' and so it proved, for the whole of this party behaved to him in the most brutal manner.

Our limits will not permit us to trace the route pursued by the caravan. It was on the eastern side of the Nile, but at a great distance from it, being the chord of that great bend of the river to the westward in which Dongola is situated, and the extremities of which are not far removed from Assouan on the north and Berber on the south: it is, in fact, the precise route which was taken by Bruce on his return from Abyssinia. It lies over a perfect desert, except where those numerous wadys, or valleys, in the ridge of mountains on the left, open upon the plain, and in which alone trees, shrubs and grass are to be found for the cattle of the caravans, and wells or rills of fresh water. The scarcity of this article is sometimes severely felt; but when calamitous accidents occur, as they occasionally do, Mr. Burckhardt seems to think they happen either from taking circuitous routes, or neglecting to fill an adequate number of water-skins. The extraordinary sufferings of Mr. Bruce in this desert he conceives to be greatly exaggerated in the relation; at the same time he adds, 'I cannot but sincerely admire the wonderful knowledge of men, firmness of character, and promptitude of mind which furnished Bruce with the means of making his way through these savage, and inhospitable nations, as an European. To travel as a native has its inconveniences and difficulties; but I take those which Bruce encountered to be of a nature much more intricate and serious, and such as a mind at once courageous, patient and fertile in expedients could alone have surmounted.'—p. 203.

We believe the character of Bruce's journal may be summed up in very few words: his descriptions are exaggerated; much of his narrative, especially that of the dramatic cast, is loosely given from memory; and his adventures are embellished for effect—in a word

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a word, he is in general *substantially* true, but often *circumstantially* false. We have a striking instance of this in his description of the terrible and fatal effects of the Simoom, 'that poisonous blast of the desert,' which, in point of fact, has nothing poisonous in it. Mr. Burckhardt, who experienced the wind here, and still more severely in the deserts of Arabia, says, 'I never saw any person lie down flat upon his face to escape its pernicious blast, as Bruce describes himself to have done in crossing this desert; but, during the whirlwinds, the Arabs often hide their faces with their cloaks, and kneel down near their camels to prevent the sand or dust from hurting their eyes:' 'for my own part,' he adds, 'I am perfectly convinced that all the stories which travellers or the inhabitants of the towns of Egypt and Syria relate of the simoom of the desert, are greatly exaggerated, and I never could hear of a single well authenticated instance of its having proved mortal either to man or beast.' The simoom, in fact, is nothing more than the harmatan of the eastern coast of Africa, (which, so far from being pernicious, is considered to be salutary); the sirocco of Naples, the south-easter of the Cape of Good Hope, and our own hazy easterly wind of summer.

The sufferings experienced by Mr. Burckhardt in crossing this desert consisted chiefly in the fatigue of travelling, the labour of doing every thing for himself, and the scantiness and poverty of his fare. 'From the first day of our departure from Daraou,' he says, 'my companions had treated me with neglect, and even contempt.' They thought him a Turk, and all Arabs bear the most inveterate hatred to the Osmanlis; and from the small quantity of his merchandize they considered him as a man running away from his creditors. But he succeeded in convincing some of them that he was travelling in search of a lost cousin, who had gone some years before on a mercantile expedition to Darfour and Sennaar, in which his whole property had been engaged.

'When (says Burckhardt) in addition to other motives for ill-treating me, the traders saw in me every appearance of a poor man, that I cut wood, and cooked for myself, and filled my own water-skins, they thought me hardly upon an equality with the servants who are hired by the merchants, at the rate of ten dollars for the journey from Daraou to Guz, or Shendy, and back again. I had always endeavoured to keep upon good terms with the family of Alowein, who were the principal Fellah merchants, and whose good offices I thought might be useful to me in the black countries; but when they saw that I was so poor that they could have but little hopes of obtaining much from me in presents, they soon forgot what I had already given them before we set out, and no longer observed the least civility in their behaviour towards me. They began by using opprobrious language in speaking of Hassan Beg, of Esnè, observing that, now we were in the desert, they cared little for all

all the Begs and Pashas in the world; seeing that this did not seriously affect me, they began to address me in the most vulgar and contemptuous language, never calling me any thing better than Weled, "boy." Though they became every day more insulting, I restrained my anger, and never proceeded to that retaliation to which they evidently wished to provoke me, in order to have sufficient reasons for coming to blows with me. In the beginning of the journey I had joined the party of the Alowein in our evening encampment, although I always cooked by myself; I was soon, however, driven away from them, and obliged to remain alone, the people of Daraou giving out that several things had been purloined from their baggage, and that they suspected me of having taken them. Not to enter into any further details, it is sufficient to say, that not an hour passed without my receiving some insult, even from the meanest servants of these people, who very soon imitated and surpassed their masters.'—pp. 179, 180.

Every day, on halting, he was driven from the cool and comfortable shade of the trees or rocks, into the burning sun; he had to prepare his own dinner—not one of the poorest slaves condescending to assist him, though he offered them a share of his homely meal. In the evening the same labour recurred; after he had walked four or five hours in order to spare his ass—fatigued as he was, and in the utmost need of repose, he was obliged to fetch wood, to make a fire, to cook his victuals, and to feed his beast. Without a friend, a companion, or even a servant, in the midst of this dreary desert, and with a set of men into whose hearts one spark of feeling or compassion for a fellow-creature never entered, it is not surprising that a melancholy reflexion should now and then obtrude itself on his mind: but he deals not in the language of complaint.

Twice the serab or mirage appeared to them in crossing this desert, but somewhat different from what had been observed in Egypt.

'Its colour was of the purest azure, and so clear that the shadows of the mountains which bordered the horizon were reflected on it with the greatest precision, and the delusion of its being a sheet of water was thus rendered still more perfect. I had often seen the mirage in Syria and Egypt, but always found it of a whitish colour, rather resembling a morning mist, seldom lying steady on the plain, but in continual vibration; but here it was very different, and had the most perfect resemblance to water. The great dryness of the air and earth in this desert may be the cause of the difference. The appearance of water approached also much nearer than in Syria and Egypt, being often not more than two hundred paces from us, whereas I had never seen it before at a distance of less than half a mile. There were at one time about a dozen of these false lakes round us, each separated from the other, and for the most part in the low grounds.'—p. 193.

Though the present caravan was not exposed to much inconvenience for want of water, yet it sometimes happens that very distressing

tressing accidents occur, as had been the case with a small party the preceding year. To avoid a notorious robber, their Arab guide, in taking them an unfrequented path, lost his way. What follows is highly curious and interesting.

'After five days march in the mountains, their stock of water was exhausted, nor did they know where they were. They resolved therefore to direct their course towards the setting sun, hoping thus to reach the Nile. After two days thirst, fifteen slaves and one of the merchants died. Another of them, an Ababde, who had ten camels with him, thinking that the camels might know better than their masters where water was to be found, desired his comrades to tie him fast upon the saddle of his strongest camel, that he might not fall down from weakness; and thus he parted from them, permitting his camels to take their own way: but neither the man nor his camels were ever heard of afterwards. On the eighth day after leaving Owareyk, the survivors came in sight of the mountains of Shigre, which they immediately recognized, but their strength was quite exhausted, and neither men nor beasts were able to move any farther. Lying down under a rock, they sent two of their servants with the two strongest remaining camels, *in search* of water. Before these two men could reach the mountain, one of them dropped off his camel, deprived of speech, and able only to wave his hands to his comrade as a signal that he desired to be left to his fate. The survivor then continued his route, but such was the effect of thirst upon him, that his eyes grew dim and he lost the road, though he had often travelled over it before, and had been perfectly acquainted with it. Having wandered about for a long time, he alighted under the shade of a tree, and tied the camel to one of its branches; the beast however smelt the water, (as the Arabs express it,) and wearied as it was, broke its halter, and set off galloping furiously in the direction of the spring, which, as it afterwards appeared, was at half an hour's distance. The man, well understanding the camel's action, endeavoured to follow its footsteps, but could only move a few yards; he fell exhausted on the ground, and was about to breathe his last, when Providence led that way from a neighbouring encampment a Bisharye Bedouin, who by throwing water upon the man's face restored him to his senses. They then went hastily together to the water, filled the skins, and returning to the caravan, had the good fortune to find the sufferers still alive. The Bisharye received a slave for his trouble. My informer, a native of Yembo in Arabia, was the man whose camel discovered the spring, and he added the remarkable circumstance that the youngest slaves bore the thirst better than the rest, and that while the grown up boys all died, the children reached Egypt in safety.'—pp. 201, 202.

On the 23d March, the caravan arrived at Berber, having taken twenty-two days in crossing the desert from Daraou to that place. Here the Mek first extracted three dollars from Mr. Burckhardt, and having afterwards learned that he had a little reserve in his girdle, obliged him to produce a fourth. 'I calculate,' says our traveller,

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traveller, 'his yearly income from the caravans, at about three or four hundred Spanish dollars; he spends this sum in keeping a large establishment of male and female slaves, of horses, and fine dromedaries, and in feeding about fifty people belonging to his establishment, as well as strangers.'

The Wady of Berber consists of four villages situated on the Sandy Desert, about half an hour's walk from the Nile. Each is composed of several quarters, independent of one another; the houses are also separated by court-yards, so that there are no regular streets. They are built of mud, or sun-baked bricks. The rooms all open into the court-yard; two of them are usually occupied by the family, a third serves as a store-room, a fourth for the reception of strangers, and a fifth for less laudable purposes. An oblong frame of wood with four legs, with a seat of thin stripes of ox-leather drawn across, is the principal article of furniture; this is called *angareyg*, and answers the double purpose of a sofa by day and a bed by night. Mats of reeds or carpets of leather, without any pillow, are their only bedding.

It speaks not very favourably for the inhabitants of Berber, that, in the houses of the most respectable of them, there is generally a room (as we have just seen) set apart for public women. 'In the house where I lodged,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'we had four of these girls, one of whom was living within the precincts, the three others in contiguous apartments. They are female slaves, whom their masters, upon marrying, or being tired of them, have set at liberty, and who have no other livelihood but prostitution, and the preparation of the intoxicating drink called Bouza.'

'The night of our arrival at Berber, after we had supped, and that the neighbours who had come to greet us had retired, three or four of these damsels made their appearance, and were saluted with loud shouts by my companions, who were all their old acquaintance. Some Angareygs were brought into the open court-yard, which the principal people of our party having taken possession of, the women proceeded to give them "the welcome" as they call it. The men having undressed to their loins, and stretched themselves at full length upon the Angareygs, were rubbed by the women with a kind of perfumed grease, much in the same manner as is used after coming out of the bath. This operation lasted for about half an hour, but the parties remained together for the whole night, without being in the least annoyed by the neighbourhood of those who were lying about in the court-yard. During the whole of our stay at Berber we had these damsels almost every evening at our quarters. They prepare, as I have already stated, the Bouza, and as it is difficult for any person to indulge in the drinking of this liquor in his own house, where he would be immediately surrounded by a great number of acquaintance, it is generally thought preferable to go to the women's apartment, where there is no intrusion.

Many of these women are Abyssinians by birth, but the greater part of them are born at Berber of slave parents. They are in general handsome, and many of them might even pass for beauties in any country.' —pp. 214, 215.

The following is a yet more dreadful picture of the immoral character of the Berbers.

'The effects which the universal practice of drunkenness and debauchery has on the morals of the people may easily be conceived. Indeed every thing discreditable to humanity is found in their character, but treachery and avidity predominate over their other bad qualities. In the pursuit of gain they know no bounds, forgetting every divine and human law, and breaking the most solemn ties and engagements. Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in almost every man's character, and I am perfectly convinced that there were few men among them or among my fellow-travellers from Egypt who would have given a dollar to save a man's life, or who would not have consented to a man's death in order to gain one. Especial care must be taken not to be misled by their polite protestations, and fine professions, especially when they come to Egypt; where they represent *their* own country as a land inhabited by a race of superior virtue and excellence. On the contrary, infamous as the eastern nations are in general, I have never met with so bad a people, excepting perhaps those of Suakin. In transactions among themselves the Meyrefab regulate every matter in dispute by the laws of the strongest. Nothing is safe when once out of the owner's hands, for if he happens to be the weaker party, he is sure of losing his property. The Mek's authority is slighted by the wealthier inhabitants; the strength of whose connections counterbalances the influence of the chief. Hence it may well be supposed that family feuds very frequently occur, and the more so, as the effects of drunkenness are dreadful upon these people. During the fortnight I remained at Berber, I heard of half a dozen quarrels occurring in drinking parties, all of which finished in knife or sword wounds. Nobody goes to a Bouza hut without taking his sword with him; and the girls are often the first sufferers in the affray. I was told of a distant relation of the present chief, who was for several years the dread of Berber. He killed many people with his own hands upon the slightest provocation, and his strength was such, that nobody dared to meet him in the open field. He was at last taken by surprise in the house of a public woman, and slain while he was drunk. He once stript a whole caravan, coming from Daraou, and appropriated the plunder to his women. In such a country, it is of course looked upon as very imprudent to walk out unarmed, after sunset; examples often happen of persons, more particularly traders, being stripped or robbed at night in the village itself. In every country the general topics of conversation furnish a tolerable criterion of the state of society; and that which passed at our house at Ankheyre gave the most hateful idea of the character of these people. The house was generally filled with young men who took a pride in confessing the perpetration of every kind of infamy.

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famy. One of their favourite tricks is to bully unexperienced strangers, by enticing them to women who are the next day owned as relations by some Meyrefab, who vows vengeance for the dishonour offered to his family; the affair is then settled by large presents, in which all those concerned have a share. The envoy whom Ibrahim Pasha sent in 1812 to the king of Sennaar was made to suffer from a plot of this kind. Upon his return from Sennaar to Berber, he was introduced one evening to a female, at whose quarters he passed the night. The Mek of Berber himself claimed her the next morning as his distant relation. "Thou hast corrupted my own blood," said he to the envoy, and the frightened Turk paid him upwards of six hundred dollars, besides giving up to him the best articles of his arms and baggage. I had repeated invitations to go in the evening to Bouza parties, but constantly refused. Indeed a stranger, and especially an unprotected one, as I was, must measure all his steps with caution, and cannot be too prudent.'—pp. 221, 222.

The Berbers live chiefly on dhourra bread and milk; dates are imported from Mahass and are consequently accounted a luxury. Onions and kidney-beans are their chief vegetables; they have no fruit whatever. Their cattle, which are of a good kind, are pastured after the rains in the Bisharein mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea; in the dry season they are fed with the leaves and stalks of the dhourra. The cows have the hump between the shoulders common to those of Sennaar and Abyssinia. Their camels are excellent, and Mr. Burckhardt says, 'that their dromedaries surpass all that he saw in the Syrian and Arabian deserts.' Their asses are strong and handsome. Their horses are of the Dongola breed, which are represented as the finest race in the world. In the spring they are pastured on green barley; but for the rest of the year have little else than the stalks and leaves of the dhourra.

Part of the caravan, and with it Mr. Burckhardt, left Berber on the 7th April, and proceeded towards Shendy. They soon reached Ras al Wady, the principal village in the dominions of another Mek of the name of Hanoze. This sublime personage detained them from morning till late in the evening, without sending them any food, and they could not venture to taste their own, as they were now considered as his guests. The Mek himself kept out of sight, but his son came to the caravan to beg some presents. The great man made his appearance, however, the following day, quite naked, with the exception of a towel round his loins, and attended by six or eight slaves, one of whom carried his water-flask, another his sword, and a third his shield.' Seeing a fine ass, he ordered his hopeful son to mount it; and notwithstanding the resistance of its owner, the animal was trotted off to the Mek's stable: the caravan was then permitted to depart.

At the end of four hours travelling, they reached the river

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Mogren, (not *Mareb*, as Bruce calls it,) the bed of which was nearly dry; but the banks, being covered with fresh herbage and tamarisk bushes, afforded a delightful prospect after the passage of a long and dreary desert. They soon reached the district of Damer, the character of whose inhabitants is just the reverse of that of the Berbers. The town of Damer contains about five hundred houses, all neat and uniformly built in regular streets, and inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, the greater part of whom are Fokera or religious men. They have a pontiff called El Faky el *Kebir*, (the great Faky,) who is their chief and judge.

Damer has acquired considerable reputation for its schools, to which young men are sent from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan and other parts of Soudan, to study the law. It has a large mosque built on arches of brick-work, in which prayers are regularly performed. The Faky el Kebir leads the life of a hermit, in a small room about twelve feet square, where his food is daily brought to him by his friends and disciples. His mornings are occupied in reading, but about three in the afternoon he takes his seat on a *stone bench*, where he is joined by the rest of the fraternity. Mr. Burckhardt went to kiss his hand, and found him a venerable old man, wrapped up in a white cloak. 'The affairs of this little hierarchical state (he says) appear to be conducted with great prudence, and all its neighbours testify much respect for the Fakys.'—Such are the good effects produced by a veneration of religious institutions, even of the very worst kind.

As there was no daily market at Damer, and no metal currency less than a dollar, our traveller was under the necessity of going from house to house, with some strings of beads to sell in exchange for a few measures of dhourra. This gave him an insight into the manners of the people.

'One afternoon while crying my beads for sale, I was accosted by a Faky, who asked me if I could read. On answering in the affirmative, he desired me to follow him to a place where he said I might expect to get a good dinner. He then led me to a house where I found a great number of people collected to celebrate the memory of some relative lately deceased. Several Fakys were reading the Koran in a low tone of voice. A great Faky afterwards came in, whose arrival was the signal for reciting the Khoran in loud songs, in the manner customary in the east, in which I joined them. This was continued for about half an hour, until dinner was brought in, which was very plentiful, as a cow had been killed upon the occasion. After a hearty meal, we recommenced our reading. One of the Shiks produced a basket full of white pebbles, over which several prayers were read. These pebbles were destined to be strewed over the tomb of the deceased in the manner which I had often observed upon tombs freshly made. Upon my inquiries concerning this custom, which I confessed to have never before

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before seen practised in any Mohammedan country, the Faky answered that it was a mere meritorious action, that there was no absolute necessity for it, but that it was thought that the soul of the deceased, when hereafter visiting the tomb, might be glad to find these pebbles, in order to use them as beads in addressing its prayers to the Creator. When the reading was over, the women began to sing and howl. I then left the room, and on taking my departure my kind host put some bones of roasted meat in my hand to serve for my supper.'—p. 269.

The caravan remained at Damer five days, and setting out on the 15th of April, reached Shendy on the 18th. Next to Sennaar and Cobbé in Darfour, Shendy is the largest town in eastern Soudan; it consists of several quarters, divided from each other by public market places, and contains from 800 to 1000 houses, similar to those of Berber. Those of the chief and his relatives have courtyards twenty feet square, inclosed by high walls. The name of the Mek is Nimr, or the Tiger. He holds his mekship in right of his mother, who was of the Sennaar tribe, which explains Bruce's account of his having found a woman (*Settina*, our lady) on the throne. Three different tribes of Arabs inhabit the country of Shendy, besides that to which the Mek's wife belongs, and their dissensions among themselves assist materially in the preservation of his authority.

As merchandize pays no duty at Shendy, it has become a place of flourishing trade. The Mek is generally satisfied with a small but voluntary contribution from each of the caravans. Mr. Burckhardt, however, was obliged to part with his gun, to which this chief unluckily took a fancy, in consideration of four Spanish dollars. He had already about twenty rusty firelocks, and he made serious proposals to our traveller to enter into his service as a gunsmith. His court consists of half a dozen police officers, a writer, an imam, a treasurer, and a body guard formed chiefly of slaves.

The character of the inhabitants of Shendy is much the same as that of the Berbers: debauchery and drunkenness are even more common here than among the latter; but the public women do not infest the streets as at Berber. The dress, habits and manners are also the same, and appear to prevail as far as Darfour on the one hand, and Sennaar on the other. At Shendy, however, there were more well dressed people than our traveller had observed elsewhere. The women wore golden rings at their noses and ears.

At Shendy Mr. Burckhardt observed a ceremony which marks most strongly the inveteracy of oriental customs. On the death of a Djaaly chief, 'I saw,' says he, 'the female relations of the deceased walking through all the principal streets, uttering the most lamentable howlings. Their bodies were half naked, and the little cloth-

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ing they had on was in rags; while the head, face and breasts, being almost entirely covered with ashes, they had altogether a most ghastly appearance.' So says Herodotus, and almost in the same words.*

Shendy has a weekly market, which appears to be well supplied with a great variety of goods. The currency is the same as that of Berber, dhourra and dammour. The merchants sit in the market-place in little mud shops about six feet square, covered with mats. Among the articles exposed for sale Mr. Burckhardt enumerates milk, brought every morning by the Bedouin girls and exchanged for dhourra; butcher's meat of cows and camels, but rarely of sheep; all kinds of groceries and spices; soap, coral, and glass beads; tobacco, the best of which is from Sennaar; natron from Darfour, and salt from the mines of Boyedda: antimony, sandal wood, gum Arabic and various kinds of drugs. Four or five hundred camels, as many cows, a hundred asses, and twenty or thirty horses were on sale on the great market-days. The artizans whom he noticed at Shendy were chiefly blacksmiths, silversmiths, tanners, potters and carpenters. The women and grown up children, and many of the men, were generally observed with a distaff in their hands, spinning cotton yarn for the people of Berber, who are great weavers.

Shendy is also the principal market for the purchase of slaves. With the exception of a few Abyssinian females who are distributed through Egypt and Arabia, these unhappy creatures are chiefly negroes from the interior of Africa: there is, however, another description of slaves distinguished by the name of Nouba, the offspring of these Abyssinian women and their masters, by whom they are sent to Shendy. The rest are blacks of Soudan, the number of whom sold annually at this place Mr. Burckhardt calculates at 5,000; of these he reckons 2,500 for Arabia, 1,500 for Egypt, and 1000 for Dongola and the Bedouins of the mountains between Shendy and the Red Sea. The greater proportion of slaves brought to Shendy are below the age of fifteen, many of them are children of four or five years old.

Mr. Burckhardt conceives that, on the most moderate calculation, the number of slaves in Egypt may be estimated at 40,000; that the number exported towards Arabia and Barbary is greatly below the number kept by Mussulmen within the limits of Soudan: from his own observation (he adds) there are not fewer than 12,000 along the borders of the Nile from Berber to Sennaar, and 20,000 in

* 'When a man of any condition dies, all the female part of that family besmear their heads and faces with dirt; and leaving the body at home, march through the streets of the city with naked breasts and girdles tied about the waist, beating themselves as they go.'—*Euterpe.*

Darfour;

Darfour; and, from every account which he could collect, the proportion does not diminish as we proceed westward into the populous countries of Dar Saley, Bournou, Bagermé, Afnou and Haoussa. He concludes therefore, that laudable as the efforts of England have been to abolish the infamous traffic in western and south-western Africa, 'there does not appear to be the smallest hope of the abolition of slavery in Africa itself;' and concurs in the opinion which we have more than once expressed, that 'it is not from foreign nations that the blacks can hope for deliverance: that this great work must be effected by themselves;' and that this can only be done 'by the education of the sons of Africa in their own country, and by their own countrymen.'

As a visit to Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage, in order to obtain the title of Hadji, (the most powerful recommendation and best protection in any future journey into the interior of Africa,) had been the principal motive of our traveller's second journey into Nubia, he set about his preparations for the journey. With this view, he sold his little stock of merchandize at Shendy, purchased a slave-boy for sixteen dollars, a camel for eleven, and, after laying in a stock of dhourra meal, butter, and dammour, found he had just four dollars remaining; which he calculated would suffice to carry him to Djidda, on which place he had a letter of credit from Cairo.

Thus prepared he joined the caravan for Suakin, by the route of Taka; among them was a party of black traders from Western Africa, to which, as a poor man, he attached himself; not only in the hope of deriving information but also assistance from them, if he should want it. The principal among them was Hadji Aly, a slave-dealer, from Kordofan, who had been a great traveller, and already thrice performed the hadji.

'His travels, and the apparent sanctity of his conduct, had procured him great reputation, and he was well received by the meks and other chiefs, to whom he never failed to bring some small presents from Djidda. Although almost constantly occupied (whether sitting under a temporary shed of mats, or riding upon his camel on the march) in reading the Koran, yet this man was a complete bon vivant, whose sole object was sensual enjoyment. The profits on his small capital, which were continually renewed by his travelling, were spent entirely in the gratification of his desires. He carried with him a favourite Borgho slave, as his concubine; she had lived with him three years, and had her own camel, while his other slaves performed the whole journey on foot. His leathern sacks were filled with all the choice provisions which the Shendy market could afford, particularly with sugar and dates, and his dinners were the best in the caravan. To hear him talk of morals and religion, one might have supposed that he knew vice only by name; yet Hadji Aly, who had spent half his life in devotion; sold last

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last year, in the slave-market of Medinah, his own cousin, whom he had recently married at Mekka. She had gone thither on a pilgrimage from Bornou by the way of Cairo, when Aly unexpectedly meeting with her, claimed her as his cousin, and married her: at Medinah, being in want of money, he sold her to some Egyptian merchants; and as the poor woman was unable to prove her free origin, she was obliged to submit to her fate. The circumstance was well known in the caravan, but the hadji nevertheless still continued to enjoy all his wonted reputation.'—pp. 365, 366.

Having crossed the Atbara, or Astaboras, their route lay to the south-east; and they soon entered the country of the Bisharye Arabs, a bold and handsome race: the men go constantly armed, and are seldom free from quarrels; the women are slender and elegant, of a dark brown complexion, with beautiful eyes and fine teeth. But the moral character of both sexes is very bad; they are 'treacherous, cruel, avaricious and revengeful, and are restrained in the indulgence of their passions by no laws either human or divine.' They are the most inhospitable of the Bedouin tribes, and this alone, says our traveller, proves them to be a true *African* race; they speak no Arabic. At Om Daoud, he went among the huts to beg a little water or milk, when his appearance excited an universal shriek among the women, who were terrified at the sight of such an outcast of nature as they consider a white man to be. Even at Shendy, on market days, the country-people were often affrighted by his turning short upon them, and generally exclaimed, 'God preserve us from the devil!'

The populous and fertile district of Taka, a valley among the eastern mountains, overflowed in the rainy season, is noted for its fine breed of cattle and excellent dhourra. It is inhabited by a tribe of the Bisharein, who have their bouza huts, and their public women. Wives make no difficulty in receiving strangers into their tents; but, says Burckhardt, with great simplicity, 'this never happened to me: for whenever I presented myself before a tent, the ladies greeted me with loud screams, and waved their hands for me to depart instantly.' These people eat the blood of animals coagulated over the fire, and the liver and kidneys raw; but the milk of the camel and dhourra are their principal articles of food. Like the Bishareins of Atbara, those of Taka are treacherous, revengeful, and addicted to theft.

'A Hadendoa seldom scruples to kill his companion on the road in order to possess himself of the most trifling article of value, if he entertains a hope of doing it with impunity; but the retaliation of blood exists in full force. Among the Hallenga, who draw their origin from Abyssinia, a horrible custom is said to attend the revenge of blood; when the slayer has been seized by the relatives of the deceased, a family feast is proclaimed, at which the murderer is brought into the midst

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midst of them, bound upon an Angareyg, and while his throat is slowly cut with a razor, the blood is caught in a bowl, and handed round amongst the guests, every one of whom is bound to drink of it at the moment the victim breathes his last.'—p. 396.

On leaving Taka they were joined by a number of black pilgrims from Bagerme and Bornou as far as Timbuctoo, begging their way to Mecca.

'The equipments of all these pilgrims are exactly alike, and consist of a few rags tied round the waist, a white woollen bonnet, a leathern provision sack, carried on a long stick over the shoulder, a leathern pouch containing a book of prayers, or a copy of a few chapters of the Koran, a wooden tablet, one foot in length, by six inches in breadth, upon which they write charms, or prayers, for themselves or others to learn by heart, an inkstand formed of a small gourd, a bowl to drink out of, or to collect victuals in from the charitable, a small earthen pot for ablution, and a long string of beads hanging in many turns round the neck.'—p. 407.

Vast numbers perish on this long and unhealthy route; they are looked upon, however, as martyrs, and their fate rather encourages than deters others from following their example. One of the present company was blind; he had come from the west of Darfour, guided by a stick in the hands of a companion who led the way. Mr. Burckhardt subsequently saw this man begging in the mosque at Mecca, and again at Medina grovelling on the threshold of the temple, and exclaiming, as he asked for charity, 'I am blind, but the light of the word of God and the love of his prophet illumine my soul, and have been my guide from Soudan to this tomb!'

We have already extended our account of this interesting volume to too great a length to allow us to dwell on the journey across the mountains to the port of Suakin, on the Red Sea; where our traveller was likely to fare worse than he had hitherto done, had he not fortunately been possessed, as we before observed, of a firmaun from Mahommed Ali, which procured him a passage to Djidda;—and here we must take our leave of him till the appearance of another volume, which we presume will contain the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and to Medina.

We cannot, however, close this Article, long as it is, without reverting to a subject which has more than once occupied our attention—the course and termination of the Niger, one of the principal objects of our lamented traveller's intended researches in Soudan.

In our review of Park's second journey, (No. XXV. p. 128. 137. 140.) we were induced to try the validity of the hypothesis (first thrown out by Maxwell) which gave to the Niger a southern course, and a termination in the Zaire or Congo; and we entered on the question chiefly because Park had warmly adopted that hypothesis, previously to

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to his leaving England, and in the truth of which he afterwards became more strongly confirmed the farther he proceeded down the stream. We felt that the opinion of the man who had first, in modern times, ascertained its eastern course, was not to be rejected on slight grounds; and we are willing to persuade ourselves that we succeeded, at least, in shewing that the arguments against the possibility of the truth of the hypothesis were not well founded; leaving to others the choice of probabilities between the Congo and the swamps of Wangara. The unfortunate expedition of Captain Tuckey made no alteration in the state of the question, excepting that the information procured on that voyage went far to establish the fact of the Zaire having its origin to the northward of the equator.

But Mr. Burckhardt has revived a question of older date than either of the above-mentioned speculations, by the assurances which he received—and which every Arab merchant and black pilgrim has repeated in every quarter of northern and western Africa,—that the Niger of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt are one and the same river. This general testimony to a physical fact can be shaken only by direct proof to the contrary, or by demonstration of its physical impossibility. That it had been so shaken by the arguments of Major Rennell we never conceived a doubt, until the perusal of Mr. Burckhardt's narrative induced us to look more closely into the statements of Bruce, on which the impossibility of identity was chiefly grounded; when we perceived them to be so vague and inconsistent, that we determined to try the question on its own merits.

If it be true that the Niger actually unites with the Nile, it can only do so through the channel of the Bahr el Abiad or White river, which joins the Bahr el Azrek near Halfaia, about the 16th parallel of northern latitude, on the extensive plain of Sennaar; and the concurrent testimony of all travellers goes to this point. 'All the Burnuans and Haussans (says Hornemann) that I questioned about the distant regions of this river, (the Niger) agreed in telling me that it ran through the land of the Heathens by Sennaar: others affirmed that it passes through Darfour in its course eastward and flows to Cairo, being one stream with the Egyptian Nile.' He was further informed by a native of Egypt who had several times travelled to Darfour and to the southward of it, to collect slaves, 'that the communication of the Niger with the Nile was not to be doubted; but that this communication, before the rainy season, was very little in those parts, the Niger being at the dry period *reposing*, or, *non fluens*,' and 'that the river called Bahr el Abiad is this river,' (the Niger). In the suite of the Morocco princes taken on board the Tagus frigate at Alexandria, was a hadji who had frequently visited Timbuctoo.

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Timbuctoo. This man assured Captain Dundas, that there was but one opinion in that city, of the identity of the Niger and the Nile; that the former discharged itself into the Bahr Soudan, and the latter had its rise out of that sea:—but it is needless to multiply concurring testimonies. If we examine the character of the Abiad, we shall find it to be that of a river which has traversed a long course of level country, rather than a collected body of mountain-streams. Bruce says that where it joins the Azrek at Wed Hojila, it is 'larger than the Nile,'—'deep in all its course,'—'twice as broad as the Nile, and can scarcely be seen to flow;'—'that it runs *dead* and with little inclination,' and 'preserves its stream always undiminished.' Bruce saw it at the height of the rainy season, and yet it ran 'dead'—in fact, the whole description which he gives of this western branch of the Nile, points it out as an immense canal or *drain*, quietly carrying off the collected waters of some great lake or inland sea—such as the lakes of Ghana and Wangara are described to be, or that sea of Soudan of which all the Arab travellers speak.

Two objections, however, have been stated to this termination of the Niger, and such as would be insuperable if implicit confidence could every where be placed in the accuracy of Bruce. The first is, the great elevation of the plain of Sennaar, which would require the bed of the Abiad, and consequently that of the Niger, to be at least 5000 feet above the level of the sea, an elevation greater, probably, than even the *source* of the Niger;—the second is the want of correspondence in the periodical inundations of the Nile of Egypt and the Nile of Soudan.

Now, although Mr. Bruce seems to have kept a weather journal in Abyssinia, we find only two observations for elevation made by the barometer, one of which is unintelligible,* at least to us, and the other not such as to entitle it to notice. This latter one was taken at the source of the Nile, and is thus stated: 'I had procured,' he says, 'from the English ships while at Jidda, some quicksilver, perfectly pure, and heavier than the common sort; warming therefore the tube gently at the fire, I filled it with this quicksilver, and, to my great surprize, found that it stood at the height of twenty-two English inches: suspecting that some air might have insinuated itself into the tube, I laid it by in a warm part of the tent, covered, till morning, and returning to bed, slept there profoundly till six, when, satisfied the whole was in perfect order, I found it to stand at

* By the mean of forty-one observations taken at Massuah, on the Red Sea, the height of the barometer is said to be 25° 6′ 2″, and at Dixan, 21° 1′ 2″, the difference of which, he says, gives a difference of elevation of the two places equal to 4664 feet. What sort of barometer he could have used to indicate 25° 6′ 2″ on a level with the sea, is not explained, nor do we pretend to understand.—Vol. v. p. 440. Third edition.

twenty-

twenty-two English inches, and thence I inferred that, at the sources of the Nile, I was then more than two miles above the level of the sea.'* This inference would not have been authorized, even had his instrument been as perfect as it was evidently otherwise: for admitting that the mercury stood at Massuah on the Red Sea, at thirty inches, (instead of twenty-five,) and disregarding the corrections for difference of temperature, &c. (which he had no means of knowing,) the descent of the mercury to twenty-two inches would give an elevation of barely 8000 feet, instead of more than 10,560 feet. But the proof of his inaccuracy will be obvious when it is considered that by his account, the mountain of Geesh must be 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, while we are told that snow *never* falls in any part of Abyssinia.

Yet this loose estimate of the elevation of the springs of the Nile is the only groundwork for deducing that of Sennaar; for *here* he took no observation whatever, but states loosely that the plain of Sennaar 'is more than a mile lower than the high country of Abyssinia'—that is, about 5,200 feet above the level of the sea. We shall find, however, by examining another part of his work, that such an elevation is altogether inconsistent with a former statement. In noticing the strange assertion of the Jesuits, that the Alps and Pyrenees are inconsiderable eminences to the mountain Guza, he says, 'though really the base of Lamalmon, it is not a quarter of a mile high.'† If he means above the sea, being to the southward of Sennaar, or higher up the river, and on more elevated ground, the latter plain must of course be lower than a quarter of a mile, or 1320 feet; a height which agrees better with the 'easy descent' the Nile has from hence to the sea, than his elevation of more than 5200 feet; but on this point we mean not to insist further, as we may have misunderstood Bruce.

Every account given by modern travellers through Nubia agrees with the 'easy ascent of the Valley of the Nile.' In the whole distance of one thousand miles, from the Abiad to the Mediterranean, there are but two cataracts, which are not *falls*, but mere *rapids*, occasioned by contractions of the bed of the river by rocks, neither of which present an interruption to navigation. Lord Belmore navigated the Nile against the stream without any difficulty to the second cataract, as did Captains Irby and Mangles; and Bruce says he sailed against the stream at the rate of *eight miles an hour*. Mr. Burckhardt, in crossing the mountains from Shendy, through Taka, to the shore of the Red Sea, evidently found the descent to that sea little more than the ascent from the Nile. The current of the Nile is at no time so rapid as that of the Ganges; in

* Vol. v. p. 311. † Vol. iv. p. 371.

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the dry season it is much less so; yet we have the testimony of Major Rennell, (and better we could not desire,) given too on actual experiment, that the slope of the bed of the Ganges is only *four inches* in a mile, and that of the land, in a straight line along its winding banks, nine inches in a mile. The slope of the bed of the Amazons is stated by Condamine to be likewise four inches, and that of the plain through which it flows six inches and three-quarters. The Nile is less tortuous than either of these rivers, and the slope of the continued plane or valley through which it flows may, perhaps, be taken at six inches, which would give to that part of the plain of Sennaar where the Abiad joins the Azrek, an elevation of 500 feet, instead of more than 5000; yet it is on the latter supposition, and on that alone, that the junction of the Niger with the Nile has been declared impossible. We are persuaded, however, that it would not be impossible, were we to give to the Nile the full slope of the Ganges, and to consider the elevation of the point of confluence of the two rivers (Abiad and Azrek) above the Mediterranean to be 750 or even 800 feet; and we arrive at this conclusion on the following grounds.

The course of the Niger for the first 2000 British miles is within two degrees on either side of the 15th parallel of latitude, ending, as it is supposed, at the eastern extremity of Wangara in about the 14th parallel. But the hypothesis does not admit of its ceasing in the sea of Wangara; and if it proceeds, it must necessarily decline and pass to the southward of Darfour, as far probably as the latitude 10° N., where it may join the Abiad. Supposing this to be the case, the length of its course from Wangara to the confluence of the Abiad and the Azrek would be about 1000 English miles. If then we allow the full inclination of the Ganges (nine inches in the mile) for the first 2000 miles, and that of the Amazons for the latter 1000 miles, (being in all probability a succession of seas or lakes, till it joins the *dead*-running canal of the Abiad,) and 800 feet, as above mentioned, for the whole inclination from the Abiad to the sea, we shall have 2800 feet as the elevation which would be required for the source of the Niger, to carry it through Soudan and Egypt into the Mediterranean, with a current equal to that of the Ganges or the Amazons—an elevation which will perhaps not be deemed too great for the real truth, when it is considered that the same elevated region from which it issues gives rise to two other great rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia. But as we may confidently assert that neither the current of the Niger nor of the Nile is of equal strength with that of the Ganges or the Amazons, even this elevation would not be required to carry the waters to the Mediterranean.

The other objection to the identity of the Niger and the Nile is grounded on the incongruity of their periodical inundations; that is

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to say, on the rise and fall of the former river not corresponding with those of the latter. The contrary, however, we apprehend to be the fact. The sea of Soudan, or, if the expression be more correct, the lakes and swamps of Wangara, are stated to be full and overflowing about the middle of August. Supposing the outlet to flow into the Abiad, at the rate of two miles an hour, the waters would reach the Azrek in three weeks—at three miles an hour, in a fortnight; in either case early in September. Now though the Nile is sometimes at its height about the end of August, it frequently continues to rise to the middle of September and to fall but little, with occasional risings, during the whole month of October; circumstances which could hardly happen if its supply was derived solely from the mountain-streams of Abyssinia, and those of the Bahr-el-Abiad, if the latter had no other sources than those in the Jebel-Kumri or Mountains of the Moon. A mountain-torrent is soon exhausted, and ceases almost with the discontinuance of the periodical rains; and if the Nile had no other supply its fall would be sudden, which is contrary to the fact. 'All the waters in Abyssinia,' says Bruce, 'collected into the Nile would not be sufficient to pass its scanty stream through the burning deserts of Nubia, without the Abiad which joins it at Halfaia;' and in another place he says, 'the Nile would be dry for eight months in the year but for the Abiad:'—and, we may add, the Abiad would not greatly assist in prolonging the flooding of the Nile, after the cessation of the rains, if it had no other supply than those derived from the mountain-streams of the Jebel-Kumri.

We ventured to assert in a former Number, (XXXVI. p. 348.) that all lakes or inland seas, having no outlets, must, from the very nature of things, be salt; we quoted several well-known instances in proof of this: hence we concluded that, as those of Wangara, according to Arabian authorities, were fresh, they must necessarily have their outlets. We have since received an account of two large seas, or sheets of water, being discovered in the interior of New Holland, supplied chiefly by two rivers of very considerable size, whose sources are on the western side of the Blue Mountains. The first, which is to the southwest of Port Jackson, was ascertained to have no outlet; but of the second, the exploring party could not discern the boundary. We know not whether Lieutenant Oxley forgot (like Sir Alexander Mackenzie) to dip his finger into the water to taste it; but he has at least supplied unequivocal testimony that the waters of the first were *salt*, as all the plants, collected on the shores and islands and swampy places of this lake or morass, prove to be saline plants, and of the same species as those which grow on the sea-shore of that country.—On this ground we may safely pronounce it an inland lake, without

any

any outlet. Were this the case with regard to Wangara, the waters would be, from the nature of the soil through which the Niger and other rivers flow, remarkably salt, from the successive evaporation of the water and the consequent accumulation of saline particles for thousands of years, perhaps from the creation of the world; whereas, by having an outlet, these particles, being dissolved by the annual inundations, are carried off, and the remaining waters thus preserve their freshness..

We give no credit whatever to the report received by Mr. Jackson, of a person having performed a voyage by water from Timbuctoo to Cairo. Large seas in the rainy season, and chains of lakes in the dry, are not inviting navigations to native Africans, whose trade and travels are almost universally conducted by caravans which Burckhardt assures us is not only more suited to the taste of the people, but cheaper. To expose themselves to the risk of perishing by famine, of being devoured by crocodiles, or plundered by the long succession of petty chiefs on the borders of rivers, are evils more terrible than any which they meet with in crossing the largest deserts. Even on the Nile, from Sennaar to the second cataract, there is no floating craft, and the only mode of passing the river is by a rude raft of the stems of the palm-tree or an inflated sheepskin.

We leave our readers to draw their own conclusion as to the validity of the general testimony which we have stated to prevail in favour of the identity of the Nile of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt: for ourselves, though we are by no means wedded to any particular theory,—we have no hesitation in declaring, that this testimony has not yet been contradicted by any direct proof or known physical impossibility.

ART. IX.—*Le Royaume de Westphalie—Jérome Buonaparte—sa Cour—ses Favoris—et ses Ministres.* Par un Témoin oculaire. Paris. 1820.

THE shortest lived of kingdoms was the kingdom of Westphalia, and yet it lived longer than it deserved. It was created in the wantonness of Buonaparte's audacity, and it was swept away in the whirlwind of European vengeance. During the shock of elements the existence of this little state was almost unknown, and in the great day of retribution its fate was hardly remarked: but as, after the stormy fight in which navies have contended, the people of the neighbouring shores pick up with some degree of interest the empty boat which recalls the remembrance of the magnificent vessel to which she once belonged—so we may be permitted to glean, for the amusement of our readers, a few fragments of the

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wreck of that miserable skiff, nicknamed the kingdom of Westphalia.

The kingdom of Westphalia was created by the treaty of Tilsit, in October 1807. It was composed of the Prussian provinces of Eichfeld, Hohenstein, Hartz, Halberstadt, Magdebourg, and several others, and of the dominions of the elector of Hesse, together with the duchy of Brunswick and the counties of Schaumberg and Osnabruch, and, at a subsequent period and for a short time, the electorate of Hanover.

Over this new state, composed of countries which had no sympathy or connection of feeling, except only what were caused by a community of the German language, was placed a Corsican king, and a court and administrators selected from the dregs of Paris, and who could speak nothing but French.

The first care of the provident and illustrious creator of this kingdom, Napoleon the Great, was to appoint a council of regency to govern till the arrival of his brother Jerome, whom he had in his wisdom designated for its sovereign, and who is admitted, even by those who praise the rest of the family, to be one of the most impudent, profligate and incapable coxcombs, whether by sea or land, (for he had exhibited himself on both elements,) that had ever excited the contempt of mankind while he served in an inferior sphere, or their wonder and disgust when he was dragged by his brother's buoyancy into higher and more critical examination.

The regency was composed of persons whose names are still to be found in the dramatis personæ of the farce which the Sieur De Caze has been lately playing in the character of the King of France—*Count* Beugnot, a ci-devant steward or seneschal of a manor in Champagne; Simeon, an old lawyer of Aix; M. Jollivet, a political quack, who has been an obscure member of all the National Assemblies and Conventions of the revolution, and who considers himself as a great man, because, by his absolute incapacity and nullity, he had escaped being exiled or guillotined, the alternative fate of every man of respectability, talents, or rank; and General La Grange, a revolutionary parvenu, 'as brave' (his countrymen say) 'but as ignorant as his own sword,'—and to this steward, attorney, mountebank and corporal, the destinies of the new realm were appropriately committed.

These regents were no sooner installed than they found that they had not *one* only, but twenty *viceroys* over them, in the character of commissaries of *Napoleon the Great*, who exercised all the power and seized all the revenues, in the name and for the use of their master; and who left to the illustrious quartetto only the pleasing employments of explaining to the Germans, through an interpreter, the decrees of contribution, conscription, and

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and confiscation, which the confidential commissaries had previously begun to execute in the name of Napoleon the Great. The poor people, though they knew nothing of the French language, began to have a very lively sense of the blessings of French fraternity, and they looked with no small anxiety to the arrival of their *king*, in the unity of whose power, and in the sanctity of whose name, they hoped to find some alleviation of their miseries and disgrace under the Beugnots, Simeons, and Jollivets.

A raven was dispatched from the royal ark at Paris to view this land of promise and to report whether the waters had subsided, and whether it was dry enough for the imperial foot of the Most Serene Prince. This worthy messenger found that, provided glasses, carpets, sofas, commodes, actresses, and police spies were sent from Paris in sufficient numbers, the new realm might be made habitable as an occasional residence; and accordingly, these preliminaries being settled, with all the accuracy of a Magna Charta for Westphalia, His Majesty King Jerome, about the end of December 1807, entered in a triumph, which Mr. Burke would have called an ovation, his good city of Cassel—the astounded capital of his heterogeneous dominions.

The first operation of the royal government was worthy of its gravity: the palace of *Wilhelmshöhe* was baptized with the new and consistent name of *Napoleonshöhe*. The next measure was to disperse the members of the regency into the chief offices of the administration. Simeon was made lord chancellor and minister for the home department; Beugnot first lord of the treasury; Jollivet chancellor of the exchequer, and General La Grange minister at war. As not one of these ministers knew one word of German, a minister of police was superadded, who knew as little; and thus the whole administration of the kingdom, in every department, was a series of *lessons in the German tongue* given by the chief clerks to the respective ministers, and of *lessons in French*, reciprocally, communicated by the latter: it was however observed that this Madras system of mutual instruction had very limited results; except that the French learned that *nein gelt* meant *point d'argent*, and that the Germans learned that *point d'argent* meant disloyalty, disaffection, dismissal and disgrace.

'The march of the human mind,' 'the progress of philosophy,' and 'the lights of the age,' require, (as the Buonapartists tell us,) in the days in which we have the honour to live, a wise, respected, strong, liberal, and national system of government. How beautifully Buonaparte in his kingdom of Westphalia exemplified this theory, is already apparent. It was national—because, even in the heart of Germany, the ministers were French; it was liberal—because it was above all little prejudices of religion and morals; it was

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strong—because it was supported by French bayonets; it was wise —because it obeyed, if not cheerfully, at least accurately, all the dictates, nay, even all the hints of the cabinet of the Tuileries; and how respected and respectable it was, may be judged from the following anecdote.

Shortly after Jerome's arrival, and before the cares of government had been entirely entrusted to him, he was one day in the garden of the palace, surrounded by the chivalrous court which his brother had created for him. His Majesty was pleased to be gay, and the weather, in the first days of spring, being inviting, His Majesty proposed a game at *leap-frog!* and in order to excel—it is the known character of the Buonaparte dynasty to excel all men in all things—he stripped himself even to his royal shirt, to facilitate his movements. Unhappily the windows of a private house overlooked this scene of princely revelry; and as his Majesty was now an object of some curiosity, they were soon filled with spectators, who however did not, it seems, sufficiently approve the feats of royal activity. Next morning the house was seized by the king, who thus gave at once a striking proof of the gravity and justice with which he was likely to administer a government, from which the venerable family of Hesse had been just driven, as bigoted, stingy, and illiberal.

The court, however, had no misgivings as to the character of its sovereign; it was consistently composed,—the husbands and wives were of the easiest and most indulgent dispositions—liberal in all points—to such a degree that, while Jerome, over-awed *at first* by the rank and character of his wife, a princess of Bavaria, maintained some show of moral decency towards her, it was shrewdly said, that their conjugal union was a source of *scandal to the whole court*. This was a scandal however, and the only one, which Jerome took the earliest opportunity of correcting.

We are afraid that it is too general and too just a reproach, that whatever is found unfit for employment in a mother-country is exactly suited for the colonies: judge then what must have been the fate of the poor German colony, under the rod of that imperious step-mother France. To be unfit for Paris was considered as a qualification for Cassel, and accordingly the bankrupts, swindlers, and fortune-hunters of the French capital, poured into this new land of promise; and although there were of course many disappointments, several of these adventurers, and particularly those who had pretty wives, were soon absorbed into the Westphalian administration. One of the most respectable men of the whole court was one Bouchard, who having been a pedlar of tooth-picks and braces, in the coffee-houses of Hamburgh, awoke one

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one fine morning, and found himself prefect of the palace (or Lord Steward) to his Majesty.

Let us take as another example—the character of the minister of war—Mor—, a young French colonel, aide-de-camp and favourite of the king.

'It was, one would have thought, no easy matter for so young a man to undertake so important a department, and to create and organize an army. Fortunately, Mor— had no doubts about the matter. In three days he had all his desks fixed, and all his clerks placed at them. This was not very difficult, for he almost sent into the streets and highways, and pressed every Frenchman, who could be found straggling, into the war-office.

'A poor devil, one Goa—, who had never been in a more confidential employment than of that examining the marks and numbers of the bales of commissariat stores, found himself all at once secretary at war of the Westphalian army, charged with the selection and promotion of its officers. In spite of his opposition, they took and locked him up, as it were, in a great gallery filled with an alarming multitude of portefeuilles, and bundles of dispatches, at the very sight of which the poor wretch sank still lower under the sense of his own incapacity; there he remained for three days and nights, in dirt and darkness. At the expiration of that time, he was again permitted to see the light, but more weary of his office than Sancho of the government of Barataria, he supplicated and obtained a post more suited to his taste and talents. As he had the misfortune to write a miserable hand, he was first appointed a copying clerk, but as he found even this station troublesome, the *ex-secretary at war* was at last satisfactorily placed in the suitable situation of a *commissary of victuals*.'—p. 30, 31.

There were a few Germans of ability whom Buonaparte had advised his brother to call to share the responsibility of his government, such as Muller and Martens. The latter seems to have had the good sense and loyalty to his ancient prince to decline the favours of Jerome. Muller, whimsically called the Tacitus of Germany, because he had translated Tacitus, had the weakness and folly to leave his rank, and, as it turned out, his character, at Berlin, and to come to Westphalia to be secretary of state;—but the oppression of the people, and (what perhaps touched him still more) the contempt in which this fluttering court held his pedantry, soon sickened him, and he manifested an intention to retire at the invasion of the country by Napoleon in the person of Count Daru, (now one of King Louis's peers,)—who was sent with the character of *intendant-general* to enforce the payment of a contribution of twenty-five millions of francs, and the restitution of the whole of the land revenue of Westphalia to the French treasury, from which Jerome had, it seems, scandalously diverted it to his own purposes,

instead of remitting it, according to the intention of the founder, to the Trésor Impériale at Paris.

The raising of this heavy contribution and the exaction of this revenue were to be facilitated by one of those popular operations for which the *liberals* are never wearied with praising Buonaparte. The states of Westphalia were assembled, and native Germans were placed as prefects over the new fangled departments of the country. This trick answered its object, the money was paid, and the German representatives and prefects were dismissed to their original nothingness.

Muller, however, held out till this affair was accomplished, and he then retired overwhelmed with debts, ridicule and remorse,—he died a striking example to men of letters who are silly enough to fancy that, because they can translate Tacitus or Machiavel, they are therefore able to practise their precepts. Muller's will is however honourable to his integrity, and curious for its singularity. It states, that he leaves debts and no fortune, that he desires his manuscripts may be sold to satisfy his creditors, 'and *if*,' he adds, 'they should prove sufficient, I hope I may be allowed to bequeath my watch to my servant.'

In the mean while Counts Simeon and Beugnot (who have made, we dare say, very different kind of wills) went on with their operations, and it is, says our author, impossible to describe the arrogant airs and clumsy levity with which these heavy Frenchmen laboured to treat the still heavier Germans.

'In vain did the unhappy barons of Westphalia prostrate themselves on the earth before the ci-devant attorney of Bar-sur-Aube (Beugnot); he treated them no better for their baseness. One of them, by dint of assiduity, succeeded one day in obtaining admittance to the ministerial presence. Oh, happiness! he sees face to face the great man, who is very comfortably warming his back at the fire.—His Excellency addresses the suppliant.—M. le Baron, do you understand Latin? Yes, may it please your Excellency, said the delighted German, who expected at least an embassy from so kind and circumstantial an inquirer. Ah, said the gracious Beugnot, you understand Latin! *tell me then what is the Latin for my breeches?* The Baron had studied at Göttingen, and was not to seek in his Cicero or Virgil, but he did not know the Latin for *breeches*, and Beugnot showed him the door, with some innuendo of his being an impostor, amidst the applauses of one of those sycophant assemblies which is always ready to applaud whatever falls from a great man, and the more loudly as the thing happens to be the more impertinent or the more silly.'—p. 45, 46.

Another anecdote will show the kind of people who were collected from the outskirts of mankind to rule this unhappy country.

'The grand marshal of the palace, since decorated with the title of Count of Wittingerode, invited one of his cousins from Marseilles to be

be the receiver-general of a department. The honest candidate for office was not strong in geography, and unfortunately was totally ignorant of the "*whereabout*" of the kingdom of Westphalia. He had, however, a vague notion that it was in Germany; and putting his person into the stage coach as if it had been a parcel, he made the best of his circuitous way to Vienna, where he was astounded to find that he was nearer to Turkey than to Westphalia, and that he had near 600 miles to travel back again, before he could reach the seat of his preferment.' —p. 42.

One personal story more, and we have done with that branch of our subject.

'De B— was now placed at the head of the police.—A clever man—but with a great deal of presumption, and one of the sliest and supplest of intriguers. By some relationship with the family of Regnaud, (de St. Jean d'Angely) he had dropt from the clouds and fallen on his legs in Cassel, God knows how'——

Here let us observe on the indescribable baseness of a German court, in which it was a title of advancement to be the cousin of such a fellow as *Regnaud;* and let us further observe, that this Regnaud, the basest of Buonaparte's satellites, was not long ago selected by the King of France as an object of favour, and had he not, luckily perhaps for the character of this prince, died suddenly, he might have been created a peer, like Davoust, who was about this time one of the scourges of Westphalia. But let us return to Regnaud's cousin, the minister of Westphalian police.

—'His career had been extraordinary. In his youth he had been a soldier: that vocation he had quitted to be a priest. In the revolution, (when the *Christian* clergy fled from the contamination of the jacobins,) *he* became a constitutional vicar-general. He soon tired of this trade, threw his gown to the dogs, and became a contractor for army stores; he then rose to be secretary to a prefect, to this he of course added the duty of a courtier; he then became a poet, then turned physician, and finally was erected into a member of police in Westphalia. In this latter character he became the "*little pet*" of the family of his patron Count Furstenberg, who, notwithstanding his personal favour with the king, found it not inconvenient to have a creature of his own in the police.'—p. 65.

To such persons was the kingdom delivered over, and in such and in worse operations were they employed—Napoleon draining the state for his wars, and his underlings dividing the dregs for their pleasures,—when a circumstance occurred, which, as it belongs to general history and will make some figure in the annals of German enterprize, we shall relate with a little detail.

Schill, a major in the Prussian service, was a man of about 36 years of age, of rather small stature, but strong and active. He had a high degree of enthusiasm, and was supposed to be deeply

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versed in the mysteries of the secret societies of Germany; full of courage and enterprize, but new in the art of war, and not endowed with judgment enough to temper and direct his honest zeal. He had been severely wounded at the battle of Jena, and was in Magdeburg when that fortress so unaccountably and so shamefully opened its gates to the French. Schill leaped from his sick bed to avert, if possible, this disaster. He ran through the streets, with a pistol in one hand, to shoot, if he could meet him, the cowardly and treacherous governor; the other arm was in a sling; and his only attire was a bloody sheet which in his hurry he had thrown over him: in this state he endeavoured to excite the inhabitants to that duty which the troops had abandoned, but in vain; and the possession of Magdeburg sealed the military possession of Prussia by the troops of France.

When the battle of Aspern had excited the hopes of Europe, (how fatally disappointed by the weakness and irresolution of some of the Austrian commanders, this is not the place to examine,) Schill revived at the glimmering prospect of the liberation of his country. At the head of 400 men of his own regiment of hussars, he quitted the neighbourhood of Berlin, where he was quartered, and directed his march towards the Elbe, in the intention of raising the standard of general revolt in Westphalia.

Our author thinks that Schill lost time and exhibited great want of judgment in not at once attacking either Magdeburg or Cassel; but we cannot presume to join in the censure without more detailed information than we possess. He did however, after scouring the neighbouring provinces for a week or ten days, present himself before Magdeburg. The French governor, Michaud, very foolishly left his garrison to meet these partizans in the field, where he suffered a very severe loss; and there can be little doubt that if Schill had had some infantry he might have retaken Magdeburg, the inhabitants of which were actually in insurrection in his favour. Foiled however in this attempt, he made for the Elbe, which he reached, and along the right bank of which he marched till he established himself at Domitz. Here he rested for a fortnight, and at last the French and Westphalian generals, after a thousand ridiculous panics and errors, collected such a body of Dutch and Danish troops, in addition to their own, as induced Schill to evacuate Domitz and retreat on Stralsund. General D'Albignac took possession of Domitz with the absurd airs of a triumph, and returned to Cassel, leaving General Gratien, with the Dutch and Danish troops in the service of France, to follow Schill;—follow him they did: but when they arrived at the walls of Stralsund, this active partizan had been already ten days in possession of the town, which, with extraordinary activity, he had placed in a respectable state of defence.

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The force which by this time had been assembled around him, though it was, Schill knew, too great to be conquered, was not too great to be fought. The place was taken by assault, and Schill died fighting in the streets. The fall of the patriot hero ended the insurrection for the moment, but his example had kindled, and his death bequeathed, a spirit of resistance to French oppression, which in a few years after led the Prussian hussars from the banks of the Vistula to the quays of the Seine.

Relieved from this immediate danger, the Westphalian troops were ordered to advance to the assistance of the grand army, which was now about to renew its offensive operations. Fortunately for Buonaparte he contrived to settle his affairs without them. They would have scarcely helped to repair the losses of Aspern, or to decide the dubious fate of Wagram.

'Never was there such an army—generals enough, but not one commander. When the march was begun in the morning the whole army were already stragglers;—it may be supposed they were not much improved at the halt in the evening. Every body was so obliging as to give every kind of orders, but there was unluckily no one to obey. It was complete riot. The commissaries cheated—the officers drank—the soldiers pillaged—the generals insulted every young woman who happened to fall in their way, and amongst such complicated irregularities nobody and every body were alike to blame.

'The king could not travel without his court. It was a never ending procession of horses, carriages, servants, courtiers, enough to frighten, not the enemy, but the purveyors—I am not sure that there was not a company of players to act farces in the camp. Fortunately no enemy appeared—we should have had a fine hurry! I remember that at one bivouac, near the frontiers of Bohemia, an alarm was given, false indeed, but an *alarm;* for it threw the whole motley congregation into a glorious confusion. I shall never forget the chamberlains and lords of the bedchamber, in white silk stockings, endeavouring to make their escape through the deep clays of Saxony, and leaving at the two first steps their dancing shoes in the mire. How miserably the Austrians must have been provided with spies! If fifty dragoons had been hounded at us, they would have routed the army, and carried off the king and his whole court.'—p. 116.

The armistice of Wagram liberated the courtiers and their shoes from the clays of Saxony; and the Royal expedition moved back, not in better order, but with greater alacrity than it had advanced, and was hastening to enjoy the luxurious repose which the arts of Napoleon rather than his deeds, had, as they thought, secured for his faithful though *very distant* followers of Westphalia.

But another incident supervened which—not on account of its influence on this wretched *petaudière* of a court—but for its bold conception,

conception, chivalrous execution and patriotic spirit, deserves to be recorded as often and as fully as the occasion may present itself.

By a curious and cowardly exception in the armistice, the auxiliary corps of the Austrian army were abandoned to their fate—which appeared to all, and was to most, inevitable ruin. The Duke of Brunswick, with his little band of faithful subjects, was placed, as Buonaparte hoped, in the desperate dilemma of continuing a mortal yet ridiculous contest with the armies of France, or of submitting to kiss the feet of the oppressor of his country and the slaughterer of his family. But the spirit of the House of Brunswick was not to be restrained by such dilemmas. The Duke saw with a bold sagacity a road of honour, if not of safety, open to him. The road of honour Buonaparte never travelled himself, and therefore never suspected that others would find it. The Duke took at once the noble resolution of marching with his little troop from the heart of Bohemia to the shores of the North Sea, 500 miles, through hostile governments, pursuing armies and opposing citadels.

Leaving Egra immediately after the armistice, he gained several days march on the corps which was observing him, and reached with wonderful celerity the banks of the Saale. At Halle he defeated and disarmed a company or two of the Westphalian army, and with the reinforcement of a few patriotic peasants, he marched along the mountains of the Hartz, in order to occupy their fastnesses if pressed by superior forces.

General Michaud, who had commanded the army of the Rhine in 1793, was, as we have before said, governor of Magdeburgh, and had notice of the duke's movements; but they were too rapid for his veteran calculations, particularly as he had little or no cavalry. Besides he despised the duke's force, and little expected to find in the desperate fugitive, a daring aggressor. A body of Westphalian infantry had orders to march from Magdeburgh to Hamburgh, and its commander the Grand Marshal of the Westphalian court, Count Wittingerode, was so little alarmed at the rumours of the duke's vicinity, that he marched on in full confidence, but not without the usual precautions of patroles and videttes. His corps arrived safe and sound at the end of its second day's march, at Halberstadt, and immediately took up its quarters very comfortably and in apparent security, with detachments of gendarmes posted round in all directions. Unluckily for the Grand Marshal, he had to do with no ordinary man. Well-informed by his own activity, and by the zeal of the peasantry, of the force and situation of the enemy, the Duke covered his march by the woods which run along the skirts of the Hartz, even to the walls of Halberstadt, and about six o'clock of a fine summer's evening, he appeared in full force *before* the town,—*in* the town!—It was the work

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work of a moment: the troops were at roll-call, in foraging caps, unarmed, when the Brunswickers thundered upon them. Hundreds were sabred in a moment; the rest escaped, some to Magdeburg, some to their homes: the whole arms and stores of the corps, the richest and most expensive of the Westphalian army, were taken; not a drumstick was saved, and the Grand Marshal of the palace awoke, as out of a day-dream, to find himself the ambulatory prisoner of the proscribed sovereign; who, losing not a moment, took immediately the high road to Brunswick. By this time the Westphalian army had returned from Saxony to Cassel, and the magnanimous Jerome, indignant at being thus insulted in his own territory, ordered it to advance against the duke, under the command of the governor of Cassel, while General Gratien, on the other side, was to take the Brunswickers in the rear. From 12,000 to 15,000 men were thus collected round less than a thousand partisans, wearied by long marches, and depressed by the alternative of defeat or exile: but they were patriots, and led by a hero.

The duke reached Brunswick twenty-four hours before the enemy. He encamped under the walls of the town; the inhabitants, always loyal to the ducal family, were electrified by his sudden appearance into an enthusiasm of loyalty; they flocked to their sovereign, and entreated him to enter the palace of his fathers: but no personal affection, nor the still more urgent desire of finding even momentary rest and shelter for his wearied followers, could induce this admirable prince to risk the safety of his beloved Brunswick. To the affectionate solicitations of his subjects, he replied, 'I am a fugitive, and am about to cast the die of battle; remain quiet, while I proceed to fulfil whatever may be my fate; remain quiet, obey your new masters, in order that we may all meet in happier days.' It is consoling to think that they did meet—triumphantly—and in happier days.

About 6,000 of the enemy arrived before Brunswick in the night, and took up a position on the road to Lunenburg, thus cutting off the duke's march. Vain hope!—at the dawn of day, the duke rapidly advanced to force his passage. A young regiment, which was opposed to the first shock, could not stand the countenances of their iron antagonists, they were broken; the guards and a regiment of cuirassiers were steady, and more than sufficient to have overwhelmed even a greater number of ordinary assailants. But ill-commanded and furiously attacked, they also fell into some confusion; a fresh charge decided the fate of the day, the rout became general, and horse, foot, and artillery fled in utter disorder, and were scattered into the surrounding country; and the Governor of Cassel was within a hair's breadth of accompanying the Grand Marshal of the palace in his forced visit to England.

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The duke by this victory cleared his way and marched without interruption to Bremen, where he embarked without molestation, and reached the hospitable asylum for exiled princes, in safety.

His further history may be told in two words, and will be remembered for ages. He died, as he had lived, the bravest of the brave, in the battle of Quatre Bras, on the eve of the great day of Waterloo, at the head of the Black Hussars of Brunswick, whose uniform the duke had chosen, as mourning for the death of his father, and the oppression of his country.

After this episode, we have no spirit to return to the miserable absurdities, debaucheries, exactions, and cruelties of Master Jerome and his court. His wretched subjects were forced to furnish armies to the campaigns of Moscow, of Dresden, and of Leipsick. We recollect, with a mixture of mirth and melancholy, Jerome's report to his great brother of two of his regiments having been lost in an attempt at charging the enemy, 'parce qu'ils manquaient, ces hussards-là, l'habitude de monter à cheval.'

The breaking up of the ten years frost in which Buonaparte had bound up the limbs and faculties of Europe, carried away in its *débâcle* King Jerome and his court. The ill-assorted kingdom of Westphalia fell to pieces, and the liberated people returned with joy to the beneficent rule of their sovereigns of a thousand years:—while Counts Daru and Beugnot, and Simeon and Jollivet, found in France, under the wise and discriminating rule of Louis XVIII., that countenance and fortune, those honours and those offices, of which the tried friends of his martyred brother, and the devoted companions of his own adversity are deprived, with all the jealousy of a relentless and personal persecution.

Art. X.—1. *The Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 23d of November*, 1819. Manchester. London. 1819. pp. 24.

2. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. George Canning, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, November 24th, 1819, on the Address to the Throne, upon the Opening of the Session of Parliament.* London. 1820. pp. 54.

3. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, November 30, 1819, on the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Country, and more particularly into the Distresses and Discontents prevalent in the Manufacturing Districts, and the Execution of the Laws with respect*

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respect to the numerous Meetings which have taken place. London. 1820. pp. 62.

IN the moment of escape from imminent danger, or of deliverance from heavy calamity, men naturally cherish the warmest and most grateful affection towards those under whose auspices their rescue has been achieved. The promptitude and the energy of parliament appear to have been successfully exerted in averting from us that revolutionary crisis, which some of the wisest among us recently anticipated, and which the bravest could not anticipate without uneasiness. The workers of mischief are not indeed extinguished; and they are not, we fear, very likely to be reclaimed; but they have at least suffered a severe discomfiture. The measures, and even the very attitude, of our senate have had the effect of disorganising their evil projects and damping their malignant hopes. For a season they seem driven into an ignominious though probably not an innocent obscurity, and, like certain more illustrious conspirators of old, may be said to have

'——disappear'd
Far in the dark dislodg'd and void of rest.'

At such a period, the publications to which we in this article give our attention, will be welcomed with peculiar interest. They contain the recorded eloquence of some of the most distinguished among those civil leaders *qui rempublicam Senatûs auctoritate sertârunt*,—the chiefs, under whose guidance the efforts of the legislative body have been so effectually directed towards the maintenance of the public tranquillity. They are precious monuments of the wisdom, the genius, and the virtue, which the exigences of the country called into action, and by whose concurrent instrumentality its menaced happiness has once more been secured.

Whatever calumnies may be uttered by the hundred tongues of Radicalism against our Houses of Parliament, the praise of eloquence, at least, cannot be denied to those august assemblies. In oratorical display, if not in the more solid exhibitions of patriotism and public spirit, they shew themselves equal to the demands of every emergency. On the present occasion, this remark has been signally exemplified; at no period since the death of Mr. Fox, if a concurrence of authoritative testimony may be believed, has the general level of parliamentary eloquence made a nearer approximation to the gigantic models of the last century, than during what has already elapsed of the present session. It is to be regretted that, of the ability which thus shone

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shone forth, much will never be known to posterity, excepting through the valuable, yet necessarily imperfect medium of the daily press. If a selection, however, of any *three* speeches was to be made, it would appear that none could have been more properly selected than those actually before us. Where many have done well, and not a few most admirably, these perhaps are the three orators whose success has been the most conspicuous, and whose merits are therefore the most peculiarly entitled to commemoration:

'Omnibus hic erit unus honos: Tres præmia primi
Accipient, flavâque caput nectentur olivâ.'

With regard to the more immediate occasion of these speeches, it will be observed that two of them, those of Mr. Plunket and Mr. Canning, were delivered on a question of comparatively narrow extent. The Amendment moved by the Opposition in the House of Commons to the Address, in reality admitted every material fact stated or assumed in that address; to some of those facts it even gave a stronger relief and a bolder colouring; and it differed from the address only by attempting to tack to it what Mr. Canning happily calls a mitigating appendage. There was, after all, little left to be disputed,—a spot of ground, debateable indeed, but within contracted limits. The subject which called up Lord Grenville presented a wider scope. Confessedly embracing the whole state of the country, it afforded the eminent speaker an abundant opportunity of depicting in all the depth of their actual malignity, and of estimating, in the whole extent of their dreadful tendencies, the mischiefs which had occasioned the premature assembling of parliament. He found 'ample room and verge enough the characters of hell to trace.' Perhaps also, the situation of Lord Grenville conspired with his subject to prescribe to him the most extensive possible range of argument and observation. He spoke as a parliamentary leader, dissenting in opinion with those friends with whom he had for many years acted; and could hardly do justice to himself, except by a public and decided statement of his prevailing views and impressions. He was a veteran captain, deliberately separating his eagles from those with which they had, during a long series of campaigns, been associated and intermingled; it therefore peculiarly became him to accompany his march by a manifesto, declaratory of his proceedings and his purposes.

The speech of Lord Grenville comes forth also with this distinctive advantage, that it is throughout reported in the first person, and as if it were falling from the orator's own lips; while Mr. Plunket uniformly, and Mr. Canning for the most part, are exhibited

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exhibited to us in the characters of their respective reporters. Surely it might suffice to leave to the daily prints, whose necessities in this respect have no law, a method of reporting, which seems to despoil eloquence of all its light and heat, and in the place of these to substitute the frigidness and *distance* of mere narration. The practice is not indeed without precedent. It was occasionally adopted by the ancient historians in the speeches which they introduced; but then this was only in the shorter speeches; and the practice might perhaps, in writings avowedly narrative, possess a comparative propriety. It seems less easy to understand why the same plan should be pursued, when an oration is sent out from the press alone; or what good end can be gained, by laboriously obtruding upon us the ungracious figure of an intermediate agent, when, from the very nature of the publication, we are led to expect an introduction to the free and commanding form of the orator himself, and prepare ourselves to feel his accents strike on our minds with all the force and effect of spoken eloquence.

If it be said that accuracy is of more importance than effect,—that, in detailing a speech in the first person, it becomes necessary to fill up and finish many parts which either were originally imperfect, or have been imperfectly remembered,—and that the consequence is that the fidelity of the likeness is sacrificed to the beauty of the picture,—let it on the other hand be considered whether any likeness can be more unfaithful than that which, while it exhibits the air and features of its subject, leaves out all the grace and spirit by which they were informed. This cannot be called accuracy in any fair application of the word. It is in reporting as in translating,—he alone does his author justice, who is

'True to his sense, but truer to his fame.'

The fact is that a speech of real and commanding effect must, by a transfusion through the cold medium of the press, inevitably suffer more than can be compensated for by any trifling amelioration in the mere article of style. Where so much is necessarily lost, we need not grudge an insignificant addition. The voice,—the eye,—all the immediate action of mind upon mind,—all the visible inspiration of intense energy and conscious power,—all the thousand proprieties that depend on an intuitive respondency to the fluctuating emotions of a great and agitated assembly,—all these must evaporate in the transcript; and their place is ill supplied by the gelid frost-work, however curiously wrought, of mere verbal embellishment. The difference between the spoken and the published oration, is the difference between some magnificent

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nificent temple laid open to the studious contemplation of a solitary visitant, and the same edifice beheld amidst the fullest accompaniments of sacrifical movement and splendour, thronged with adoring crouds, and resounding with solemn harmonies.

To institute any comparison between the merits of the respective speeches before us, would not only be invidious in the extreme; but, from what has been said, it will appear that, unless the spoken effect of each could be known, such an attempt would be absolutely idle. We have reason to believe that the speech of Mr. Plunket is that which has sustained the most injury by the act of passing from the oral into the written state. Let us not, however, be understood to disparage the merits of that admirable production. As might have been expected from the known character of Mr. Plunket's public speaking, it is eminent for the unlaboured clearness and compactness of its reasoning, for the noble simplicity of its style and manner, and for the soundness and elevation of its political views.

Mr. Plunket signally supports the fame of his country for genius and eloquence; yet it is remarkable that his genius and eloquence have not the same peculiarities with those of the majority of his countrymen. He is not a disciple of what may be called the Irish school. Perfectly national, we doubt not, in his feelings and attachments, nothing can be less national than his taste in oratory. The eloquence of Ireland has great and extraordinary merits. It has force, fancy, fervour, passion, grandeur; and, possessing these excellencies, it may be forgiven for occasional offences against good taste,—for a proneness to profusion of imagery, exaggeration of sentiment, and hardness or inflation of style. The truth is, that it is idle to blame these qualities; which, equally with the former, belong to a certain stage in the progress of national literature. The Irish have not advanced to so high a point of the scale as their brethren of England; and *their speech bewrayeth them*;—their oratory, with all the fresh and rude virtue, exhibits also many of the defects, that usually characterize the literary productions of a comparatively unrefined people. It is true that one of the distinguishing qualities of such a people is simplicity; but then it is simplicity of feeling, not of taste. Their affections are pure and sound; but, in giving them expression, if they attempt to rise beyond the language of common life, they rise into an untried region, and become affected or extravagant. In a word, rude nations, like children, are ever mistaking finery for elegance; and the same rule holds, with a graduation of force, through all the successive steps between savage nature and the highest degree of refinement.

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The effect of this remark is not diminished by the undeniable fact, that numbers of the higher classes of persons in our sister kingdom receive an education as refined as the utmost fastidiousness of English taste could demand. National eloquence, like national music, is moulded and fashioned according to the judgment and feeling, not of the higher and more educated members of the community, who may be said to be of no country, but of the multitude. These, let it be remembered, are the hearers, the *recipients* of eloquence; and to the capacity of the recipient, the thing received must in a great measure conform itself. In effect, no higher praise can be bestowed on a speaker, than that he consults the taste of his audience; and few and rarely-gifted indeed are those, who can do this without catching a little of the inclinations which they consult, and actually acquiring that character which they, in some sense, assume for the particular occasion.

Mr. Plunket, however, whatever be the reason, appears to have escaped even a tinge of these peculiarities. In his style of speaking, he is, as was said of Charles Fox, *all over English*; if indeed he be not something better. He is simple, nervous, collected, deliberate, consecutive; and this, without at all degenerating into tameness or preciseness. If he has not altogether those impassioned bursts, or that overwhelming and inspiring vehemence, for which the great departed orator just named was so remarkable, he has, like him, all the unpretending plainness which belongs to the perfect style of eloquence. In fairness, at the same time, and straight-forwardness of understanding, he is even superior to Mr. Fox; whose love of ratiocination was such, as too frequently betrayed him into a merely gladiatorial exercise of his art, and led him to delight in the evolutions of argument, rather as affording opportunities for brilliant display, than as facilitating the discovery of truth.

On the oratorical character of Mr. Plunket we have been the more diffuse, because in the English hemisphere, if we may so speak, he is comparatively a new star; and he is one of the first magnitude. Of the two other speakers before us, the merits have long been so intimately known, either by fame or by personal experience, to every thinking individual in this country, that any delineation of the general style or manner of either would be quite superfluous. With respect to the particular specimens of their powers now under consideration, the Speech of Mr. Canning appears before the reader, despoiled of what is said to have been one of its principal virtues, that of a strict relation to the previous course of the debate. Yet, even under this disadvantage, we find

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in it no scanty or dubious vestiges of that excellence, which, long after midnight, and for upwards of two hours, captivated the attention, and governed the feelings, of a before exhausted and impatient House. The brilliancy indeed, for which the speaker is so eminent, has with great judgment been in this instance somewhat repressed. But, in every part of his address, the most just and constitutional principles of policy are enforced; and he throughout displays that 'curious felicity,' which, in its application to the mere concern of diction, is an exquisite accomplishment, but which, when directed to the more important task of selecting, arranging, and mutually harmonizing the topics and arguments belonging to a whole subject, rises, the ancients themselves being the judges, into the very highest sphere of oratorical excellence.

Lord Grenville's is one of his noblest, and at the same time most characteristic efforts. It is altogether the discourse of a great and dignified parliamentary leader on an occasion of momentous gravity. Secondary ornaments, if not severely rejected, are at least not sought:—there is little of impassioned, and none of what may be called *poetic* eloquence: but every page bears, in lines the most deeply engraven, the impress of 'deliberation' and 'public care;' and the deepest conviction insensibly steals over us, while, in a strong and manly, yet strictly correct and classical style, the distinguished senator lays open the critical state of his country, unmasks the cruel designs of her domestic enemies, and instils into the minds of the august assembly he is addressing, the requisite counsel and instruction. From this masterly, statesmanlike and majestic exposition, we shall, in our further progress, derive our most copious extracts; not because we deem it the best of the compositions before us; but because it is (as we have already observed, and for the reasons we have given) the most comprehensive.

It cannot be necessary minutely to recall to the memory of the reader the circumstances which led to the assembling of Parliament in the month of November last. Through the whole of the preceding summer, parts of the country had been more or less disturbed; and partial disturbance had created general alarm. The foundation, or (if the expression may be used) the *nucleus*, of these disturbances was, undoubtedly, the distress which affected many portions of the community, and particularly the population of some of the manufacturing districts. Distress produced a degree of discontent and disaffection, confused notions of political wrong, and vague desires of change. These were the distempered imaginations, the *ægri somnia*, engendered by hunger and misery; but there wanted not worse suggestions and wickeder counsellors.

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counsellors. Busy men,—some of them excluded from the more estimable parts of society and compelled to *walk through the dry places of the earth, seeking rest,*—others, desirous of distinction, or eager for gain, and exactly shrewd enough to suspect that they could never become either great or rich, except by being mischievous, had long employed themselves in the dissemination of doctrines equally anti-social, anti-moral, and anti-christian. These familiars now availed themselves of the prevalent distresses and discontents, to propagate their low poisons with increased effect; they, in fact, systematized, so far as the powers of intellects not eminently prone to system would permit, a regular conspiracy against the welfare of the state; a conspiracy, ostensibly aiming at little less than the establishment of democracy in policy, and deism by way of religion. In the prosecution of this design they found unconscious, or at least unintentional, auxiliaries in better men than themselves; in some, who, hating them, joined them simply for the purpose of swelling the cry against government; in others, who, refusing to join them, swelled the cry against government notwithstanding: for, at such periods, there is no middle party; they who are not with the constituted authorities are against them.

The friends of the government, meanwhile, and, probably enough, the government themselves, felt somewhat embarrassed as to the mode of treating the fast-growing mischief. Remedies for the distresses of the country were not easily to be found; and, at all events, *immediate* remedy was out of the question: that is, the fuel that fed the flame could not be removed. The only alternative was, to deal with the evil directly; and here the difficulty lay between the danger of fomenting it by indulgence, and that of exasperating it by opposition. Under these circumstances, some public crisis or other could not fail speedily to occur; whether at Manchester or elsewhere might be a matter of conjecture; but, somewhere or other, it might have been predicted, even on the faith of no better oracle than the chapter of accidents, that the opposite elements now abroad and in motion would undoubtedly meet and justle and conflict together.

Chance, as in most similar cases, determined the first rencounter. The demagogues had meditated, and, in fact, actually organized, an immense meeting to be held at Manchester on the 9th August, collected from a considerable extent of country, for the purpose, as they publicly notified, of discussing the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining a radical reform of the House of Commons, and the propriety of the unrepresented inhabitants of Manchester electing a person to represent them in parliament, as also the adoption of Major Cartwright's bill. This meeting,

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had it been held, would not only have been illegal, but, according to the high authority of Mr. Plunket, would have amounted to an act of treason. No wonder, therefore, that it was prohibited by a public proclamation of the magistrates. The effect was singular. It often happens that men abandon their measures, while they retain their designs; but in this instance,—such are the inversions of Radicalism,—though the treasonous purpose was ostensibly abandoned, the anarchists announced that the meeting would be held notwithstanding. It was now advertised for the 16th August, with the object of taking into consideration the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform. A previous address was issued by the notable mountebank whom the party had elected to be their spokesman and ring-leader, their 'trumpeter-hornet,' for the occasion, in which this man of peace, according to the settled usage of Radicalism in such cases, exhorted his followers to maintain a firm and temperate deportment, warning them that their sanguinary enemies would seek every occasion to create riot and bloodshed; at the same time that he invited the 'wise magistrates,' who with threats had prohibited the former meeting, to be present at this, and very fairly assured them that the radicals *despised their threats.*

The meeting took place accordingly, to the number, as some of the radical leaders afterwards boasted, of a 100,000 or 130,000 persons. Certainly the number was immense. The several divisions that composed the assembly marched to the place of rendezvous in regular bodies of from three to six or eight abreast, with all the precision of military discipline, accompanied by bands of music, and preceded by banners inscribed with such mottoes as 'Equal Representation or Death,' and, in some cases, surmounted by caps of liberty. Many were armed with bludgeons. Excepting, however, by this sort of dumb crambo, and excepting also one loud howl of defiance on the appearance of the magistrates and yeomanry in the distance, it appears that, whatever daggers the party meant to *use*, they were resolved to *speak none.* Most of the columns marched, we believe, and formed in silence; and, as for their leader, the burden of his speech, like the remonstrance put into the mouth of a demagogue whom we will not degrade by naming in the same sentence, amounted to this: 'Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up to mutiny!'

The purpose of all this military array, according to the best radical authorities, was 'to confer cheerfulness and hilarity on the people.'* Unfortunately, however, it conferred nothing but terror and perplexity on the good people of Manchester, who could

* Bamford's petition.

not,

not, without alarm, behold, in the heart of their populous and wealthy town, a vast and organized concourse of strangers, headed by men of principles and characters the most notorious, accompanied by appearances the most menacing, avowedly assembled for political objects, and founding their claim to the praise of legality on the ground that they had just ceased to meditate treason. Many hastened to remove their effects from the vicinity of these new champions of liberty and property; and numbers of the most respectable householders voluntarily made oath before the magistrates, that they considered the peace of the town as endangered. This latter proceeding has, we are aware, been ridiculed, on the ground that it was giving evidence of facts which existed only in conjecture, or which, at all events, were future. Not so:—it was not giving evidence of future or conjectural facts: it was giving evidence of the actual and existing fact that the meeting in question conveyed apprehensions to the minds of the king's subjects; and this happens to have been the precise fact by which the legality of that meeting was to be tried.

That such an assembly indeed should, by any sensible mind, be deemed legal and constitutional, affords an illustration of a remark made by some acute observer of human nature, who says that, if the passions of men could enter as deeply into mathematical as into moral discussions, no single proposition in Euclid would be safe from question. The magistrates of Manchester knew nothing of the refinements on which these doubters proceed. But they knew that the law forbade the holding of assemblies calculated to terrify the neighbourhood; and, judging from their own ocular observation that the meeting before them might well terrify the neighbourhood, and learning from an accumulation of sworn testimony that the neighbourhood was, in fact, terrified, they very naturally drew the inference that the meeting was contrary to law. If this was so, then, called on as they were, and implored to protect the loyal population of the town, they were evidently not at liberty to wait till the fears of those who claimed their protection should have been fatally justified. They therefore proceeded, first and immediately, to seize the ringleaders; in the hope, as it should seem, that the removal of the chiefs would induce the crowd to depart quietly; but, if this should not be the case, then secondly, their object was the direct dispersion of the meeting; to be effected, if possible, by quiet and pacific means. In the sequel, the endeavour to effectuate the one of these purposes precipitated the accomplishment of the other. The civil officers, in trying to execute the warrant for the apprehension of the ringleaders, were strongly and successfully resisted by the mob. The yeomanry were then reluctantly ordered out to the

support of the civil force, but though, in the performance of this duty, they carefully abstained from giving more molestation to the thickly-serried and resisting crowd than was absolutely necessary, they were assailed not only with abuse, but with heavy stones and brickbats: several yeomen were felled from their horses; one was hurt mortally; and had they not been rescued by a body of regular cavalry which came to their assistance, the whole number would have been destroyed. The accession of the dragoons turned the scale; and the affray ended in the flight and dispersion of the mob, of whom some were killed and many more wounded or otherwise injured.

It would be impossible for any but the most callous heart to contemplate without emotion this most fatal and lamentable occurrence; and the emotion must be one, not of deep sorrow only, but also of lively indignation. Against whom, however, is that indignation to be directed? Is it against those, who, commissioned by the law itself, executed a painful and a perilous duty in defence of that law; or against those who, gratuitously and wantonly, first insulted, then broke, and lastly defied it? Is it against those who, charged with the conservation of the public peace, and called upon to fulfil this sacred trust in behalf of a large and most valuable population, nobly obeyed the call at the expense of great personal danger, and not even without exposure to the poniards of assassination;—or against those, who, perfectly knowing (as their own previous declarations evince) the imminent hazard of the evils that afterwards actually ensued, yet deliberately chose to pursue the course the most singularly likely to produce those evils; who advisedly adopted proceedings so directly, daringly, and madly endangering the public peace, for which these unhappy reprobates all the while affected the tenderest and most melting regard, that even the understanding of a child could hardly have failed to anticipate the result? In a word, are our sympathies to be appealed to, in favour of those public functionaries, who, compelled to act under circumstances the most critical, instead of shrinking into mean and selfish passiveness, sacrificed their ease and comfort, exposed their unspotted reputation to foul obloquy, and even incurred the risk of death itself, rather than violate the obligations and belie the responsibility of the arduous post assigned to them:—or is the whole homage of our feelings to be prostituted on the very men who were the undoubted causes of all that is dreadful or perplexing in these transactions,—men, who wilfully led their deluded victims into danger, for the sake of plunging them into crime,—men, who, like the Malignant Principle himself, can knowingly take advantage of the distresses of mankind, to blast their virtues,—base artificers

artificers of ruin, who drive the trade of destruction, not for its own sake, (for even in that there would be a sort of horrible and satanic greatness,) but for the sake of the miserable pelf, the wretched honours or worse lucre, they derive from it, and who, for such polluting rewards as these, are content to sacrifice the honour, the principles, and the happiness, of all this great and fair country?

But misrepresentation was to have its day. The public ear was poisoned, and the judgments of many excellent and honourable minds perverted, by the calumnious reports circulated respecting the deeds of blood, as they were called, at Manchester. A just and a generous attempt, on the part of the government, to counteract the progress of the epidemic fallacy, and to uphold the reputation and the authority of the Manchester magistrates, by publicly conveying to them the expression of the royal approbation, seemed to have little other effect than that of involving the ministry in the same obloquy with those whom they would have sheltered. The political sky was more and more overcast. The good and the wise, to whatever party they belonged, looked forward with agitation and anxiety. Obscure and ominous sounds were heard, of change, of trouble, and even of revolution; and it soon appeared that the nation had but one human resource, that of summoning its Great Council to provide for the public safety.

It was under these circumstances that parliament met; and it was under these that the recorded eloquence before us had its birth. In fact, we have taken a rapid survey of the occurrences already detailed, only by way of preface to the extracts we are about to produce from the works under consideration. It will be a gratifying task to exhibit the views and sentiments of the distinguished statesmen from whom they proceeded, in the place of our own.

It is in the first place observable that not one of the speakers has affected to slur over the public danger, or to represent the crisis as otherwise than one of the utmost alarm and solicitude. The following striking delineation of the subject is given by Lord Grenville.

'My Lords, the admission with which my noble friend (*the Marquis of Lansdowne*) commenced his temperate and able speech, relieves those who may follow him in this debate from all necessity of expatiating on the painful circumstances of our present danger. He sees and acknowledges its existence; he is deeply sensible both of its magnitude and its urgency; and the glowing colours in which he has represented our present situation must have made the strongest impression on the minds of all your lordships. For myself, unquestionably, I need not say what is my own conviction on this subject. Often has it been my painful

duty to express, in this house, the continued and increasing anxiety with which I have regarded the attacks unceasingly directed against the whole frame and fabric of our government. Often have I laboured, and laboured ineffectually, to impress these feelings on the minds of others. My apprehensions have been considered as visionary, originating much more in a fond and solicitous attachment to the interests which I conceived to be endangered, than in any just view of the actual condition, or future prospects, of my country. And would to heaven that it were so! Joyful indeed would this hour have been to me, if I could now rise and confess my error; if I could say to those from whom it has been my misfortune to differ on these questions, "My apprehensions were vain; your security was well grounded."

'The reverse unhappily is true. During a large portion of a long public life, now closed, I have watched the destructive tendency of these revolutionary projects,—I have marked their unremitted activity,—their growing confidence,—their extended influence,—their fast advancing progress. But the evil has outrun my apprehensions. Never, at any former period, has it presented so fierce and menacing an aspect; never yet has it so imperiously required, from the wisdom and firmness of my country, the most immediate, vigorous, and determined resistance.

'It is this persuasion which alone induces me, it is this which irresistibly compels me, contrary to all my expectations and all my wishes, once more to solicit your indulgence in the discharge of duties which I thought had been for ever closed.

'Let me, then, in the outset of these deliberations, entreat your lordships continually to bear in mind that the mischief against which we are now called upon to defend our country, is not merely of the present day; no, nor of the present year. Its true origin must be traced much farther back,—its real causes must be sought much deeper,—its remedies must be applied with a foresight and policy extending far beyond that pressure of temporary distress to which alone my noble friend is willing to ascribe it. Even in the course of this debate, your recollection has been called to those measures which, in the year 1795, now nearly five-and-twenty years ago, it had already become necessary to adopt for the defence of our laws and government. And it was then that Mr. Burke declared, and he has consigned the sentiment to posterity in his immortal writings, that the grounds of that necessity did not originate among us even with the French Revolution, although that terrible convulsion of the world did, undoubtedly, call them forth, increase them, and give fresh vigour to their operation.

'In what manner your security was then provided for, and how it was maintained during the long and arduous contest which ensued, I will not now detain you by examining. We all remember, that from the happy restoration of peace increased confidence was felt, increased assurance drawn by many, for the permanent and undisturbed continuance of our domestic tranquillity. From that very date the mischief has on the contrary been constantly increasing. Every successive period, down even to the moment in which I now address you, has brought us only

only fresh menace, augmented violence, more open and more ostentatious defiance of the public authority in all its branches. And I now call with earnestness on all who hear me, to reflect, how rarely the history of any country has exhibited so rapid a progress of such a danger within so short a time!

'Unquestionably, when such designs are entertained, and such projects are pursued, the distress of any part of our population must always give great opportunity and advantage to the promoters of sedition. It is the most powerful engine by which they can operate; the stimulant by which they inflame the passions of the ignorant, and drive their deluded victims on to acts of desperation, which, instead of alleviating, can serve only to aggravate, and to prolong their difficulties. But occurrences like these are the instruments, not the causes of the mischief. Much of this evil exists where these distresses have had comparatively little operation. Many are most forward in the sedition whom the pressure has least affected; while those on whom it has most severely borne, have, in many cases, conducted themselves with exemplary patience and resolution, untainted by this pernicious contagion, obedient to the laws, and inviolably attached to those institutions which have so long been the glory and happiness of Englishmen.'—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 1—6.

The noble speaker then proceeds, at considerable length and with great ability, to shew that measures of purely economical policy are but little calculated to meet the existing evil. Through the greater part of this ground we should follow him with implicit acquiescence; there are some points on which, with all humility, we differ from him, as indeed, on subjects involving so much fact and speculation, perfect coincidence of opinion is not to be expected. This is not, however, the place for entering into discussion on the points in question; more especially, as we entirely subscribe, not only to the conclusions, but to all the leading positions, maintained by Lord Grenville, both in support of his general theorem that our refuge does not lie in the regulations of political economy, and in opposition to the particular remedies of an economical nature, suggested by Lord Lansdowne. From this powerful disquisition, he thus recurs to the real and the prominent subject before the House.

'I pass then to the second part of my Noble Friend's motion, that which more directly relates to the internal situation of our country, and to the threatened interruption of its domestic tranquillity. On many parts of this subject, we are all agreed. If, by whatever means, either of previous preparation, or present distress, evil-minded men are endeavouring to plunge us into the unmeasurable calamities of civil discord, our duties cannot be doubtful. To our Sovereign, and to our country, to the British nation, and to the whole civilized world, we are answerable for the preservation and maintenance of our religion and morals, of our laws and government. To our peaceable and loyal fellow-subjects, we owe the defence and security of their rights, properties, and

and lives. To the deluded victims of these machinations, we have also a duty to discharge; a duty of protection and kindness. We owe it to them, and it is the greatest of all benefits which can be conferred upon them, to rescue them, if it be still possible, from the seduction and treachery by which they are beset; and to remove from their paths and dwellings, the snares unceasingly laid for their destruction. This is the office of their true friends; their bitterest enemies are those who are labouring to inflame their sufferings into disaffection and treason.

'To the execution of these great and awful trusts, let us then apply ourselves with diligence and resolution: neither disguising from ourselves the real extent of the evil, nor shrinking from the remedies, unpleasing as they may be, which it must unavoidably require. Our danger is no longer to be searched for in hidden consultations or secret conspiracies. It courts our notice, it obtrudes itself on our attention. We are daily assailed with undisguised menace, and are little removed from the immediate expectation of open violence. Let us, then, attentively review the steps which have brought us to this situation. Observe their beginnings, consider well their rapidly accelerated progress—You will find them in near conformity to all that led to the subversion and misery of France. A close and striking resemblance, a servile, yet ostentatious imitation, which it is of the utmost importance that we should forcibly impress upon our minds! If such a parallel were found, even in the remotest history, yet, of the remotest history what better use could we make, than to draw from it whatever conclusions it affords of policy or wisdom, applicable to our own condition? Shall we, on the contrary, now in the hour of our own peril, strive to banish from our thoughts and counsels all memory of this recent and forcible example! We, the nearest spectators of that dreadful convulsion, our minds still shuddering at its crimes, our hearts still bleeding at its miseries, shall we turn aside from the painful but instructive lesson, and in wilful blindness close our eyes against the prophetic mirror which exhibits to ourselves, in the progress of the same machinations, the fearful advance of the same destruction? No, my Lords, let not the warning voice have been heard in vain! We have shared deeply in that widely-extended calamity; the bitter draught which France prepared for herself, has overflowed into our cup. Let us at least derive from it the benefits of an experience so dearly purchased! Observe what were the beginnings of that great catastrophe; follow up its progress; mark by what course it reached its terrible consummation; trace it through subversion and ruin, through plunder and confiscation, through slaughter and massacre, till all was swallowed up in military despotism!

'What first occurred? The whole nation was inundated with inflammatory and poisonous publications. Its very soil was deluged with sedition and blasphemy. No effort was omitted of base and disgusting mockery, of sordid and unblushing calumny, which could vilify and degrade whatever that people had been most accustomed to love and venerate. No artifice, no incitement, was left untried, which could stimulate the deluded multitude to the most savage acts of insult and outrage, of violence and fury, against the Ministers of their religion, and the dispensers of their government

government and law; against all who were eminent for birth or rank, for talent or for virtue, and against those most especially, who had been most distinguished as their kindest friends, protectors and benefactors!

'Who is there that is not struck with the resemblance of this picture? Who can be ignorant how closely this detestable and malignant wickedness has been imitated in our own country, how long it has been pursued, and to what a height it has now attained? You heard the papers read to you this night by my Noble Friend, and you shuddered at the recital. Exhortations to murder and treason, from which the heart recoils, and the blood turns back to its fountain! If these were only a few and extraordinary instances, exceptions to the general character of the publications daily obtruded on all the lower classes of your community, yet against these, no doubt, you would call down the vengeance of the Law, against these the arm of justice would be directed with universal concurrence and approbation. But it is from a torrent and deluge of such mischief that you are now called upon to protect your Country. The poison has been profusely scattered throughout the land: it has pervaded not only your towns and manufactories, but your peaceful villages and farms. Its malignity is hourly increasing, and fresh activity is employed in its diffusion. This, my Lords, is the true root and source of all your danger; against this, no social institutions can possibly maintain themselves; it is incompatible with all peace, all security, all public, and all private happiness. It is of power, and it openly boasts itself to be of power, to overthrow all that is now standing in this country; and to level in the dust all your prosperity and all your glory, involved in one common ruin with the magnificent and splendid fabric of the noblest government which has ever yet provided for the welfare of any society.

'In this unbounded licentiousness of an inflammatory press, pointing continually the poisoned weapons of sedition and blasphemy against all that constitutes human happiness in present possession, or in future hope, shall we content ourselves with asking, as my Noble Friend has done, why the voice of the law has been silent, and the terrors of its arm unnerved? We must now, indeed, all regret the too sparing exercise of powers, which our ancestors had, with more provident wisdom, interwoven into our Constitution; we must lament the too reluctant discharge of duties, of which no discouragement could ever justify the dereliction. But we must also confess, that this forbearance is of no recent date. Indulgent as your laws have been, in all that affects this subject, their execution has, for a long time back, been yet more tolerant, even of acknowledged wrong. And happy is that condition of society, in which the mildest laws may, without injury to the public interests, be still more mildly administered! This had been our fortunate situation; and this, in consequence, had been our practice. May both speedily return to us! Soon may we again be enabled to boast, as Englishmen, not only of the unexampled freedom of our press, but also of its comparative exemption from those enormous evils to which such freedom, great as are its benefits, does, in its abuse, open so wide a field. But such, unhappily, is not our present state. We feel, too sensibly,

sensibly, its altered character. I speak it with the deepest affliction; lamenting the change which I have witnessed, and deploring the necessity to which it leads. But we must not forget, that it is to the actual condition and exigencies of every society, that its legislation must conform itself, and that when new evil arises, it must be met by new remedies.

'When this current of mischief, uncontrolled, and bearing down before it every barrier of public authority or law, had thus far succeeded to sap the foundations of civil society, what next ensued? The next step has been the same here as in the French revolution. The formation of local societies, clubs, and unions, of various description, sedulously contrived and organized, for the diffusion of these impious and destructive doctrines, by frequent and familiar intercourse, and for the establishment of an extensive concert and co-operation in the prosecution of the only practical results to which such principles can lead.

'And when at last, by the unremitted effect of all this seduction, considerable portions of the multitude had been deeply tainted, their minds prepared for acts of desperation, and familiarized with the thought of crimes, at the bare mention of which they would before have revolted, then it was that they were encouraged to collect together in large and tumultuous bodies;—then it was that they were invited to feel their own strength; to estimate and to display their numerical force; and to manifest, in the face of day, their inveterate hostility to all the institutions of their country, and their open defiance of all its authorities.

'The question therefore on which we are now compelled to deliberate is nothing less than this, whether Parliament shall continue to disregard this fast accumulating danger, conscious of its progress, and certain of its inevitable tendency; or shall oppose to it a vigorous and effectual resistance, before it reaches the gates of the sanctuary, and shakes the pillars of the commonwealth?

'If, indeed, this resistance be not now made, one other period only of resistance can remain; that in which the evil shall have reached its last stage, shall have assumed its last hideous form of open insurrection and declared rebellion. Then, indeed, it will be resisted, and I have no doubt, effectually. The British nation is not of a character to suffer its government to be overwhelmed by a tumultuous populace, by whatever artifices excited against it. The great and enlightened body of the inhabitants of this Country, the People of England, truly so called, will never submit themselves to see, by the effect of such machinations, their laws subverted, their property confiscated, and their lives made the sport and prey of some ferocious and sanguinary demagogue. But to meet and to subdue the danger, if once suffered to assume this shape, force must be opposed to force. Recourse must unavoidably be had to those means of repression and defence at the thought of which every British heart bleeds. I will not dwell upon them; the task would be too painful. Sure I am, that the bare imagination of such a contest, aye, and the very circumstances with which success itself must be attended, will be the strongest of all inducements to urge and to compel your

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your Lordships, by provident and timely interposition, to avert that dreadful, but otherwise inevitable, necessity.

'The resistance which you may now make is of a very different character; resistance by Law; by the authority of the Legislature; by the intervention of the Civil government. Can it be doubtful which we should prefer? But the crisis is arrived in which this option must finally be made; the decision must now be taken, and must now be acted upon. If it be still postponed, the choice may probably no longer rest with ourselves. And yet, placed as we are in such circumstances as these, deliberating on the exigencies of such a moment, in what manner is it that we are advised to commence our measures for the repression of those enormities which threaten to involve us in civil bloodshed? By suspicion and distrust, directed not against the authors of the mischief, but against those by whom it has been hitherto successfully, though imperfectly, counteracted: by inquiries into the conduct of our magistrates, and of those who have supported them in the discharge of their painful duties. Shall we accede to this proposal? Do we wish to debilitate all our efforts; to cast away from us our readiest and surest resources; to undermine the best bulwarks of our defence; and to shake to its foundations all hope of mutual confidence, and united exertion? If such were our desire, most powerfully would this course contribute to its accomplishment. My Noble Friend, I am certain, has no such wish: far, very far, is it from his intention to produce so great an evil. I am well assured of it. But I am not the less convinced that such would be the unfailing consequence of your adopting this suggestion.

'For I entreat your Lordships to ask yourselves, what has been the real character, and what the immediate object, of these tumultuary assemblies, to which the present motion refers, and against which your magistrates have finally been compelled to exert the full extent of their constitutional authority. Examine them in all their circumstances; mark their previous preparation, and their actual conduct; the emblems displayed, the language held, the resolutions adopted; and let it then be explained, if any such explanation can be given, for what other purpose such proceedings were intended, but for menace and intimidation,—the most powerful of all revolutionary engines, the very instruments by which in France all religion, law, and government, were levelled to the earth! To strike terror into the peaceable and well-affected; to deter them from supporting the public authorities in the hour of danger; to alarm and to dispirit those authorities themselves, and to drive them, if it were possible, to a desertion of their highest duties:—Such, and such alone, were the consequences naturally to be expected by those with whom these projects originated; and such, we are informed by the papers on our table, are the effects which have already, in some degree, been actually produced.'——*Grenville*, pp. 21—33.

In exact accordance with these impressive representations, is the shorter, but not less graphical view of the same subject, taken

taken by Mr. Plunket. He is alluding in the outset of the following passage, to that courteous reception of the milder projects of parliamentary reform, with which some of the chiefs of opposition were inclined to temper and qualify their reprobation of the broader changes proposed by the professors of radicalism. One only liberty we shall take in transcribing the passage referred to; it is that of substituting the person of the orator himself for that of the reporter.

'It is stated, in the speech from the throne, that a revolutionary spirit is at work in the country, which threatens its safety and its existence; and the truth of this statement is not denied, but indeed admitted, by the amendment: Is it then perfectly fair to call the attention of the House from the consideration of this public danger, and its remedies, —from the machinations and arts of those who are preparing measures for the subversion of the state, and the overthrow of every constituted authority,—to the plans and objects of that portion of the peaceful and loyal subjects of this country, who respect the law and constitution, and are desirous of improving them? This latter description of persons are entitled to the most attentive and respectful consideration. However I may differ from them, on the subject of parliamentary reform, I consider their objects as honest, and their means of effecting them as constitutional. Whenever, at any proper time, and in any proper form, their claims shall be brought before Parliament, they should be listened to with attention, and with respect. Their proposals, if reasonable, should be yielded to; if not so, should be met by fair argument and calm discussion: and the result, in either event, will be satisfactory and conciliating. The people of England are a reasoning and reasonable people: but is it fair, either to them or to the country, to confound their cause and their objects, with the persons whom we now are called upon to deal with, whose undisguised aim is to pull down the entire fabric of our constitution, and to effect a revolution by force? Against this immediate and overwhelming danger it is the first duty of Parliament to provide. And to turn aside from the discharge of this urgent and paramount duty, to the discussion of subjects of inferior importance, and of distinct consideration, would be an abandonment of the interests of the country. When I see a revolutionary project ripe for execution—when I see that sedition and blasphemy are the instruments by which it works, and that open force is to be employed for its accomplishment,—I feel it to be trifling with the duties of the House, and with the safety of the country, to turn our view to any other object, until the terrors which hang over our existing establishments are first dispelled.

'No person, I am happy to see, denies the existence of these dangers; but I think there is some tendency to underrate their extent, and to undervalue their consequence. It is said, that the public mind in general is sound: I trust and firmly believe it is so. I am convinced that the strength and spirit of the loyal subjects are sufficient to put down the enemies of law and of order; I therefore am apprehensive, not of revolution, but of the attempt at revolution, which I believe in my

my conscience will be made, if not prevented by the vigilance and energy of Parliament: and what I contemplate with the deepest alarm is, the miseries which such an attempt, in its progress to certain and necessary failure, must produce.—If this mischief should once burst forth, I anticipate a series of horrors which must shake the safety and happiness of this country to its foundations.—The very circumstances which must ensure the ultimate failure of the enterprise aggravate its dangers. Revolution, always calamitous, yet, when pursued for some definite purpose, conducted by abilities, tempered by the admixture of rank and of property, may be effected, as it has before been in this country, without any incurable shock being given to the safety of persons or of property. But here is a revolution to be achieved by letting loose the physical force of the community against its constituted authorities; a revolution for the sake of revolution; to take away the property of the rich, and to distribute it among the rabble; and this, too, no ordinary rabble, but one previously debauched by the unremitting dissemination of blasphemous libels, and freed from the restraints of moral or religious feeling. On this subject I feel sufficient confidence at once to express my opinion, without waiting for any of those documents which the noble Lord proposes to lay before the House. There are facts of public notoriety, known and seen by every man who does not choose to shut his eyes. Have not meetings been proposed for the purpose of assuming the functions which belong only to the sovereign power of the state—meetings, which, if they had been actually held, would have been acts of high treason? When it was found that matters were not sufficiently ripe for this undisguised act of public rebellion, have not the same masses of the populace been again convened, under the direction of the same leaders, under the pretext of seeking universal suffrage and annual parliaments, —their very pretexts such as the constitution could not survive, if they were effectuated, but their real object being to overawe the constituted authorities by the display of their numerical strength, and to prepare for direct, immediate, forcible revolution? Have we not seen the same itinerant mountebank, who set their powers in motion, publicly assisting at the orgies of the blasphemous wretch lately convicted? and can we doubt that treason is the object, and that blasphemy and sedition are the means? When I see these fiends in human shape endeavouring to rob their unhappy victims of all their consolations here, and of all their hopes hereafter,—when I see them with their levers placed under the great pillars of social order, and heaving the constitution from its foundation, I am rejoiced to see Parliament assembled. Our first duty is to convince these enemies of God and man, that within the walls of Parliament they can find no countenance; and through the organ of Parliament to let them know, that nothing awaits them but indignant resistance from the great body of the people.'—*Plunket*, pp. 6—10.

The following extract from Mr. Canning contains a miniature *whole-length* of the leaders of this conspiracy. He has just been shewing, with unanswerable force of reasoning, that the various local petitions for a parliamentary inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester,

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Manchester, furnished little or no argument for such an inquiry, inasmuch as they were, for the most part, grounded on clear and glaring misapprehensions, both of law and fact. He then proceeds in a passage, some part of which may perhaps be thought to exhibit a sensibility justly edged by personal recollections.

'Deduct, therefore, the amount of the impression made by these, and abundance of other similar fables; deduct the effect of the persuasion, (the assumed, uncontroverted, and unquestioned persuasion,) that the Manchester Meeting was a legal meeting; and then judge, whether public meetings, proceeding to discussion under such influences, could have decided with equity and temper; whether we should not do those meetings the greatest possible injustice if we were to imagine that they would, under better information, persevere in decisions so unfairly and surreptitiously obtained? No, Sir, it is not till all the meetings which assembled during the prevalence of these mistakes and delusions, shall have re-resolved all their Resolutions, with the full knowledge that the Manchester Meeting was *illegal*,—that the Magistrates were *not* "master manufacturers,"—that the swords of the yeomanry were *not* sharpened with a view to the 16th of August,—and that the horrible stories, of which that related by the Member for Norfolk is a specimen, were *not* true,—that we can have a pretence for granting a Parliamentary inquiry, on the ground that the country demands it.

'Undoubtedly, Sir, the Meeting at Manchester was attended with great and grievous calamities. Much suffering was occasioned by it to all classes of the inhabitants of that place; and the loss of lives which occurred in the dispersion of the assembly must be deplored by every mind that has the smallest tincture of humanity. In deploring those occurrences, I yield to no man living. But I know how cautiously I must deal with matters of this kind. I know well the nature of the artifices too successfully practised by those who endeavour to pervert the public judgment by the slander of individual character. *Experto credite.* The process is of this kind:—An incendiary narrator of what passed at Manchester, affirms, perhaps, that "one hundred persons were slain." Suppose, indignant at this extravagant falsehood, I answer, "No, no, not a hundred, the number of sufferers was six only." "Six *only!*" is then the exclamation, "O barbarian! it is thus that you trifle with the sacrifice of human life!" This, Sir, is the common trick. It consists in first putting forth a monstrous exaggeration of calamity for the express purpose of inviting contradiction; and then holding up to public indignation the man who reduces the exaggeration to the reality, as if he were the unfeeling defender and approver of whatever part of the calamity he does not deny. The trick is at last found out; but it has unhappily too often done its work for the day, before detection. The agents who employ it know their lesson well. The school in which they learned it is that of the French Revolution. It is the old trick of 1794 and 1795; the too successful expedient of Marat and Robespierre. But, deplorable and extensive as the calamities of the 16th of August were, to whom are they to be attributed? Is it

it not to those, who actuated by selfish motives of ambition—(no, I will not say ambition; I will not squander a word often applied to nobler aspirations on such base designs)—is it not to those who seek mischief for mischief's sake;—who would let loose the whirlwind, though with the conscious incapacity to direct it;—who would lay the fabric of social order in ruin, not so much in the hope of rising upon that ruin, as for the satisfaction of contemplating the havoc and desolation which they had made;—who, outcasts of society, would revenge themselves upon society by scattering and dissolving the very elements of which it is composed;—Is it not to such persons,—to the assemblers of those alarming multitudes, under the preposterous pretence of petition or deliberation, but in fact for the purposes of intimidation and disorder,—that are to be justly attributed all the consequences which follow upon assemblages so wantonly congregated, and upon passions so wickedly inflamed? To *them* the widowed mother and orphan child must trace their miseries! On *their* heads be for ever fixed the responsibility of all the blood that has been shed.'—pp. 17—20.

Even in this powerful anathema, the speaker appears to us to have been, on the whole, rather sparing of imputation. He tells us that the *radical* gentlemen 'love mischief for mischief's sake.' As we have before said in this article, we are not able to think so well of them. A Penny-subscription is a very substantial reason why such patriots should love mischief. They are fortune-hunters, who will not court even deformity itself, until they have found out that she is well-portioned.

Our limits will not permit of our transcribing at length the convincing observations contained in these speeches, on the circumstances of the Manchester meeting, the conduct of the magistrates, and the approbation of that conduct by the government. Yet it would be unpardonable not to give some specimens. Lord Grenville, after reprobating the disposition shewn in too many parts of the country to prejudge the case of the magistrates, thus continues:

'Far different was the situation of the king's ministers: they had a regular and constitutional duty to perform. It would, in them, have been, not only an unworthy and base abandonment of all honourable feeling, but a positive dereliction of official trust, if they had withheld from the magistrates their judgment upon the conduct pursued in circumstances so critical. That judgment they were bound to form, and they were bound to act upon it; they were responsible for it to Parliament and to the laws; and it was their duty to communicate it to those whom the Constitution has placed under their direction. If your Lordships could doubt this principle, I would entreat you to consider the reverse of the proposition. Imagine, then, for a moment, that, instead of a reluctant interposition for the maintenance of the public peace, against a tumultuary and menacing array, there had been the most open and wanton violation of unquestionable right; that the ma-

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gistrates, for instance, had dispersed by force the freeholders of their county, peaceably and regularly assembled under the authority of the sheriff, and in obedience to the king's writ, for the choice of their representatives in parliament—Would your Lordships endure to be told that, in such a case, the king's secretary of state had remained silent? Would you not require it to be proved to you, that not a moment had been lost by the servants of the crown, both in condemning and in repressing this outrageous infraction of the constitution? And if it be the duty of persons placed in such stations to convey censure where censure is due, who will be found to argue that the more pleasing duty of expressing merited approbation is alone to be withheld from them?

'And in this view of the case, my Lords, let me now beseech you to turn your attention for a moment from its general principles, such as I have hitherto endeavoured to establish them, to the actual situation and real conduct of the individuals most concerned in it: of those gentlemen who have received from the ministers of their sovereign this testimony of public gratitude, but whom it is now proposed to your Lordships to hold out to the world as the first objects of your suspicion and jealousy.

'If there be one among the many noble institutions of *this country*, which can with more confidence than any other be exhibited to foreign nations as a matter of exclusive triumph to the British name, it is the manner in which local justice is administered, especially in our counties, by the persons who gratuitously undertake that task, under the king's commission of the peace. I need not describe, and no words could magnify the labour, the self-devotion, the pure benevolence, the unspotted integrity, with which this duty is discharged. The fact is universally admitted; all men of liberal and enlightened minds repose the fullest confidence in the proceedings of this upright *and truly* honourable magistracy. The law itself establishes in their behalf, from long experience of their conduct, a presumption of pure intention, and even a favourable construction of error, such as may occasionally, though it rarely does, arise from unprofessional education, or from human infirmity.

'But the merit of the individuals, whom this motion would place almost in a state of accusation, does not rest merely on this general ground of habitual and honourable service. It was explained to us in our last debate, but it is of the utmost importance to be repeated, that this duty was undertaken and performed by them in no common manner. During the course of last summer the two great counties of Lancashire and Cheshire were exposed to imminent danger of tumult and violence, from the effect of those seditious and traitorous machinations of which I have already spoken. In such a situation, their security, and most especially the security of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, required a more than usual degree of vigilance, and a constant and unremitting attention and superintendence. And for this special service a committee was formed out of the whole body of the truly respectable magistracy of those counties. It must be remembered that the danger, though more urgent in a few particular

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lar places, was not confined to them, but was extensively and widely diffused. In such circumstances, therefore, these gentlemen, in the same manner as all the other peaceable and loyal inhabitants of this whole district, had the deepest interest in watching each of them over the tranquillity and safety of their own immediate neighbourhood. In a season of so much alarm, the care of their own properties, the protection of their own houses, families, and dependants, would naturally demand their constant presence, and personal exertions. But these considerations they disregarded; their houses and their families they left to the protection of their country; they assembled at Manchester; and there they continued to hold their sittings, because there was the chief root of the evil—there the scene of greatest peril—there the utmost certainty of benefitting the public by their patriotic and voluntary labours. With such feelings, and such conduct, your lordships may well believe that personal danger was the subject which least occupied their thoughts. But they also knew that there were other perils to be encountered: they could not but feel the heavy responsibility to which they would thus be subjected; they could not be ignorant, that if the painful necessity should arise of employing force for the maintenance of the public peace, no industry would be spared, no artifice, no calumny untried, which could excite the prejudices, or inflame the feelings of a humane and generous people. They were sure that their motives would be misrepresented, their actions vilified, their characters defamed. But they suffered no such apprehensions to deter them from rendering to their country what they justly deemed a most important and necessary service. They relied, first, on the uprightness of their own intentions, and on the consciousness of that pure and public spirit, by which alone they were actuated; they thought perhaps that they might securely trust to the dispassionate and impartial judgment of their fellow-subjects; they certainly looked with confidence to the honourable feelings of your Lordships, and to the well-earned favour and protection of the British parliament.

'In the execution of this service, their forbearance was long and enduring; but the time at length arrived when it could no longer be maintained. To have neglected to interpose against the dangers justly apprehended from the meeting of the 10th of August, would, in their view of honour and duty, have been a manifest violation of both, and a total abandonment of the awful trust which they had undertaken under circumstances of such peculiar obligation. They were well apprized of the nature and extent of the previous preparations made for that assembly; they were eye-witnesses of its menacing array; no doubt was left on their own minds of its real character and tendency; their apprehensions of its too probable result were confirmed and strengthened by those of the peaceable inhabitants of Manchester; their protection was demanded, and it could not legally be refused: And, had they hesitated on that day to assert and to enforce the law, he must, indeed, be a bold man who will venture to affirm that the consequences of such an error could ever have been retrieved.

'The tumultuous and insurrectionary spirit which produced that

meeting, was not, however, extinguished by its dispersion. There was no hope that it could be so. The mischief continued to extend itself, and the dangers in which so large and so important a district of this kingdom was thus involved, have made it ultimately necessary that Parliament should be assembled to provide effectually for our common security.

'In this situation we are now met. The eyes of all are upon us. There is no state in Europe which does not feel its own security involved in that of the British government. There is no individual, capable of appreciating the real interests of society,—no friend of order,—no lover of virtue,—but looks with anxious solicitude to the conduct of parliament in this great conjuncture. What, then, would be the impressions of mankind;—what would be the appearance which we should exhibit to this country, and to the world, if our first step for the security of lawful government should be to discredit and to degrade our upright and honourable magistracy? What would be thought of our wisdom,—what of our justice,—should we turn aside our eyes from the violators of the public peace, and fix them with jealous suspicion on its champions and asserters; exerting the great powers with which we are invested for the public safety, not against the savage depredators of the fold, but against its faithful and intrepid guardians? I have heard of many instances of public ingratitude: History is full of unrequited merit,—of services repaid by oppression and injury. But, I trust, we shall suffer no such example to stain our own records,—no such stigma to be fixed on the proceedings of this day. No, my Lords! Respect the feelings of honourable men, who have well discharged an arduous and painful duty! Treat with affection and kindness those branches of the public defence, to which you are already so much indebted! Inspire them with fresh confidence in themselves, and with fresh attachment to the constitution and legislature of their country! On them is our firmest reliance; in their zeal,—in their exertions,—is our best hope of security against every difficulty which now surrounds us, and against every danger which we may still be destined to encounter.'—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 43—51.

The topic which forms the ground-work of this extract, has been touched by Mr. Canning also, and in a lofty strain at once of constitutional feeling and senatorian eloquence. It is introduced by some unanswerable observations, (a part of which only we can afford to insert,) on the injustice and absurdity of instituting a parliamentary inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester:

'There is still another view, however, of the proposed investigation,—its effect on the character of the House of Commons. I do not attribute to the right hon. gentleman who moved the amendment, the design of bringing the house into disgrace: but I must say that, if the amendment had been proposed by any of the—I am at a loss how to denominate them—the white hatted gentry, I should suspect that they had a double game in view. For if, by such evidence as has been described, the House should be surprised into a decision against the magistrates

magistrates, then the vengeance of the radical reformers would be fully gratified. If, on the contrary, the magistrates should be discharged of all blame by a vote of the House, there would then be afforded a new ground of clamour against the House of Commons. Either result would be delicious to those gentlemen. In the one event, they would crush the men whose firmness had defeated their machinations; in the other, they would gain a new power for undermining the Constitution. But, as the House itself cannot possibly have either of those objects in view, I trust, that they will not hesitate to put an end to the alternative by rejecting the amendment.

'So great is the inconvenience of involving this House unnecessarily in judicial investigation, that I confess I can conceive few cases, except those which require the exercise of the power of impeachment, in which the interposition of the House of Commons is not attended with a risk of interrupting the course of justice, and of throwing discredit on the ordinary administration of the laws. What can be a stronger proof of this tendency than the sort of use which an honourable gentleman has thought himself warranted to make, in the debate of this day, of the short-hand report of an unfinished law proceeding,—the Coroner's Inquest at Oldham? What business has the House of Commons with that proceeding,—which is now under revisal by the proper authority, the Court of King's Bench?—or what advantage can be derived to the cause of law or liberty by the attempt to cast odium on judicial proceedings? The ill example that is sometimes set in this House, is followed but too closely elsewhere. The Coroner's Inquest is, to be sure, a tribunal of secondary dignity: but when before was any Magistrate, however inferior in dignity, braved and brow-beaten, day after day, upon the bench? When before was the majesty of justice insulted in her own temple, as has been lately practised in courts of still higher—of the highest—authority!—I trust that there is not in this House, or in the country, a warmer friend of rational liberty than myself; but amongst the first elements of liberty I have always understood to be the separation of administrative and judicial functions; and every attempt to unite them in the same hands must, in my opinion, be attended with danger to the Constitution.

'But it is not only the courts of law, (which may, perhaps, heretofore have been reviled by those on whom it was their duty to inflict the penalties of justice,—though never before so openly and grossly insulted) —it is not the courts of law only that in these days are held up to suspicion and hatred:—but other, the most favourite institutions of British judicial administration; institutions which are peculiar to England, and which excite, beyond all others, the admiration and envy of foreign nations. Even the sacred name of juries has been tainted with insinuation; and the unpaid magistracy of the country are attempted to be degraded in the public esteem. As if renouncing the high station which we maintain in Europe, as if anxious to deter those nations which have followed our steps in victory from imitating (as they are eagerly bent on doing) our example in civil life, we have persons among us who are busily employed in defaming those invaluable institutions

which are at once the pride and the safeguard of our civil polity. Depend upon it, Sir, if these attempts should be successful, the evil which they entail will be altogether irreparable. One of the most beautiful of our moral poets has said, of the lower classes of the agricultural part of the community—that

> " Princes and Lords may flourish, or may fade;
> A breath can make them as a breath has made:
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroy'd can never be supplied."

' So say I of the higher ranks of that same portion of the community —the unpaid magistracy of the country.—I do not dread the inroads attempted to be made on the constitution of parliament, with half the horror that I do the efforts to disparage the character of that magistracy. A new House of Commons might be elected. The monarch might create new peers. New statesmen would be found to conduct the affairs of government, if the present race of public men were swept from the earth. But once " destroy" that which " can never be supplied," the voluntary and gratuitous dispensation of justice; once sour the public against that, perhaps the sole, remnant of natural authority; once thoroughly disgust and dishearten that thankless *self-devotion*, that unbought sacrifice of time and trouble, that benevolent homage of power and wealth to the interests of the humble and the poor, which characterize the country magistracy;—let that connecting link between the higher and the lower orders of society be once broken,—and by that single blow more will be done to disjoint the state, than could be accomplished by the radical reformers, with all their outrageous declarations, and with all their pikes—when they shall use them.'—*Canning*, p. 27—31.

Sir James Mackintosh having contended, as the reports in the newspapers inform us, that parliament alone could adequately conduct an inquiry into the misdeeds of the Manchester Magistrates, Mr. Plunket first, and then Mr. Canning, in the following pleasant and conclusive passages, seem to have happily disposed of one of the arguments by which that proposition was supported.

' But the honourable and learned member says, that the Court of King's Bench will not interfere, unless the magistrate acted wilfully; and that he might commit an error which would not subject him to punishment: Is this, then, a ground for parliamentary interference, to stop the course of law, and subject the public functionary to an extraordinary visitation of public vengeance? Are the different points of the argument of the honourable and learned member altogether reconcileable? When his object is to make out a case so important as to call for parliamentary inquiry, he states the conduct of the magistrates as a daring violation of the subject's privileges, a triumph of authority over law, a foul stain upon our laws, forming a black era in the annals of our country; but when it becomes an object to shew that there may be a case in which the courts of law would be incompetent to investigate the truth,

truth, then this foul deed, this portentous violation of the laws and of the constitution, dwindles into an error in judgment, too slight and too pardonable to warrant the interference of the Court of King's Bench. Is such an error, if it exists, I will ask, a case for parliamentary inquiry? Is this the way in which the conduct of magistrates is to be examined by parliament?'—*Plunket*, pp. 14, 15.

'My honourable and learned friend is far too wise and too wary to pledge himself to an opinion in favour of the *legality* of the meeting of the 16th of August; he knows well, moreover, that if any excesses were committed in the dispersion of even an illegal meeting, the tribunals of the law are open for redress: but being desirous, at the same time, of making out a case to shew that the proceedings at Manchester ought to be made the subject of parliamentary inquiry, he has been driven to the most whimsical refinements in support of this proposition. Others have stated the magnitude of the question, as a cogent reason for the intervention of parliament; but my learned friend contends, on the contrary, that the subject is of so subtle a nature, that the searching minuteness of parliamentary investigation can alone bear upon it with effect. The powers of the House, like the proboscis of an elephant, are now to be expanded to embrace the largest objects; and again to be contracted, that they may lay hold of the smallest. They are to tear up an oak, or to pick up a pin. Others have charged upon the magistrates the most atrocious wickedness,—falsehood, treachery, wilful breach of law, and deliberate murder;—and have contended, that the bar of the House of Commons is the only tribunal whose jurisdiction is sufficiently grand and awful to comprehend the enormity of such crimes. My honourable and learned friend, on the contrary, suggests that the guilt of the magistrates may possibly be no more than a small error in discretion; and it is therefore that *he* thinks the bar of the House of Commons the fit tribunal, as being the only one whose touch is fine enough to handle an offence so delicate and evanescent!'—*Canning*, pp. 20—22.

The *legality* of the Manchester meeting was of course one of the topics the most copiously discussed in both houses. In the extracts that ensue, the question seems to be set at rest for ever.

'Doctrines, new to my ears, have indeed been recently promulgated on this subject. The notion, wild as it is, seems actually to have prevailed in some quarters, that no assembly of any part of the people of this realm can be deemed illegal, be they armed or unarmed, arrayed or unarrayed, from whatever quarters collected, in whatever numbers, or under whatever previous or attendant circumstances; unless the fact of present violence, or at least, the intention of present violence can be proved against them. I have no pretensions to deep skill in the science of our law; but directly opposite is this doctrine to all which I either learnt in my youth, or have at any time since collected, either from books, or from living authorities; utterly repugnant to any lights which our own experience or history affords,

and in manifest contradiction to the plainest principles, by which all civil societies are connected and upheld. I have been taught that, independently of actual or meditated violence, every sort of menace, intimidation, and array of force, are in themselves abundantly sufficient to stamp on such proceedings the plainest characters of illegality. Every assembly held *in terrorem populi*, the English law, as I have always been instructed, does in express terms declare to be unlawful. No such menace, no such intimidation, no such array, have ever yet been tolerated under the British Government. And it is among the first elements of all political science, that men combine in civil society, to obtain for themselves and for their families, not only the safe enjoyment of life, and property, and peaceful occupation, but also the full and undisturbed confidence and assurance of that safety. Banish this principle from the British Constitution, establish the contrary doctrine, if any one can now be found to maintain it, and your Government must thenceforth, in self-defence, assume an attitude purely military, armed in never-ceasing preparation to meet a danger perpetually arrayed against it; while your people must, for the same cause, revert to the condition of savages, relying for personal security, not on the warranty of law, and the protection of a common government, but on the exertions of individual strength, or on the separate support of partial associations.'—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 33—35.

'The general and broad principle is unequivocally laid down. Actual safety, and full assurance of safety, are alike the right of all; the right of the individual, and the right of the Public. It is for Magistrates, and Courts, and Juries, to apply this universal rule to the infinitely-varying circumstances of each particular occasion.

'Where such a discretion was to be exercised by so many different persons, and in so many various instances, we cannot be surprised to find some seeming contrariety both of opinion and of conduct; the result, sometimes perhaps of real differences between cases apparently similar, and sometimes of the opposite judgments formed on the same circumstances, even by the most enlightened men. The mere want of uniformity affords therefore no ground for censure, nor any presumption of misconduct. But I will not disguise my own impressions on the subject. The facts themselves are not fully known to us: we cannot, therefore, speak decisively of the conduct to which they led. It does, however, appear to me that the indulgence of the Magistrate has, in almost all these instances, been carried to the very utmost extent, which was consistent with the public safety; and on more than one occasion, I think it has been pushed to an extreme, productive of considerable evil. It is no light matter, to have witnessed these repeated and ostentatious defiances of Law and Government, even where they have not as yet been followed by actual violence. It is no pleasing recollection, that our greatest manufacturing towns, and this Metropolis itself, the capital and seat of our Empire, have, even for the shortest time, been placed, as it were, in a state of siege: their business interrupted, their industry suspended; waiting in fearful expectation of impending tumult, or looking for protection to troops collected with difficulty,

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ficulty, and harassed with preparations and marches, as in the presence of an enemy.

'The wisdom of this forbearance may well be questioned, though I am sure we all sympathize in the kind and benevolent feelings in which it originated. But it would be strange perversion of reasoning to maintain, that because it had been pushed thus far, it was in future to have no limit; that because so much had been tolerated, all was thenceforth to be permitted. We have neglected the out-works, must we therefore surrender the citadel? We have disregarded the approaches of the storm, must we take no measures of security when it rages with redoubled violence? Where danger was less imminent, your Magistrates had been content to overlook it. Does it therefore follow, that no menace, no defiance, no hostility, no nearer and more urgent peril, could justify their final resolution, to interpose for the safety of a great commercial town, and for the tranquillity of a populous and wealthy district? If such be your opinion, the whole foundations of our Government are already broken up! Let it then be openly avowed! Let us not deceive our country with the semblance of authorities, which are no longer to exist. Let it be declared and known that the King's Commission of the Peace is henceforth to be unattended with any power, or any duty, to give protection to his faithful and loyal subjects!'—*Lord Grenville*, p. 37—40.

'With the exception of the Honourable Baronet* opposite, no one who has touched on the meeting at Manchester, has spoken of the designs of the movers of that meeting, manifested not only by their own declarations, but by all their preparations, their emblems and their array, as other than most wicked and indefensible. The Honourable Baronet, indeed, has talked of the flags unfurled on that occasion, as mere matters of parade. But who does not know, that banners, ribbons, and other such devices, may be as clear indications of purpose as words? When some years ago, an orange cockade was worn, on particular days, in Ireland, (much more generally than I believe and hope it is at present,) would it have been an answer to the complaints against such a practice, to say, "What signifies a yellow ribbon?"—Such things have great signification. Who but the Honourable Baronet can doubt, that the flags of the meeting at Manchester meant defiance? What could the inscription "Equal Representation or Death" intend, but that those displaying it were solicitous for that which was incompatible with the Constitution, and that they were ready to purchase it with their blood? Can such a meeting be legal? Is it possible that any one of the contrivers or abettors of it could seriously imagine it to be so? Can it be deemed so, in common sense? The common law (as has been truly said by the Right Hon. and learned gentleman,†) is the perfection of common sense: but what law or what sense can consider as peaceable and legal, meetings of forty or fifty thousand persons, convened by no known authority, and marching together in military array, at which doctrines subversive of the Constitution were promulgated

* Sir Francis Burdett. † Mr. Plunket.

without

without disguise, and the determination to carry those doctrines into effect by physical force was audaciously avowed?

'I will borrow, on this point, an illustration with which the speech of this Hon. and learned friend has furnished me.* My Hon. and learned friend has told us, that Lancashire has at different periods been the seat of different kinds of disaffection; of Jacobitism, in the last century, as of Jacobinism at present. Now, I will ask my Hon. and learned friend; nay, I will appeal to any one of the Hon. gentlemen opposite,—to any Whig amongst them,—for an answer to this question, —If in the year 1715, or in the year 1745, or in any year between those two periods, fifty or twenty or ten thousand Lancashire Jacobites had assembled by beat of drum, on the 10th of June, with white roses in their hats, and with the motto "Legitimate Monarchy" embroidered on their standards, would that have been a legal assembly? If any unfortunate Tory had, after such an occurrence, stood up in Parliament, and protested that those symbols were perfectly innocent of any improper meaning;—that white was no colour—and that the words "Legitimate Monarchy" referred, beyond all question, to the Royal Family just established by law;—would he have been listened to with credulity and complacency by the Whig Powers of that day? Would he not rather have been reviled as a drjveller or traitor; and a new Whig law have been passed for the suppression of such innocent assemblages, at least as strong as the riot act itself? And pray, what is the difference between the two proceedings, that of Manchester in August 1819, and that which I have imagined as taking place in the same county, in 1715 or 1745? Why, that the one would have indicated a design of changing the reigning dynasty; while the other is manifestly directed against the whole frame of the constitution. Any attempt to bring the multitude, and the menaces, and the symbols, and the array of the Manchester meeting within the pale of law, is as fond and as futile as would have been the attempt of a Tory Opposition to assign to the Jacobite mob, the character of loyalty to the Hanover succession.'—*Canning*, pp. 32—35.

Mr. Plunket, in his easy and unconstrained, but most impressive and even affecting peroration, briefly, and with his accustomed terseness, handles the same argument.

'Indeed I have not heard any member assert the legality of the Manchester meeting. I am confident that no man acquainted with the laws and constitution of the country will venture to do so. The house, I trust, will excuse me, if I trespass a little further on their patience, by stating my opinion, as to these public meetings. The right of the people of this country to meet, for the purpose of expressing their opinions on any subject connected with their own individual interest, or with the public welfare, is beyond all question; it is a sacred privilege, belonging to the most humble, as fully as to the highest subject in the community: they have a right to the full expression, and to the free communication of such sentiments; to interchange

* Sir James Mackintosh.

them

them with their fellow subjects; to animate and catch fire, each from the other. I trust that to such rights I never shall be found an enemy. But I must say, that these rights, like all others, to be exercised in civil society, must be subject to such modification and restriction as to render them compatible with other rights, equally acknowledged, and equally sacred. Every subject of this realm has an undoubted right to the protection of the laws, to the security of his person and his property, and still more, to the full assurance of such safety; and I have no hesitation in asserting, that any assembly of the people, held under such circumstances as to excite in the minds of the king's peaceable and loyal subjects reasonable grounds of alarm, in this respect are illegal assemblies, and liable to be dispersed as such. I think it important that it should be understood, that these rights are restricted, not merely to this extent; namely, that they must not assemble for an illegal purpose; that they must not assemble with force, and arms; that they must not use seditious language; that they must not revile the laws or public functionaries; but, beyond all this, that they must not assemble under such circumstances, whether of numbers or otherwise, as to excite well-grounded terror in the minds of their fellow subjects, or to disturb their tranquil and assured enjoyment of the protection of the laws, free from all reasonable apprehension of force or violence. A vulgar notion may have prevailed, that if the avowed and immediate purpose of such meetings is not illegal, or if they have not arms in their hands, or if no force is actually used, or immediately threatened, the assembly is legal:—no opinion can be more unfounded. And I do not fear contradiction from any constitutional lawyer, when I assert, that any assembly of the people, whether armed or unarmed; whether using or threatening to use force, or not doing so; and whether the avowed object is illegal or legal, if held in such numbers, or with such language, or emblems, or deportment, as to create well-grounded terror in the king's liege subjects for their lives, their persons, or their property, is an illegal assembly, and may be dispersed as such. Such has been the law, as laid down by the ablest of our lawyers, and of our judges, from the earliest period of our jurisprudence, and in the best times of our history and constitution, before the revolution, and since the revolution, independent of the Riot Act, or of any statutable enactment, by the principles of our common law, which is always founded on the principles of common sense. The application of this principle to each particular case must always be a matter of discretion; but, in cases like the present, it cannot admit of doubt or difficulty. When meetings become too strong for the civil power to deal with them, the laws must prohibit them; if not, recourse must necessarily be had to military force. When the citizen becomes too strong for the law, the magistrate of necessity becomes a soldier; and those who justify these unrestricted meetings are the worst enemies to the liberties of their country, and lay the foundation of a military despotism. If bodies of the people, not convened by any public functionary, but called together by mountebanks, whose only title is their impudence and folly, are entitled to assemble,

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not in thousands, but in tens of thousands; to march, with banners displayed, in military array, into the hearts of populous cities; and if the laws are not competent to assure the people of this country against the panic and dismay excited by such proceedings, there is an end to the constitution.—I implore the House to protect the country from the effect of those desolating plans which are now in operation. Even though they should not break out in actual rebellion, their mischiefs are beyond calculation. The principles of respect for the laws and orders of the state, the reverence that is due to the sacred obligations of religion, these are not the results of momentary feelings, which may be thrown aside and resumed at pleasure; they are habits which, if once removed, cannot easily be restored. If those sacred sources, from which are the issues of public happiness and virtue, are once tainted, how is their purity to be restored? I have reason to believe, that the blasphemies, which have excited the horror of all good men, have been fashioned by these miscreants into primers for the education of children, that these helpless beings, in receiving the first elements of knowledge, may be inoculated with this pestilence. I again implore the House to act with decision and energy, while yet it is in their power. If the great foundations of public safety are once shaken, the united exertions of all the honest men of every party may come too late. On these grounds I deprecate the amendment, as calculated to give encouragement to the worst enemies of the state; and cordially concur in the original address.'—*Plunket*, pp. 21—24.

Having given the concluding passage of Mr. Plunket, we are tempted to add those of Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning.

'Let us not deceive ourselves. Never can our commercial prosperity maintain itself under the lawless dominion of self-constituted and tumultuary assemblies. Never can it endure the rapacious and vindictive despotism of mutually conflicting demagogues. To other shores, to more peaceful countries, to better-ordered communities, the trade and manufactures of Great Britain would, in such circumstances, speedily remove themselves. They were first attracted to this happy Country by that security which our institutions alone could then afford to them: greatly have they flourished under a government, which has defended them alike from the unjust aggression of power, and from the capricious tyranny of the multitude: they would vanish like a dream at the first aspect of revolutionary terror; they would fly far away from tumult and violence, from plunder and confiscation, from massacres, and from judicial murders!

'They would vanish! and what would then be the condition of your manufacturing population? What means would then remain of alleviating their present distress, what hope of terminating their future misery?

'If, therefore, on no other ground; if, from no larger and deeper views of policy and justice, such as may best become the legislators of a mighty empire; yet, for the single purpose of preventing these unhappy men from aggravating and perpetuating their own distress, let me

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me implore your lordships to step between them and their betrayers. Interpose your high authority to rescue them from this destruction. Take speedy, take effectual measures to give peace and security to those disturbed and agitated districts of your country. On peace and security depends the prosperity of all; there is no other prospect of reviving commerce to the manufacturer, no other hope of renewed employment to the artisan.

'In every view which can be taken of our situation, there is but one course which you can now pursue. Do you think that present distress is the sole cause of all this evil? What, then, must be the first steps towards its removal? The discontinuance of alarm;—the punishment of sedition;—the vigorous and instant suppression of all that produces, and all that threatens, disturbance. Do you look to the permanent protection of your constitution and government? Then, also, must the same determination be adopted. You must give energy and vigour to the laws: you must uphold and strengthen the authority of magistrates and courts of justice: you must protect the well-affected, encourage the loyal, and animate the whole body of the British nation, by the best of all exhortations—the example of your own resolution and constancy!

'And, with this opinion, thus decidedly entertained, thus unreservedly expressed, let me finish what I had to submit to your lordships on the present occasion. I little expected to have troubled you so much at length. But I have obeyed the impulse of an irresistible duty; the last, perhaps, that I may ever be called upon to discharge within these walls. Whether it will be so I know not; for, who can now anticipate the events which are impending over us? But how can I, under any circumstances, better close my long service in this place, than by an effort, earnest, however weak, to uphold the laws, and to preserve the tranquillity, of my country? With what sentiment nearer to my heart can I conclude these labours, than by finally conjuring your lordships to guard, as you have hitherto done, with unremitted vigilance, with unshaken firmness, the sacred deposit of the British Constitution? It has been the work of ages; formed on no preconcerted plan of human policy; resting on no delusive principles of imagined right; the happy result of a long series of unforeseen and uncontrollable events; the produce of many jarring and contending elements, combined and harmonized by the tried experience, by the unwearied diligence, and by the traditional, yet cautious wisdom of a Legislature better adapted than any other yet known in the history of mankind, to promote the happiness of the community, whose interest it administers. Such is our government; the boast of Englishmen,—the admiration and envy of the world! Such may it long continue! And wise, indeed, should that man be, who hopes to improve it by the preconceived theories, and baseless speculations, of his own imagination.'—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 59—62.

In transcribing the concluding portion of Mr. Canning's speech, we cannot refuse ourselves the high gratification of comprising

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in the extract the whole of his observations on Parliamentary Reform; a topic bearing no distant relationship to the question under debate; and to the consideration of which his own attention had been expressly challenged by more than one preceding speaker. He treats it with his accustomed power and eloquence; dissecting, with masterly precision, the perplexed views of the reformers; and throwing, over a hackneyed and somewhat vulgar subject, a grace and vivacity which it could have derived from no other orator of the time.

'Reformation (I speak not here of partial remedies applied—as this House is in the habit of applying them from time to time—to particular instances of detected corruption, but of a general systematic reformation) must be of one of two sorts. It may be a restoration, upon the original principles of the institution to be reformed, to the state in which it stood at some former time, and from which it is alleged to have degenerated; or, it may be a re-construction of the institution on principles altogether new.

'My first question to the proposer of such general reformation therefore is, "Which of these two modes have you in view?" If the answer be, "Restoration to what the House of Commons was in former times;" I then request that the period may be specified at which the House of Commons was, according to the Reformer, in the perfection to which he wishes to restore it. If, on the other hand, the answer be, that it is intended to re-construct the House on new principles; then, I think, it is not too much to ask that those principles shall be clearly defined, before we are required to take a single practical step towards the abolition of the existing frame of the House of Commons.

'Even after all these explanations had been given, I should think myself at liberty to compare the dangers of *a* change with the advantages of the change specifically proposed. But, without these preliminary explanations, without knowing exactly what is the nature and extent of the change intended, I should think that to countenance any abstract declaration of the expediency of *a* change, would be madness.

'I differ from some gentlemen who have spoken in this debate, *in my* belief as to the degree in which the desire for parliamentary reform prevails throughout the nation. I very much doubt whether the desire prevails beyond the class of determined reformers,—except, perhaps, among timid and indolent persons, who, untaught by experience, or fearful of exertion, imagine that concession to an invader is the way to peace. With the turbulent description of reformers, it is agreed on all hands, there can be no dallying or compromise. To attempt to conciliate them would be utterly hopeless. And I repeat, I do not believe the sound part of the community to be at all widely infected by the love of change. To use a figure of Mr. Burke's, I will not mistake the importunate chink of a few grasshoppers chirping under a fern bush, for the voice of the lordly oxen that stray in sober tranquillity over the surface of the field.

'I must fairly say, however, that if I could once bring myself to admit

admit the premises which the honourable baronet lays down, I should acknowledge his conclusion from them to be more logical than that of those who call themselves moderate reformers. The latter affirm the existence of a wide-spreading corruption as broadly as the honourable baronet. But the honourable baronet advises a new construction of the House; while the moderate reformers profess to be satisfied with some very trifling alteration. Now, if the disease be as great and as malignant as it is described, I could not be satisfied with so partial a remedy. But I do not admit such to be the extent and malignity of the disease. I do not admit, for instance, that the close boroughs, against which so much has been said, and which are the most obvious and striking anomalies in a plan of representation theoretically considered, are by any means a rotten and gangrened part of the Constitution, to be cut off without mercy or remorse. I think them not only defensible, but serviceable. This opinion, Sir, I hold at least disinterestedly. I can have no fear that Liverpool should be involved in any plan of disfranchisement. And I protest, I believe, that the administration of which I am a member, would not lose, but would benefit, by the abolition of the close-borough representation. No small proportion of those boroughs is in the hands of our opponents. If the boroughs of Knaresborough, of Tavistock, of Horsham, of Winchelsea, of Peterborough, were disfranchised, and the right of election were transferred to more populous places—to Birmingham, to Manchester, to Sheffield, to Leeds;—I really do not believe that his Majesty's ministers would lose numbers in this House; on the contrary, I believe that they would receive more support than at present. But I should regret very much if, by such a measure, the House should be deprived of so many of the great lights* which I see in the opposite quarter of the horizon.

'The House, and the right honourable gentleman, will do me the justice to acknowledge, that I have stated my opinions on this question without prejudice, without passion, without any personal or party bias. I think now, as I always have thought, that the constitution of the House of Commons is practically beneficial, though I do not pretend that it is conformable to any uniform theory. If I am asked for instance, why 658 is a more proper number of members than 657 or 659?—I confess myself at a loss to answer the question. It is the collective character of the House which I regard; and I maintain that in its aggregate capacity, and in its general operation, it faithfully represents not only the general interests of the kingdom, but the particular interests of every assignable portion of it; and that it follows, not precipitately, but deliberately and considerately, the real wishes, opinions, and feelings, of the people.

'The gentlemen who oppose the government, contend indeed on all occasions, that they are right, and that ministers are wrong; and that the House of Commons, agreeing with the ministers, are therefore wrong with them, and ought, like them, to be sent about their busi-

* 'Mr. Tierney, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. J. P. Grant, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Scarlett, &c. are among the representatives for the boroughs enumerated by Mr. Canning.'

ness.

ness. But this is mere assertion; and is, in truth, a very short way of disposing of a very complicated question. Do these gentlemen, who are in a minority in this House, find themselves in a majority in the country? They will not say so; they cannot think so. Take, for example, the question of the late war. Have they any doubt that, through the whole course of that war, (to which they now, by the way, attribute all our distresses,) a majority—an immense majority—of the nation were of the same way of thinking with the majorities of the two Houses of parliament? Do they doubt that, in that glorious war, in which England saved Europe, and with Europe saved herself, her government was enabled to effect these mighty purposes, not only by a confiding parliament, but by a concurring people? To say that such a war was, or could be, carried on in contradiction to the wishes of the country,—that it was a war against the people,—is absurd. A war of twenty years! accompanied with privations and sacrifices never before heard of! and all cheerfully borne by a people, reluctant and unconsenting, insensible to the demands of their own security, and deaf to the shouts of triumphant valour!—borne, too, without murmur or remonstrance!—the statement refutes itself. Gentlemen know that it does so. They know that the war was undertaken for the destruction of tyranny, and for the vindication of the liberties of mankind. They know that the glory acquired to England, and the interest felt in that glory by the people of England, were as great, as the majorities in parliament were overwhelming; and they know that those parliamentary majorities were but the express image of the sentiments of the nation.

'There is another consideration which induces me to distrust the honourable baronet's assumption of a general popularity for the doctrines of which he is the champion. It is, that this question of parliamentary reform is never eagerly agitated, unless when some poignant, though passing, difficulties assail the country. This was notoriously the case at the first promulgation of the doctrines of reform, towards the end of the American war. It was the case in 1793, when the desolating principles of the French revolution, and its tremendous military successes disquieted sober minds with an apprehension of ruin to the kingdom. It was the case in 1797, at the period of the mutiny at the Nore; and again in 1798, during the height of the disturbances in Ireland. In 1810 and 1812, the question of reform was indeed brought forward, but without exciting much interest, or receiving any material support either within doors or without; and from the latter period it slept until the year before last, when the honourable baronet burst upon us with the elaborate plan of Major Cartwright. To that admirable system, and to the peculiar doctrines of that patriarch of reform, I consider the honourable baronet as inviolably pledged. He is the undoubted and sole heir of the venerable major. I hope, that when that system and those doctrines shall descend to him by right of inheritance, he will enjoy them to as full a maturity of age and intellect as his predecessor; and that he will finally hand them down unimpaired to some successor equally gifted with himself, but doomed to

to be, equally with himself, unsupported and hopeless in the prosecution of them.

'Beside this plan of the honourable baronet, I am not aware of any specific proposition for reform now before the public—except the threatened one, from the other side of the House, for shortening the duration of parliaments. It is now, Sir, about one hundred years since the whigs made parliaments septennial from triennial. During the first half century after that change they monopolized the administration of the government. So far, all went well. But for nearly the whole of the last fifty years, the whigs have been out of office. Are they anxious to try whether they may better their chance by undoing the work of their own hands, and returning to triennial parliaments?

'Now, Sir, as to triennial parliaments, I confess I object to them—anti-reformer as I am:—but if I were a radical reformer, I should object to them infinitely more. On my own part I object to them for all the reasons so often urged in debate against the repeal of the septennial act, in the course of the twenty years that followed its enactment; reasons, I admit, of expediency rather than of principle. But as a reformer, I should reject with indignation an attempt to delude me with a specious appearance of regeneration: calculated to aggravate in effect that very inequality of representation of which the reformers particularly complain. The objects of their strongest antipathy we know are the close boroughs, in defence of which I have ventured to say a few unpopular words: they hold it an abomination, that Tavistock should return by nomination as many members as York or Bristol or Liverpool by free election. But what could so much enhance the advantage of Tavistock over York, or Bristol, or Liverpool, as increasing the frequency of elections? The trouble, the anxiety, the expense—the lawful expense, I mean—of a contested election for a populous place, are no light matter: while the quiet sitter for a close borough may be returned by the dash of a pen, without moving out of his easy chair. This takes place now, once in seven, or, as is the practice, once in about six years; make it to happen once in three years;—you double the disadvantage against the popular representative;—and then have the assurance to call this a reform!

'But let not gentlemen deceive themselves with a fond expectation, that dexterous contrivances such as these, or that any palliatives, however specious, can amuse the real reformers. It is not with such sacrifices that you can gorge and satisfy the all-devouring monster of radical reform. No, no, no. The reformers mean, and they demand, a strict personal representation; they mean and they demand a direct expression of the people's will.

'I can only say, that *if* government be a matter of will, (I thought it had been matter of reason and convention) and *if* the will of the whole nation be once fully represented—these two premises being assumed,—the conclusion that follows from them is to my mind inevitable: it is shortly and plainly this, that the assembly so fully representing the national will, must be, and in sound logic ought to be, the whole

government. There is no room, no pretence for any other power in the state. Kings and lords are useless incumbrances: and such a House of Commons all in all.

'Such, I say, is the logical, the necessary, the unavoidable inference from the premises, once admitted, of the honourable baronet and the radical reformers. I content myself for the present with merely stating them, not presuming to find fault with them, nor proceeding to argue them on this occasion. Opportunities will probably occur for that purpose. I should not even have touched upon the subject of parliamentary reform to-night, had it not been for the taunting invitation of the right honourable gentleman, and the solemn admonition of the honourable baronet. But, so called upon, I could not decline stating my opinions, without appearing to shrink from them. I do not shrink from them. I have stated them, I hope, intelligibly; I am sure without any reserve.

'Other warnings are addressed, not to me only, but to the House, as to the lessons to be learned from the French revolution. Undoubtedly these two lessons are to be learned from the French revolution; first, that proper changes ought not to be delayed too long; secondly, that precipitate changes are subversive of the peace and order and happiness of nations. But can any man look to the history of the ill-fated Louis XVI., and say, that it was his obstinate adherence to the rights of the throne which he inherited, that imbittered the last years of his reign, and finally led him to the scaffold? Can any man seriously contemplate the course of events which brought that monarchy to ruin, without trembling at the consequences of a too obsequious subservience to temporary popularity?—without perceiving how easy and how dangerous is the mistake of sacrificing the interests of a whole community to the clamours of a discontented few? Let not then the lessons of the French revolution be lost upon us! When our ears are assailed by clamour for change, let us not be unmindful of the silent apprehensions, the confiding patience of that large portion of the community, whom these clamours distract and appal! Let us not mistake their silence for acquiescence; nor their confidence for carelessness! The feeling of alarm is deep, and general, and just. The persons, whose machinations are the subject of this debate, and the cause of our being called together at this season, are valueless as motes in the sun-beam, compared with the loyal, quiet, unmurmuring millions, who look up to parliament for protection. Let them not look up to you in vain! Let not the claims, and the welfare of those millions,—of the loyal and the good, of the peaceful and the pious,—be disregarded by the House, in deliberating upon the measures which are necessary for the safety of the country.—"*Vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete! Obscssa fascibus et telis impiæ conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis. Vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras penatium, vobis muros atque urbis tecta, vobis templa deorum atque delubra commendat.*"'—*Canning*, pp. 38—50.

Such were the strains of mingled reason and eloquence which swayed

swayed the counsels of Parliament on this important occasion. In fact, the measures adopted by the legislature were the natural result of the opinions we have transcribed. There were those, indeed, who, professing to entertain the same, or nearly the same, views of public affairs with these distinguished leaders, yet dissented from the enactments proposed; on the ground, that the true remedy to be applied, was only a more vigorous execution of the subsisting laws; or at least, that innovation should not be resorted to, until the necessity of it should have been established by a minute and extensive parliamentary inquiry into the state of the nation. But the majority of both Houses of Parliament conceived that they had before them abundant proof of the inadequacy of the present law to cope with the newly invented forms of evil; and that the only certain effect of delay would be to give the enemy fresh strength, spirits, and insolence. Notwithstanding these impressions, however, there seems no reason to believe, that the proposed bills were carried through the House with greater expedition than was absolutely necessary. On the contrary, every clause seems to have been canvassed with attention, and a great variety of modifications was adopted, at the suggestion of members unconnected with government, and even of respectable classes of persons out of doors, whose interests seemed likely to be affected.

It would be beside our intention, to enter into any minute analysis of the measures resorted to, or to re-animate in our peaceful pages, the hot parliamentary contentions they occasioned. There might be no great difficulty in either undertaking; for the acts and the debates are in all hands. But, having been attracted into this warlike field by a wish to do justice to the speeches before us, we are desirous of retaining our original purpose *ad imum*, and of interfering in the combat exactly so far as that purpose demands, and no farther. Even in that view, however, since the measures in question were the actual result of the sentiments maintained in the speeches, a summary and popular account of them seems important; as affording the best illustration of the practical tendency of those sentiments, and, we may perhaps add, as also furnishing an experimental proof of the effect with which they were delivered.

The acts passed on this occasion were in number, six: of which one of the most important relates to the holding of seditious assemblies,* and was obviously suggested by the proceedings already mentioned at Manchester.

Previously to the passing of this act, the state of the law re-

* 60 Geo. III. cap. 6.

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lative to popular assemblies was not a little singular, and this, in some respects which do not appear to have been much adverted to in Parliament. By a statute then legally in force, though it had not for many years been in fact enforced, we mean the Act passed in the reign of Charles II.,* entitled: 'An act against 'tumults and disorders, upon pretence of preparing or presenting 'public petitions, or other addresses, to His Majesty, or the Par-'liament,' it was enacted, that no person or persons should solicit, labour, or procure, the getting of hands, or other consent, of any persons above the number of twenty or more, to any petition, complaint, remonstrance, declaration, or other address, to the King, or both or either Houses of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law in Church or State, unless the matter thereof should have been first consented unto and ordered by three or more justices of the county, or by the major part of the Grand Jury of the county, or division of the county, where the same matter should arise, at their public Assizes, or General Quarter Sessions, or, if arising in London, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled. The same statute enacted that no person or persons should repair to His Majesty, or both or either of the Houses of Parliament, upon pretence of presenting or delivering any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address, accompanied with an excessive number of people, nor at any one time with above the number of ten persons. The penalty for transgression against the act, was to be a fine not exceeding the sum of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment for three months.

In the case of Lord George Gordon, in 1781, it was contended before the Court of King's Bench, that this remarkable statute had been virtually repealed by the clause in the Declaration of Rights, afterwards incorporated into the Bill of Rights, according to which 'it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, 'and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are 'illegal.' Lord Mansfield, however, in the name of the court, denied this doctrine, positively asserting, that the statute in question had not been repealed by the Bill of Rights or any other act, but was still in force. The statute was also referred to by Lord Loughborough, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in his celebrated charge to the Grand Jury of the county of Surry, in 1780, as the undoubted law of the land. Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries, asserts the existence of the law, without any reserve or qualification. And the *Jura Populi Anglicani*, a

* 13 Car. II., cap. 5

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determined and very able attack on the House of Commons for their proceedings with respect to the Kentish petition in 1701, though the author is evidently bent on upholding the right of petitioning in the utmost possible extent, yet refers to the law, and argues from it, as undoubtedly in full operation.*

It has, indeed, been unanswerably argued† that, if the Declaration of Rights had been intended to repeal this statute, its framers would not have been content with asserting the subject's right of petitioning *the King;* but would have distinctly comprised petitions *to both or either of the Houses of Parliament.* In the same manner, they would have been careful, in describing the subject-matter of the right contended for, to use terms co-extensive with those of the statute, by adding, to the mention of *petitions,* that of *complaints, remonstrances, declarations, and other addresses.* So that even if it be true that the Declaration has repealed the statute, at least the repeal can extend no farther than so far as regards petitions addressed to the throne.

But no man who has bestowed the most superficial study on the Declaration of Rights, reading it by the light of contemporaneous history, will for a moment suppose, that such was, or even could be, the object of that famous instrument. The Declaration of Rights had its birth, not in the reveries of political philosophists, but in the constitutional knowledge and practical wisdom of men profoundly versed in the English law. Unlike the expository declarations of modern system-mongers, it confines itself, with a severe simplicity, to the exigencies of the occasion which called it into existence. It condemns, not tyranny in the abstract, but the particular tyranny of James II. It *declares,* not the rights of man, but the recently-violated rights of English subjects. Every single clause in the Declaration of Rights has a direct reference to some specific offence against the constitution by the unhappy monarch against whom, by name, it is pointed; and that no reader might be left in doubt on the subject, the declaratory part is ushered in by a preamble, specifying all those offences in detail. This preamble at once explains and limits the clause declaratory of the right of petitioning, by stating among the despotic acts of James, his *committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the dispensing power.* For it will be observed, that the petition of the Prelates, having been signed, consented to, and presented, by only seven persons,

* Reprinted in Cobbett's Parl. Hist. Vol. V.

† In Sir C. E. Carrington's 'Inquiry into the law relative to Public Assemblies of the People,' a pamphlet containing much good sense and valuable information.

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was clearly within the exception of the statute of Charles. In fact, this very circumstance had been urged in defence of that petition, by Mr. Somers, afterwards the great Lord Somers, who was one of the counsel for the Bishops; and it is remarkable that the circumstance is distinctly noted, as exculpatory of the Bishops, in the first declaration issued by the Prince of Orange himself,* a declaration said to have been edited by Fagel, but of which the materials were supplied from this country, and which was a sort of prolocutory instrument to the Declaration of Rights by the convention.

In further illustration of the sentiments of the great authors of the Revolution, on the statute against disorders upon pretence of petitioning, and indeed on the subject of petitioning in general, it may not be irrelevant to mention the following curious occurrence. A very few days before the Declaration of Rights was presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange, some zealous persons in the city of London having set on foot a petition to the two houses, praying that their Highnesses might be speedily settled on the throne, and having canvassed for names to the petition in a disorderly manner, the Lord Mayor, *by command of the Prince, published an order suppressing the petition;* on the ground that it was '*regular and usual* for the citizens of the city, that were under the apprehension of any grievance, to *make their application to the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen.*'† If the coercive power exercised in this instance, and the usage asserted in vindication of it, had been considered as odious and abominable, can we conceive that either the one or the other would have been resorted to at such a moment, and for the purpose of crushing such a petition?

Among the many circumstances which satisfactorily prove that a real and a very substantial accession to the popular liberties has taken place since the period of the Revolution, one of the most decisive, certainly, is the fate of the statute we have just been considering. It has not been repealed; and, in a legal sense, it has never become obsolete. In a legal sense, indeed, it *could not* become obsolete; for, by the somewhat singular rule of the English law, no desuetude can antiquate an act of Parliament. Yet, for many years, it has, in practice, been consigned to almost absolute forgetfulness. We know not of its having, in any instance, been the subject of judicial notice, since the period, already al-

* 'Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops, 'who, having offered a most humble petition to the King, in terms full of respect, '*and not exceeding the number limited by law*, &c. &c.' Declaration of 10th Oct. 1688. As to the history of the composition of this paper, see Burnet.

† See the order given in Cobbett's Parliamentary History, from Echard. See also Ralph, vol. ii. p. 32.

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luded to, of the riots in 1780; and, during the violent discussions both in and out of Parliament on the celebrated Sedition and Convention Bills of Mr. Pitt, though those were measures *in pari materia*, we believe that it was never even mentioned. Men have gone on as if no such law existed: they have met in large voluntary assemblies, self-called, self-authorized, self-regulated:—they have petitioned, complained, remonstrated, declared:—addressing, sometimes the King,—sometimes the Lords or Commons,—sometimes both,—sometimes all the three,—and sometimes they have addressed neither the one nor the other, but have breathed their undigested complaints ('*incondita*') to the wild winds or wilder rabble; while no magistrate made them afraid, nor any *Radical* remonstrated against a law by which their remonstrance against every other law stood avoided and condemned.

Not only the fact of the tacit supersession of this law, but the nature of the terms in which it is drawn up, may serve to throw considerable light on the actual progress which has been made by the liberties of the people. Its prohibitions were intended to operate against tumultuous and disorderly modes of proceeding in the preparation or delivery of petitions or other addresses of a political kind to the great constitutional functionaries. But the assemblage of immense and disorderly crowds with a mere view to discussion, the statute does not seem to have distinctly forbidden; because probably it did not anticipate. We do not mean that such meetings do not fall within the terms of the enactment; but, had they been specifically intended, they would have been pointed out by a more appropriate designation. The truth is, that, at that time, they do not appear to have been at all known. The custom then was, first, to frame a petition or remonstrance; next, to collect signatures or supporters to it from house to house, the train of attendants still swelling as it rolled onwards; and, when complete, the instrument was accompanied to its ultimate point of destination by the escort thus procured. In the course of this process, considerable assemblies were sometimes formed, more or less discussion took place, and tumult and disorder not seldom proved the consequence; but these were, after all, the *incidents*, not the end; the object was the petition or remonstrance, to be conveyed to parliament or the throne. The volunteer-statesmen of that day were not acquainted with the modern method of calling together large deliberative crowds, as a sort of *outer parliaments*, having no other object than publicly to take into consideration affairs of state, and to record the result of their deliberation in propositions or resolutions, addressed to none of the constituted authorities, but published purely as authorized expressions of popular opinion. Such a plan of proceeding

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would, to our ancestors, have been unintelligible. A remonstrance addressed to nobody, they would have regarded as the sounding of a bell *in vacuo*; or as the shaft of Acestes, shot into the void air without an aim; and they would not have been surprized if, as in that instance, a prodigy had succeeded:

> ' Namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo;
> Signavitque viam flammis.'

Let it not be imagined, however, that we name this modern practice only to condemn it. On the contrary, we have already intimated that it is the index of an actual increase in the amount of our national liberties. From the date of the Revolution downwards, the general intelligence of the people has kept growing, their facilities of intercourse have multiplied, and their love of political discussion has been more and more inflamed. Public speaking, once a rare and precious fabric, the subject of a virtual monopoly, is now ' the ware of every day.' From these causes, acting partly on each other, partly in combination, and, finally, reacted upon by that which they have produced, has arisen the fashion of holding large popular meetings. Hitherto, all this has, on the whole, been well, and, short of the proved abuse, it is well still. That the custom was not known to our fathers, is not, of course or necessarily, any reason why it should not be known to their posterity. The Revolution was a solemn national consecration of great principles; but, in the development and application of those principles, delicate as the task is, there seems no cause why the agency of time, the grand legislative umpire, should be rejected. It is, in fact, plain that the effect of this agency has been various; in some respects, apparently strengthening the monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution; in others, as in the instance now under consideration, and in the publicity of our modern parliamentary debates, more evidently throwing weight into the democratic scale. No practical statesman will condemn these changes, either on the one side or the other, *merely* because they are such. The building, in settling, has swerved a little; but it may still be standing firm on its adamantine foundations. The river has, in some degree, shifted its course, but it may still be welling out from the same clear, rich, and elevated springs.

Notwithstanding this view of the subject, however, yet, when legislative changes, affecting, in any degree, the popular liberties, are contemplated, it is manifestly important to ascertain with some precision, in what manner the law to which they refer, was settled at the period of the Revolution. This is useful, both as furnishing us with an excellent general guide for the regulation of

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our measures, and also as holding up a criterion by which the objections urged against any given measure may be tried.

The new statute permits the holding of voluntary meetings, if held within the parish or township to which the persons calling them belong, provided previous notice in writing, signed by seven resident householders at the least, be given to some neighbouring justice of the peace, who shall thereupon have the power of altering the time or place of such meeting. It also sanctions county meetings, called by the lord-lieutenant, custos, or sheriff of the county, or by the convener of the county in Scotland, or by the major part of the grand jury; also, meetings called by five or more justices of the peace for any division of any county having different divisions, and city, borough, or ward-meetings, called by the mayor, alderman, or other head officer. But, with these, and other less important exceptions, it prohibits meetings of any description of persons, exceeding fifty in number, to be held in the open air for the purpose or on the pretext of deliberating upon any public grievance, or any matter relating to any trade or business, or any matter in church or state, or of considering, proposing, or agreeing to any petition, complaint, remonstrance, declaration, resolution, or address upon the subject of such grievance or matter. It further allows all magistrates to repair to any public meetings of the nature before described, and arms them with various powers for the prevention or repression of disorder. It prohibits the attendance at county-meetings of any persons not being freeholders, householders, or inhabitants of the county; and, at town or parish-meetings, of persons not being householders or residents, or not having a freehold or copyhold estate in lands of the annual value of fifty pounds, in such town or parish; and it prohibits all persons from attending public meetings with arms, flags, banners, devices, drums or music. And, in addition to the powers given to the magistrate, it enacts various penalties for the breach of the regulations which it lays down. But the statute does not extend to any meeting held wholly in any room or apartment of any house or building; nor to any meeting held for the election of a member of parliament.

The original intention of the government was, that this act should be of permanent, or rather, as they themselves explained it, of indefinite duration. But they yielded to the suggestions of some of their friends, who recommended, in preference, a temporary enactment of the measure; and its operation is now limited to five years.

That this statute, though severer in its penalties, is lighter in its restrictions, than the act of Charles, must be evident on the slightest inspection. The two main features of the present act are,

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are, that it limits in some degree the right of voluntary meetings, and that, where voluntary meetings are held, or at least are held in the open air, it strictly subjects them to the inspection and controul of the local magistrate. But, permitting all meetings not exceeding fifty in number, all meetings in rooms, and all voluntary meetings in parishes, it clearly leaves a very considerable scope to the right of voluntary assemblage; whereas the act of Charles prohibited such meetings, if exceeding the number of twenty persons, altogether. Again, the modern act confers a large discretion on the local magistrate with respect to the holding of public meetings on matters of state; but the magistrate may authorize such a meeting to be held, however little he approves of the particular object in view; whereas the act of Charles required that the very '*matter*' of the petition or other address proposed '*should have been consented to or ordered* by three or more justices'; a provision, under which it must seem very doubtful whether the magistrate could authorize the presenting of any petition the political sentiments of which did not coincide with his own.

The older statute was, in the instances just mentioned, certainly too rigorous; and this formed one strong reason why a new measure should be preferred to a simple revival of the former. But, with these plain circumstances in favour of the comparative lenity of the new law, it is not very easy to understand on what ground such a law could be censured as a complete and a disgraceful deviation from the principles of the Revolution. The principles of the Revolution, it is evident, were able to tolerate a much stricter, if not a stronger, regulation. Yet, the new act found no quarter: it was pronounced utterly inconsistent with the glorious liberty of petitioning as established by the Declaration of Rights; and, *out* of parliament at least, this ground was taken so broadly, and with so complete a forgetfulness of the past, that even if this law had been an exact fac-simile of that of Charles, there seems reason to believe that it would have been condemned with exactly the same vehemence, and that the shades of the Revolutionists, and the immortal memory of William the Third, would have been conjured up to join in anathematizing a statute, which the one advisedly continued, and the other deliberately acted upon.

If the statute of Charles, both by its extreme restrictiveness, and its having been enacted (as we have already explained) during the subsistence of a very different state of things, was not applicable to the present emergence, the common law, the production of a still earlier period, was equally inapplicable, though for somewhat different reasons. Against such meetings as those at Manchester, the common law pronounces a sentence of proscription no

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no less absolute than that of the new act. Its failing is, that it does not provide a cure for the evil, equally efficacious; and this imperfection was fully and tragically proved at Manchester. Unless the declared object of the meeting be illegal, the common law waits till the character of illegality clearly and visibly attaches; and then the remedies enjoined by it are, the dispersion of the assembly, and the seizure and prosecution of the persons actually engaged in it. Surely, it was infinitely more advisable, to enact regulations, which, while they leave the right of real deliberation untouched, shall operate rather in a preventive than a remedial manner against abuses of that right so flagrant, and at the same time so difficult of treatment, as the Manchester meeting. Had the new law been earlier in being, we should not now have to lament over the lives lost, and the misery produced, and the animosities created, on the calamitous day of the 16th of August.

Were we called on to prove that this law does not in fact affect the right of the people to deliberate and to pronounce their sentiments on public affairs, our answer would consist in asking whether it be possible to conceive a situation less compatible with the exercise of such a right than the midst of the immense crowd at Manchester? To do the leaders on that occasion bare justice, nothing was further from their conceptions than any notions of deliberating. An assembly, consisting of fifty or a hundred thousand individuals, mustered from a variety of quarters,—previously schooled to a given set of opinions,—sworn to maintain those opinions even unto death,—preceded by banners, on which that sworn engagement is expressed and blazoned,—and collected for the very purpose of vociferating their constancy in those opinions under every vicissitude,—such a meeting bears any character rather than that of deliberation:—it is not a deliberative, but a declarative meeting,—an assembly, not in council, but in action.

If it be the object of the new statute, in the first instance, to limit the number, and provide for the decorum, of popular meetings, its next end, certainly, is to give them a character of *locality*, by excluding from them all persons not connected with the vicinity in which they are held. Such assemblies as those of Manchester, not only do not contribute to the *formation* of opinion;—in any fair sense, they do not even *express* it. At least they do not express the opinion which, if they have any meaning at all, it must be their very business to exhibit,—that of the particular district in which they are held. On the contrary, the voices of the local community are, in such assemblies, overborne by those of myriads of nameless intruders, acting under the command of mountebanks as ignorant and as itinerant as themselves.

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Just before the fatal rendezvous at Manchester, a revolutionary provincial newspaper boasted that, on the approaching day of meeting, the population of that immense town *would be doubled.* The boast was probably exaggerated; but that a vast influx of itinerant strangers took place on the occasion, none can dispute. And then the question arises, can there be a grosser misnomer of an assembly so constituted, than to denominate it the *Manchester meeting?*

This view of the subject becomes most important, if a distinguished member of opposition was correct in supposing, that the large meetings held during the last year, consisted in a great measure of one and the same body of persons, who, like a strolling company of actors, trudged from place to place, every where repeating the same dull but mischievous farce. If the right honourable leader was founded in his remark, can any thing be more preposterous than to bewail the prohibition of such assemblies as if it were a death-blow to the expression of public opinion? The Sun of British liberty, it is said, is set;—*the* people of England are silenced;—and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!—Scarcely have we given way to our sorrows at this melancholy annunciation,—scarcely have we, with streaming eyes, consigned Magna Charta to its kindred antiquarian dust, and mournfully left the Bill of Rights to be food for worms,—when we are suddenly re-assured,—the prospect shifts,—boards, scenes, and sliders give way,—and with smiles we discover that we were weeping over the suppressed opinions, not of the people of England, but of a company of strolling mountebanks!

Such is, as we conceive, a fair account of the 'Act for more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies;' and the remarks we have made on it will, we cannot but hope, satisfy the mind of every impartial reader, that while, on the one hand, it leaves a sufficient latitude to popular meetings for the purpose of deliberation on public affairs, it is calculated, on the other, to protect such meetings from abuses utterly subversive of the very object which they profess to have in view.

Next to this act, we may mention those relating to Training, and to the Seizure of Arms. It appeared that, in the disturbed districts, bodies of persons were in the habit of holding nightly meetings for the purpose of learning the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions; and that a system was carrying on, with great activity, of supplying the lower orders, or of inducing them to supply themselves, with pikes, pistols, and other weapons at low prices. The two acts just mentioned were directed against these evils. The first* prohibits meetings for drilling

* 60 Geo. III. cap. 1.

and

and training, unless authorized in such manner as there mentioned, on pain of imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or transportation for a term not exceeding seven years, to the persons employed in drilling others; and, as to the persons who attend to be drilled, on pain of fine, and imprisonment not exceeding two years; and it enables justices of the peace, constables, and other peace-officers, to disperse such meetings and to arrest the persons present. The other act* empowers justices, upon oath being made to them that arms or weapons are in the possession of any person or kept in any house or place for purposes believed to be dangerous to the public peace, to issue warrants to search for, seize, and detain such arms or weapons; and the peace-officer executing such warrant may, if refused admission into the suspected house or place, enter it by force, either by day or by night. The latter act is local and temporary. It extends at present only to certain disturbed districts named in it; though provision is made for extending it to other districts which shall be declared to be disturbed, by royal proclamation; but the same authority may also restrict its operation. And it is to expire on the 25th day of March, 1822.

Of these two acts, the first met with the almost unanimous support of both Houses of Parliament. The other was strenuously opposed. The provision authorizing a search for arms by night, was deprecated as laying the foundation for much private oppression and abuse; but the objection admits of this among other answers,—that the evil meant to be repressed was not only great and extensively diffused, but was the result of a secret combination among considerable numbers,—that the law can grapple with such an evil only by dint of promptitude and surprize,—and that nothing could be more foolish, in a contest of this nature, than to give the adversary the unlimited command of the hours of darkness, especially during the winter months. In effect, the provision is a severe remedy for a monstrous evil. The act was also opposed as being unconstitutional in its principle; and here again, but with somewhat more of plausibility at least than in the instance of the Seditious Assemblies' Act, an appeal was preferred to the Declaration of Rights, which says 'that the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.' It was, however, most justly observed by Mr. Canning, that the restriction of this asserted right to *Protestants*, sufficiently admits the possibility of exceptions to the general principle; and we may add that this restriction was not introduced casually or carelessly; for it ex-

* 60 Geo. III. cap. 2.

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panded, in the course of a very few weeks, into an act for *disarming all Papists and reputed Papists.** A still more decisive answer, perhaps, to the objection, will suggest itself to those who have perused the remarks already offered by us on the general nature and purport of the Declaration of Rights. That instrument was not meant for an assertion of indefeasible rights, as against the altering power of Parliament, but was intended only to assert the rights actually enjoyed by the subject under the existing laws, as against the dispensing power claimed by the late King. James, having, as the preamble says, 'caused divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed,' the declaratory part affirms the existence of the right which an undue extension of prerogative had thus violated. But the Declaration had no reference to the right of the legislature to controul or to modify this privilege of the subject; and, as if carefully to guard against the imputation of such a meaning, it asserts the existence of the privilege only *as allowed by law*.

The measures we have hitherto described, chiefly aimed at repressing the bolder and more overt acts, or at least at embarrassing the actual preliminary movements, of the disturbers of the public peace. But there was another branch of the mischief, which could be reached only by regulations of a different kind. For some time past, a part of the public press had distinguished itself by an effrontery of licentiousness, without any former example. The stamp act imposed a certain duty on newspapers and other publications containing news and political intelligence; but whether this description could be understood to comprise publications which, though appearing periodically, and wholly of a political character, affected rather to deal in discussion than to convey intelligence, was a point evidently admitting of much question. Availing themselves of this doubt, to avoid, if not to evade, the stamp-duty, a set of pestilent works were circulated at the lowest prices, and in fact swarmed in all parts of the country, threatening to *devour every green thing*. The Black Dwarf, the Republican, and the Medusa, were, we believe, the most conspicuous of these performances; and the doctrines which they promulgated were such as might fully justify the assumption of titles like the last. They wore, indeed, the '*saxificos vultus*,'—a form and aspect that might congeal the beholder with horror. They spoke a language hitherto unknown to Englishmen;—the mingled and virulent dialect of treason, blasphemy, malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness. This was in their graver mood; but they had their intervals of facetiousness also; when, quitting the heights of

* 1 W. and M. c. 15.

revolutionary

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revolutionary tragedy, they condescended to disport themselves in a strain of pleasantry, rivalled only by the murderous wit that attended the memorable *noyades* in the Loire. In a word, the Heberts and Chaumettes, the scorn and aversion of Robespierre himself, (for even they 'that love night, love not such nights as these,') seemed, in these writers, to have transmigrated into the abused persons of Englishmen.

The pestiferous words of this fraternity have 'come but by halves to our ears'; and we are not very desirous, either of further acquaintance with them ourselves, or of contributing to make them known to our readers. Yet a single specimen of their moral taste and temper—*unum de crinibus anguem*,—we may perhaps be allowed to exhibit. A learned, virtuous, and amiable judge, having, in a charge delivered to the grand jury of York, expressed it to be his honest and conscientious opinion 'that this country was really in a flourishing condition, and that there was no foundation for alarm or complaint,' the sentiment was noticed by the Medusa in the following terms:—'When men are starved and insulted, *are assassinations to be wondered at?* Or is it not more wonderful that they do not more frequently occur? Could it excite any surprise if any deserving but distressed being, whose family is crying for bread, and of which there are tens of thousands in every neighbourhood, *should raise his dagger, and plunge it into the bosom of a monster who could coolly insult his sufferings? Every one whose mind was not perverted would extol the deed, and say it was a praise-worthy act. It is, Sir, a spirit that ought to be encouraged, and requires only to be properly directed, to be of great national advantage.*—The name of the insolent wretch must be recorded; his deeds are evil, and, if the Lord does not, *I hope the people will reward him according to his works.*'

We should not suffer such atrocity as this to pollute our pages, did we not deem it of real importance to mark the nature of the poison with which the country has of late been deluged. In the extract just given, however, if the most prominent cause of disgust be the unmixed wickedness of the sentiments it inculcates, the next object of horror is its portentous contrariety of spirit to all that has hitherto characterized the dispositions of Englishmen. The inhabitants of this island have, by one of their own poets, been pronounced 'infamous for suicide;'—the charge was urged with the bitter exaggeration of a satirist;—but when before have we been celebrated for praising and encouraging *deserving assassins?* This deviation from the old national feelings and principles is among the most conspicuous features of the disciples of Radicalism; and, to do them justice, they are as little national in their affections as in their morals. Former malcontents

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contents have loved their country, while they detested its rulers; and, at the very moment of disparaging and condemning whatever was visible or tangible around them, they have still clasped an ideal England to their hearts. The radicals exhibit the real hatred, unredeemed by the romantic affection; and are content not to be Englishmen, even in imagination.

If there be any one constituent part or element of our national greatness, which might be considered as of no party,—which, like 'the common sun, the air, the skies,' might be deemed incapable of geographical division,—which might have been expected to touch a vein even in the most disaffected bosom,—it is the fame of our arms. Such indeed has hitherto been the fact;—the very outlaw can discover no region exempt from the magic influence of this sentiment; an alien in every thing else, his irrepressible sympathy with the military glory of his country tells him that he is not wholly expatriated; and, renouncing all other consanguinity with her, he instinctively claims kindred with the blood of her heroes. 'None but my brave English could have done this,' exclaimed the unfortunate James, captivated by the sight of that prowess which crushed his hopes. But a radical is made of sterner stuff than a tyrant. Will it be believed that, in the dialect of the new school, the common appellation of contempt for a soldier, is to call him a *Waterloo-man?* Who could have thought that the name of that field,—a name endeared to us by associations the tenderest and the most exalted,—a name which, like those of Cressy and Agincourt, will be pronounced by the remotest posterity with a pause of veneration,—a name by which, as by that of Marathon of old, future orators will adjure the slumbering valour of their countrymen, and evoke the genius of national honour from the dead,—that such a name should, by any compatriot of those whose exploits have immortalized it, be held up only as a by-word, and a term of scoffing and derision?

But even beyond the antinational temper of these persons, or perhaps the worst symptom of that temper, is their aversion to Christianity. The religion of their country is precisely that part of her system which they the least love, and which they appear the most desirous of destroying. Very consistently disobeying the authority which they blaspheme, they would do evil unto all men, but especially to the household of faith.—We will not, however, enlarge on this topic;—*nunc de factis levioribus;*—to cover our pages with the modern editions of blasphemies a thousand times refuted, would be equally unnecessary and revolting; we will rather turn to a lighter theme, and, as we have afforded some insight into the moral qualifications of the new school, it may not be impertinent to exemplify their mental acquirements. It is to be observed

observed that their historical knowledge is always paraded with the same confidence as their political wisdom; and, as the following instance, casually selected from the Medusa, may lead the reader to suspect, with just as good reason. It occurs in a page in which that work, 'not in its Gorgon terrors clad,' but relaxing into mirthfulness, is dealing out its gamesome malignity against Lord John Russell, and the noble house of which he is a member. The writer, suddenly recollecting that he had heard some story of Joan of Arc having been condemned to the stake by a Duke of Bedford, breaks out; 'If our memory fails not, *it was one of the "noble house of Russell," that ordered Joan d'Arc to be burnt alive!*'

It is thought by some persons that the prevalence of these abuses has been much increased by the ill-advised forbearance of those to whom the law assigns the censorship of the public morals. There may be a degree of truth in the idea; for, as Lord Grenville, in a passage we have before quoted, intimates with equal justice and candour, it has now long been the practice in this country, to administer with tenderness, even in cases of acknowledged wrong, the laws affecting the rights of the subject. But this very circumstance shews that the magnitude of the evil will not be adequately explained by the mere fact of the lenity which it has experienced. Libels have never been wanting among us, and the libeller has, in numberless instances, been suffered to fret his hour unmolested; but when before did sufferance produce such consequences? Under the impunity of a single year, the mischief has attained an immensely greater size, than heretofore under that of a century. Is not this a proof that other than merely negative causes have been at work? Must we not infer the existence of something peculiarly vicious in the habit, when we find that the mere absence of remedies has generated a disease so deadly?

Lord Coke could formerly say with Tacitus, '*Convicia, si irascaris, tua divulgas; spreta, exolescunt.* If you seek to revenge slanders, you publish them as your own; if you despise them, they vanish.' Is it not to be considered as a phenomenon, when maxims adopted by the joint authority of philosophy and law are found to have lost their efficacy?

The remedy, however, was at length resorted to; the terrors of justice were put in motion; and, in the case of one unhappy hawker of penny-blasphemy in London, and of two more (as we believe, but we cannot speak with certainty) in the country, a conviction ensued. The effects were such as sufficiently to illustrate the inadequacy of the existing laws. First, the individual to whom we have particularly alluded, availed himself of the

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privilege allowed to persons charged with bailable offences, of *traversing*, or postponing his trial; and, during the whole of the intervening period, his noxious compositions, gaining notoriety and celebrity from the accusation, triumphed in a still increasing sale. The duration of a trial protracted through several days, only gave the nuisance a fresh impulse and an extended range; the whole town seemed to teem with the most abandoned blasphemies, the unhappy vulgar flocking to the repository whence they chiefly issued, as men flocked to visit the rattle-snake in the Haymarket, whose poisonous bite had killed a human being. This was indeed *frui Dis iratis*; the animadversion of the law added wings to the offence. Even after the conviction of the delinquent, there were no direct means of seizing his stock of unsold libels; and they would have been sought with greater avidity than ever, had not the expedient been resorted to of taking possession of them in satisfaction of the fine which made part of his sentence. To such shifts was the majesty of justice reduced, in attempting to arrest the progress of a declared plague! Happily, no rich patron of blasphemy paid the fine, or this legitimate stratagem would have availed nothing. But, though the wares were thus destroyed, the manufacturer remained; he even boasted that the leisure of his prison afforded him fresh facilities for the pursuit of his calling; and one number at least of his own paper, the Republican, was published by him when in confinement, which, both in religion and in politics, fully supported his inverted fame.

If the unhappy convict himself could be thus bold, no wonder that the rest of the crew should rise in audacity. Numerous prosecutions were commenced against them; but they abated not a jot of heart or hope; the Medusa, *Gorgoneis infecta venenis*, became yet more furious; and it appeared to have been truly vaunted by one of the apostles of radicalism, that the sect had now learned to *despise the dungeon-system*.

Such, in brief, were the occurrences and the circumstances, that induced parliament, during the late session, to adopt the new regulations relating to the press. They were perfectly aware that this was to touch the most delicate and sensitive organ in the whole frame of our polity; but they at the same time perceived that the organ was actually in a very distempered condition, and they were satisfied that nothing short of vigorous methods would effect its cure. In order, however, duly to appreciate the measures which they have adopted, it may not be uninteresting to glance at some peculiarities in the state of the modern press, which do not seem to have been much adverted to during the recent discussions. Amidst the heat and rapidity of debate, it was perfectly natural, and perhaps proper, that the more

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more striking, popular, and prominent parts of the subject, should engage the chief attention; but there are topics connected with it, which, though a little retired from view, may very fitly, as it appears to us, enter into the contemplation of a calm and reflective observer.

It is trite enough to remark how greatly the influence of that which, with a mixture of literal and figurative meaning, we commonly call the press, has increased in modern times. The process of printing, mechanically considered, has undergone improvements only less remarkable than the invention itself; but, beyond all these, the increased use of reading, and the vast and still-extending facilities of mutual communication afforded by the present state of society, give to the press a moral force so prodigious, as to convert it into a new engine.

The progress of a nation in political refinement may always be read in the history of its jurisprudence. Our law of libel, tracing it from the earliest times, has varied with the varying modes and opportunities of social intercourse, prescribed and supplied by the actual frame of society. When our great Saxon and Danish legislators made laws, directing that the author of a slanderous report,—he 'qui alium rumoribus dissipatis improbâ voce lacerârit,'—should be punished by excision of the tongue, it is apparent enough, both from the terms employed to describe the offence, and from the nature of the penalty denounced, that their attention was exclusively directed to oral, as distinguished from written slander. But their selection of this one branch of the crime, does not prove that they rated lightly the delinquency of the other. It proves only that the other was, in those rude times, little if at all known. There were libellers, indeed,—libellers, that is, in spirit and intention; but, fortunately for those they hated, they could not write. Speech constituted the almost exclusive medium of communication between man and man; and, of course, was the great vehicle of truth and of falsehood, of praise and of blame, of compliment and of calumny.

The shock of the Norman invasion, and the despotic nature of the government it introduced, could not but be unfavourable, in the first instance at least, to the progress of national refinement. But the sagacious and enlightened tyrants, who soon after occupied, at successive periods, the throne, introduced excellent laws; and knowledge and literature began to diffuse themselves, though at first with a current sufficiently tardy. The increased use of reading and writing would now be felt in increased abuses also. The first statute of Westminster, which passed under the reign of the First Edward, in prohibiting seditious and slanderous

rumours, employs terms *(de dire, de counter,)* which, it must be admitted, appear primarily to refer rather to *uttered* than to *written* words, but which yet undoubtedly admit, with almost equal ease, of either application; the same remark applies to the statutes of Richard the Second against false news;* and it is certain that, as early as Edward the Third at least, and probably at a still earlier period, written slander, or what is properly called *libelling*, was held to be an indictable offence.

The lapse of time introduced yet greater alterations. Books multiplied. The art of writing, which is now confined chiefly to domestic purposes, was cultivated with such care, and applied to the circulation of literature with so much success, that even the invention of printing, stupendous as it was, does not appear to have broke on the world with all that palpable and immediate intensity of effect which we are in these days apt to ascribe to it. It was, however, like sun-rise succeeding twilight, and itself succeeded by a brighter day. Writing, under which term both law and common sense include printing, now became, as a medium of general intercourse, far more effective than speech; and this change is curiously marked in the history of our legislation. Under Henry the Eighth, it had been enacted that any person publishing and pronouncing, *by express writing or words*, the King to be a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, should be adjudged guilty of high treason.† The law was mitigated under Edward the Sixth, as to *words*; only the third offence being made treason; but it is observable that the penalty of treason was continued as to *writing*, even for the first offence.‡ This is, we believe, the earliest instance on record, of any English law prescribing a heavier penalty against seditious words when committed to writing, than against the same words when barely spoken; but the precedent was followed in both the succeeding reigns.§ It was followed also in better times and by better authorities. A similar distinction appears in one of Queen Ann's acts;‖ by which a denial of the Queen's title, if in writing, was made treason, but, if by word of mouth, incurred only the penalties of a premunire. What is more remarkable, the general principle of the distinction was adopted by our courts of law, and has now become fully established by the silent legislation of judicial practice. For it is notorious that there are many things which, when committed to writing, the English law holds to be libels, and which yet, unless some special injury can be proved to have flowed from them, may be *spoken* without any legal blame.

* 2 R. II. c. 5. and 12 R. II. c. 11.
† 26 H. VIII. c. 13.
‡ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 11.
§ 1 and 2 Ph. and M. c. 3. 1 El. c. 5.
‖ 4 A. c. 8.

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When the courts first adopted this distinction, plausible objections to the practice might not have been hard to find. It might have been urged, that, in matters affecting the liberty of the press, innovations were not to be tolerated; that the law of libel, as already administered, was quite severe enough;—that libels, after all, did little harm, for, if true, it was fitting that bad men should be exposed, and, if false, then truth was mighty and would prevail;—that the newly-devised restriction would operate as a severe check on rising genius, which was frequently observed to make its first tender essays in the line of defamation;—that such a restriction, besides, would tend to degrade the respectable portion of the public press, by subjecting, to one and the same rule, the miscreant who deliberately traded in sedition and blasphemy, and the worthy printer and bookseller, whose pages might exhibit only little occasional aberrations of a seditious or blasphemous spirit;—with much more to the same effect. And the objector might have concluded with sighing over the departed mildness of the Saxon code, which suffered the slanderer to traduce and vilify whom he pleased, so long as he confined his effusions to the vehicle of stereo-type.

To such objections it surely would have been a sufficient reply to observe, that they were for the most part objections which, if applicable at all, applied as much to the old law as to the new;—objections, in short, affecting every law of libel whatever;—that, if the principle of legislating against libels were to be admitted at all, then the proposed alteration of the law stood on the clearest grounds, being obviously enjoined by the actual alteration in the state of society;—that circumstances had conferred on libellous publications a power of doing mischief,—an evil energy,—wholly unforeseen, and which must be met by correspondent regulations;—that the law had in fact stood still while all else had gone forwards;—and that, in such a case, to amend it, by merely bringing it up to the 'sticking-place' of the progress of things, was, in a just and philosophical view of the subject, not to shift it, but rather to leave it stationary.

The argument immediately applies to the question before us. Of the periods of history we have mentioned, there are no two, taking them in succession, between which the force and influence of the press have made an advance so considerable as between the latest of those periods and the present time. As we have already explained, the instrument itself is altered, and it acts in a still more altered medium. In mechanical, and far more in moral power, it has gained immensely. But, if so, then surely we cannot wonder that it should require new checks and guards; for why must we expect, in this single instance, a failure of the rule

that, with the increase of power, increases also the liability to abuse?

If it be said that a free press carries with it its own safeguards and correctives, the answer is, that this reasoning would prove too much; since it must, if valid, equally prevail against restrictions of every kind without exception or discrimination, be they the most moderate or most arbitrary. That, within certain limits, such a self-medicative quality really belongs to the liberty of the press, as well as to all liberty, we should be sorry to deny. Increase the power; and, for a long way at least, the consequent good will increase faster than the incident evil. But imperfection qualifies all human blessings; and it is painfully true that the evil will be progressive also, though, for some time, not at an equal pace. To promote the diffusion of knowledge, to elicit the fruits of genius, to facilitate and to encourage the general interchange of minds and of hearts, is undoubtedly to swell the total amount of virtue and of happiness; but we must not forget that, in *some* though not in an equal ratio, that tendency to excess and disorder, which must ever form the extreme boundary of the privilege, will partake of its enlargement; as the superficies of an expanding sphere necessarily increases, though it does not increase with the same rapidity as the solid content.

Even here, however, let us not be misunderstood. Although, under the alteration which the general circumstances of society have undergone, some increase might naturally be expected in the abuses of the liberty of the press, it does not follow that such expectation, taken by itself, and without proof of an actual increase in the number or malignity of those abuses, would afford a sufficient warrant for subjecting the press to new regulations. We cannot safely proceed, in such a case, on mere presumptions, however violent. The soundest theory, unsupported by facts, is but a questionable authority for introducing changes into a living body of law. We should at least have a sufficient weight of fact to prove the theory sound, and to justify the presumptions which it furnishes. In the present case, however, there can hardly be a doubt that this previous condition has been fulfilled with a frightful amplitude. The excesses of a licentious and turbulent press have themselves exceeded all former bounds. The evil has appeared in shapes and attitudes with which the laws had confessedly no means of coping; and, even where it has been forced to a contest with public justice, and has been baffled in the struggle, it has arisen only more powerful from defeat. In a word, the actual state of the fact supplies the clearest and most confirmatory comment on those deductions of theory, which would previously have prescribed the adoption of further regulations for the purpose

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pose of repressing an audacious mischief, and of sustaining the interests of the national morals, decorum, and purity.

Such are the views of this very important subject, which have led us cordially to approve of the recent regulations relative to the liberty of the press, and, we may add, to the process of defence under prosecutions for misdemeanours. We shall now state the outlines of those regulations, though with great conciseness.

By one act, entitled 'an Act to prevent delay in the Administration of Justice in cases of misdemeanour,'* it is, among other provisions, enacted that persons indicted for a misdemeanour, shall plead to such indictment, and the trial shall take place at the session at which the indictment is found, provided such persons have been committed or held to bail twenty days before that session; but if not committed or held to bail for such previous length of time, then they shall plead and the trial shall take place at the subsequent session, provided they were committed or held to bail to appear at such subsequent session, or have had twenty days' notice of the indictment being found. It is competent, however, to the court in such case, on sufficient cause being shewn, to allow the party further time. The purpose and the effect of this enactment must both be obvious; without taking away the right of traverse, it subjects the exercise of that right to the equitable discretion of the tribunal before which the charge is preferred; and, after all, therefore, affords to parties accused of misdemeanours an indulgence which is withheld from persons indicted for offences of a capital or other grievous nature.

But the act is not wholly of a restrictive character. It contains two provisions in favour of the accused party, which, even in the judgement of the most strenuous opponents of government, constitute a very important accession to the privileges of the subject. By one of these, it is enacted that, in cases of prosecutions by the Attorney General, the party prosecuted shall, on application, be supplied, free of expense, with a copy of the information or indictment against him. By the other, if such prosecution is not brought to trial within twelve months after the plea of Not guilty is pleaded, then the defendant, with the leave of court in which the prosecution is depending, may himself bring on the trial, unless it shall be formally abandoned by the prosecutor.

This statute affects the offence of libel only as one among other descriptions of misdemeanour. There are two others, exclusively directed against the abuses of the press. One† of these

* 60 Geo. III. c. 4.

† 60 Geo. III. c. 9.

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subjects all pamphlets and papers, containing any public news, intelligence or occurrences, or any remarks upon them, or upon any matter in church or state, printed for sale, and published in numbers, periodically or at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days, where such papers or numbers shall not exceed two sheets, or shall be published for sale for a less price than six-pence exclusive of the duty, to the same duty as newspapers. It further enjoins that no person shall print or publish for sale any newspaper, or any such pamphlets or papers as above described, without having previously given security in the sum of £300 if in or near London, and of £200 if elsewhere, to pay any fine or penalty that may be imposed on him by reason of a conviction for having printed or published a blasphemous or seditious libel. From these regulations, however, many classes of works are exempted, such as acts of parliament, proclamations, and other state publications, the bills of mortality, lists of prices current, and other commercial papers; and also books or papers commonly used in schools, or containing only matters of devotion, piety, or charity.

The other statute, 'for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels,'* authorizes the court in which any conviction shall take place for composing, printing, or publishing, any blasphemous libel, or any seditious libel, tending to bring into hatred or contempt the person of the king or regent, or the government and constitution of the kingdom, or either house of parliament, or to excite attempts to alter any matter in church or state, otherwise than by lawful means, to make an order for the seizing, carrying away, and detaining in safe custody all copies of the libel in question, which shall be in the possession of the convicted party, or of any other person named in the order for his use; which order the peace officer may, during the day time, execute by force; but, in case of the arrest or the reversal of the judgment, the copies so seized shall be restored, free of expense, to the party from whom they were taken. The statute further enacts that a person convicted a second time of the offence of such libelling as above-mentioned, shall be liable, at the discretion of the court, either to suffer the other punishments inflicted by the law in cases of high misdemeanours, or to be banished from the king's dominions for such term of years as the court shall order; and, if the convict thus banished is afterwards found at large in any part of the king's dominions, he may be transported for any term not exceeding fourteen years.

It should be observed that banishment for a term of years,

* 60 Geo. III. c. 8.

though

though by possibility that term may exceed the utmost length of human life, does not involve corruption of blood, forfeiture of goods, or other incidents peculiar to a conviction for treason or felony. It should be observed also, that, until the recent abolition of the punishment of the pillory in all cases but that of perjury, this was one of the punishments which a convicted libeller might be adjudged to suffer: so that the penalty of banishment may not improperly be considered as a substitute for that of the pillory.

These statutes, unlike the act against seditious assemblies, are permanent laws. It would indeed be easier to prove that the seditious assemblies act should have been made permanent, than that these acts should be temporary. But, if this be saying too much, we may at least observe that, when the seditious assemblies act shall expire, and the act of Charles against tumultuous petitioning, (which the new act suspends,) shall be restored to its legal efficacy, it may befit the legislature to take both statutes into their consideration, with a view of shaping out, if possible, some measure better calculated for a lasting law than either. With regard however to the acts affecting the liberty of the press, they clearly stand on a very different ground from the seditious assemblies bill. Such assemblies as that of Manchester cannot be held but by concert among vast numbers; and it may therefore reasonably be hoped that the recent facilities of holding them, supplied as they have in a great degree been by the distressed state of the people, will diminish with the return of prosperity. It is otherwise in the case of libelling. Here the mass of the community are only passive accomplices; and a very small degree of prurient curiosity, or unfortunately formed habit, may render them sufficiently alert recipients of the poison served out by a small knot of determined and incorrigible conspirators. This therefore is an evil indefinite in its duration, and to be kept down only by a commensurate remedy.

After the length of observation with which we prefaced our account of the last mentioned statutes, it will not be expected that we should enter into an examination of the particular objections which have been urged against them. They are liable only to one objection of any apparent weight. The restrictions, it is said, imposed by these acts, and particularly the exaction of a pecuniary security from the publishers of political pamphlets, may, in some possible cases, oppose obstacles to the diffusion of political knowledge, or cramp the literary efforts of unfriended genius. But, unfortunately, this is an objection applying more or less to all regulations affecting the licence of the press; to the old law of libel, to the new law of libel, and to every law of libel that can be

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be devised; for restraint is the price we must pay for all civil liberty.

The real question is not whether cases of hardship may not possibly occur; but whether they are likely to be so frequent, and of such extremity, as to outweigh the evils intended to be remedied by the demand of a security;—the evils of an *under-press*, conducted by men alike bankrupt in fortune and in principle,—men secure in their abjectness from one half of the vengeance of those laws which they outrage and defy, and who, without any assignable stake in the prosperity of the state, but, on the contrary, prepared to support a guilty existence by feeding on its vitals, yet derive from the exercise of their vile literature, an extent of influence seldom afforded to high education and unstained character. Is it fitting that the happiness of thousands should thus be put to hazard at the pleasure of those who refuse to risk any thing themselves? Or does the law act unjustly in demanding pledges of good conduct where it has bestowed or permitted the enjoyment of great power?

To our apprehension, viewing on the one hand the immense scope and the inexhaustible variety of materials which the present state of this country supplies to literary exertion, and considering on the other the noxious fecundity and the unspeakably malignant power of the Radical press, it appears very obvious that the new restriction, so heavily complained of, bears no proportion to the magnitude either of the benefits which it leaves to us, or of the dangers against which it is aimed. As an exception it is perfectly trifling; as a ransom it is inexpressibly cheap.

The objections, indeed, urged against these statutes have in some cases been stated with a largeness which would absolutely destroy all legislation on the subject of the press, however cautiously or temperately exercised. For if it be true that the state is under no circumstances to interfere with the market for literary exertion; if the system of a free press, like that of nature, has such a self-adjusting, self-compensating power, that no disturbances can arise from its movements of which it does not itself furnish the correctives, it will then inevitably follow that all laws in regulation of printing and publishing, whether they be of a preventive or a punitive nature, whether they demand securities or inflict penalties, are equally against principle and preposterous. In fact, this is nearly the doctrine of the white-hatted party themselves;—the philosophy of such statesmen as the Black Dwarf and the Examiner.—These persons hold that, in matters of religion at least, speech, no less than thought, ought to be perfectly exempt from legal controul;—that every man should be free, not only to follow his own religious notions, but to ridicule and vilify the

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the creed of his neighbours;—that, with respect to religious discussion, there are, to say the truth, *no* sins of the tongue;—in a word, that our law of blasphemy, mitigate it as we will, is a gross outrage on the rights of man, and that even the most holy places of our constitution ought to be thrown open, without screen or barrier, to the polluting trample of the atheist and the misbeliever.

To those, however, who are content with notions less enlightened,—to those who believe that freedom of opinion, in common with all other civil privileges, must so be enjoyed as not to encroach on the privileges of others,—who believe that freedom of opinion is not more effectually sacrificed by subjecting it to the persecutions of monarchical or aristocratical power, than by laying it open to the outrages of vulgar fury,—to those, in short, who admit, within whatever limits, the *principle* of restriction,—we would earnestly submit it for consideration, whether that restriction can be condemned as a wanton and arbitrary application of the principle,—whether that regulation can justly be deprecated as a death-blow to the liberties of the press, and a revival of the darkness of the middle ages,—which, while it somewhat abridges one or two much abused channels of political or religious disputation, leaves wholly untouched the rest,—which also leaves untouched all the other thousand fields of literary exertion,—all art, all science, all criticism, all history, all philosophy, all political economy, all the 'highest heaven' of imagination, all compositions devoted to the institution of youth, all that is instructive in morals, edifying in piety, or elevating in devotion. Such are the lights which still shine unclouded, while the measure seeks to exclude only a species of knowledge which may be complimented with the *name* of light, but which is, in truth, but darkness visible, and a thousand times more dangerous than the blankest and most credulous ignorance.

It is the profound remark of Madame de Staël on the policy of Buonaparte, that, finding it impossible, in a country so enlightened as France, to erect the fabric of despotism on the foundation of national ignorance, he attempted to found it on a depravation of the national manners.* The observation may convey a salutary lesson to all countries, and to none more than to the most enlightened country in the world. Even for England, there is no absolute insurance against the peril of despotism; no covenant

* 'Le plus grand crime de Napoléon, toutefois, celui pour lequel tous les penseurs, tous les écrivains dispensateurs de la gloire dans la postérité, ne cesseront de l'accuser auprès de l'espèce humaine, c'est l'établissement et l'organisation du despotisme. Il l'a fondé sur l'immoralité; car les lumières qui existoient en France étoient telles, que le pouvoir absolu ne pouvoit s'y maintenir que par la dépravation, tandis que d'ail leurs il subsiste par l'ignorance.'

Considérations sur la Révolution Françoise, 4me partie, chap. 15.

against

against the return of that mighty deluge, which it has been the labour of centuries to bank out and oppose. But, should an event so dreadful ever take place,—should that day of wrath ever arrive (and late be its arrival!) when heaven, hitherto so propitious to us, shall open upon us its windows in anger,—when the very seat of liberty shall be subverted, and

> ' —this mount
> Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd
> Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
> With all his verdure spoil'd,'—

it is at least apparent, from what quarter the desolation may be apprehended. The progress of knowledge, neither ministers nor parliaments, were they capable of entertaining a project so detestable, can, in any sensible degree, impede. On this point, indeed, we feel ourselves re-assured by some of those who have been the most strenuous, not only in imputing the design, but in anticipating its success. In their denunciations against the proposed restrictions on the liberty of the press, if they began with an alarming picture of the fatal efficiency of the restrictions, they not seldom ended with a triumphant prediction of their futility. Whatever may be thought of the consistency of these disputants, it must at least be conceded to them, that neither the measures before us, nor any other similar regulations, will ever have power to arrest the extension of intellectual light among the people. The voice of knowledge has gone forth, never to be recalled. It would be as easy to restore the rain to the cloud from which it has parted, as to re-expel from the bosom of an immense and educated society all those streams of instruction which have sunk into it, insinuating themselves into every crevice, reaching every root, and mingling with the moisture of every rising spring. But there *is* a danger, though of a different kind, and arising from another cause. If the sources of our national virtues are to be contaminated by the essential virus of radicalism,—if the rational and practical religion of our fathers is to be exchanged for a spurious and heartless pantheism,—if their sound Christian devotion is to be converted into the most detestable spirit of blasphemy,—if their firm and sedate love of liberty, beautifully combining the sentiment of a high self-respect, with that of a stedfast and habitual reverence for the laws, is to give place to a turbulent, conceited, revolutionary restlessness, having its source in a contempt for existing institutions, and its end in a subversion of them—then, indeed, however we may boast of our intellectual illumination, a tyranny founded on the basis of moral darkness, is close at hand. The extinction of the ' great light' of Christianity will once more be the signal for the celebration of orgies too dire for description;

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scription; and the paroxysms of a sanguinary anarchy will again find a dreadful sedative in the stillness of a military despotism.

'Major agit Deus;'—A better confidence inspires us; a humble hope, that measures sincerely, as we trust, adopted for the vindication of revealed religion from insult, and for the defence of some of Heaven's best gifts entrusted to our care, will be blest with a prosperous result. Up to this moment, as we have already remarked, the proceedings of parliament have been justified by the event. The malcontents may, indeed, be laying new plans and devising new engines of mischief in the dark recesses into which they have been driven; but it is something, even for a season, to have disabused their presumption and repressed their audacity.

The wisdom, however, of these measures is not altogether to be estimated by their success; and still less properly can that criterion be applied to the merit of those by whom they were supported. The disordered ranks of disaffection may possibly be restored, and its crushed hopes reanimated. The calm may cease; the enemy may start up from 'the oblivious pool' on which he lies or affects to lie astonished: and the war, which appeared to have been extinguished, may prove to be only in its beginning. Still, and whatever shall be the event ordained by unerring wisdom, the justice and the gratitude of the British nation will not fail to consecrate to glory the names of those distinguished patriots, who have been most conspicuous and successful in rallying the public spirit of the nation against these cruel assailants:—who, holding up a censer, fraught with the fire of the richest and most sacred eloquence, have stood between the dead and the living to stay the plague:—who, governed by an imperious sense of duty, and perhaps at no small cost of personal feeling, have raised their voices to denounce the designs, and to confound the fury of the enemies of civilized society;—irresistibly vindicating our dearest interests, both private and national;—defending alike the grandeur of the throne, and the peace of the cottage,—whatever is venerable in the law, or majestic in public function,—all the charities of our hearths, and all the sanctities of our altars.

At the moment when we are rising from these reflections, we are suddenly arrested by the general groan of the yet uncorrupted part of the nation, at the discovery of the most atrocious plot which has ever disgraced and saddened English history. Of the individuals accused we say nothing:—their several cases, with all the qualifying or mitigating circumstances that attach to each, will be weighed by the calumniated justice of England, in a balance which was never made to swerve by the influence of partiality,

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tiality, nor to tremble by the contagion of popular alarm. But that the most horrible crime has been meditated, has been agreed upon by numbers, has been matured for execution, has been only not committed,—all thinking men, of whatever political sentiments, believe; and it is a circumstance which we are unable to contemplate without the profoundest emotions of grief, anxiety, and apprehension.

To those who had taken even a moderately close view of the nature of the principles for some time past promulgated by the revolutionary press, the painful suspicion could not but occur, that the silence and tranquillity which have recently been maintained by the revolutionary reformers, by no means denoted the inaction of sloth or of innocence;—that the foe was not at peace, but in ambush. We ourselves foreboded this; but the utmost stretch of our augury has been outgone by the event. Could we even have looked into such a depth of horror, we should have averted our eyes from it; but, in fact, it was an evil not to be depicted by any anticipation, except that of prophecy itself. We are in the case stated by the great discoverer of the blackest conspiracy recorded in the Roman annals: 'Ego magnum in republicâ versari furorem, nova quædam misceri et concitari mala, jampridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem à civibus nunquam putavi!'*

But, in shortly detaining the press at this awful and anxious moment, our motive is not the wish to indulge our feelings, however intensely affected; it is rather the solicitude to point and deepen, so far as a hasty but sincere and earnest effort may avail, those monitory impressions which the occasion is calculated in the strongest manner to produce. And the import of all that we have to offer on this head, will perhaps be sufficiently suggested by the declaration with which Cicero follows up the words we have already quoted from him:—'Quantum facinus ad nos delatum est, videtis; *huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum.*' For if this be a true description of the nature of the recent conspiracy, surely no degree of insensibility can render us blind to the practical conclusions that irresistibly follow.

It is not from secret information, nor yet from peculiar sagacity, that we thus affect to speak. We state only the obvious deduction from what every man hears and sees. When an illustration so cogent is afforded of the progress made by the doctrines, or rather by the impiety, of assassination, must we not fear that the shocking industry with which the crime has been re-

* 4 Catil.

commended

commended by one portion of the press, and the lamentable ingenuity with which it has been palliated by another, from which better things might have been hoped, have produced a much more extensive effect than has yet betrayed itself in action? This, this is our fear and our grief;—unless the utmost vigilance is employed, we feel the dreadful apprehension that other explosions of crime barely unperpetrated, or even——but we dare not finish the sentence—may inflict on us sensations of a yet acuter sorrow than now agitates the bosoms not only of all the good, but of all not wholly reprobate. Deep impressions sedulously made on the minds of too many of the vulgar,—criminal suggestions, long familiarized,—the instinctive horror of crime first relaxed, and then wholly laid aside,—these are by no means negative agents; in times of public distress or commotion, their tendency is to be fatally in action. They are living principles, and they live for the destruction of society. These horrible stains, then,—these foul concretions,—must be removed, or they will canker fatally; they must undergo a timely lustration, or they will perhaps force on themselves a lustration of fire,

'—— penitusque necesse est
'Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.'

In what manner this purification may best be accomplished, there is no need to discuss as a question of legislation or policy. The legislature will, we trust, never want promptitude in upholding the cause of order and morals; and the vigilance of the Executive Government, on the recent occasion, has been beyond praise. Our concern is with individuals; that is, in the proper and constitutional sense of the term, with the people. It is on the minds of these that we wish to enforce the impression of the noxiousness and atrocity of the new creeds of reform. The propagation of such doctrines is not a matter of indifference to any member of society, is, on the contrary, most deeply interesting to us all. What a degree of insecurity, for example, would the prevalence of the practice of assassination alone, shed over the whole surface of private life! What a loss of that social confidence hitherto so characteristic of England! No expedient can be unnecessary, for the purpose of expelling such principles,—of blunting these envenomed arrows that fly by noon-day,—of exorcising this malignant spirit, whose deeds affront the sun. Let all then who have power or influence, be persuaded, that no worthier occasion will ever exist of employing either. By precept, by example, by the generous application of all the means within their reach, let them labour to uphold the national morals and religion under one of the severest persecutions by which they have been assailed since the period of the Reformation. It is not by instructing the people

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people in geometry and arithmetic and philosophy and political economy, (though we certainly would not debar them from a ready access to liberal knowledge of any description,)—but by inculcating on their minds, according to the extent of our respective opportunities, a reverence for those sound and tried principles from which the virtues and the great achievements of their ancestors equally sprung,—that we can hope to render them thoroughly proof against the contagion of the disorganising maxims of radicalism. All other defences against such an enemy are likely to prove unavailing. *This kind goeth not out*, but by the use of arms of immortal temper.

The national gratitude is indeed deeply due for that interposition of Providence, which has saved us from the reproach and horror of the deed of blood so lately meditated. And, if we may be allowed to wind up our remarks on the very serious topics we have been considering, by a serious conclusion,—and if the example of one of the speeches before us may justify us in resorting to Roman authority for the lessons adapted to the crisis, we will beg leave to repeat the admonitions addressed to the people by the same illustrious orator, whose address to the senate Mr. Canning has so appositely cited; '(Dii immortales) jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab extero hoste atque longinquo, sed hic præsentes suo numine atque auxilio, sua templa, atque urbis tecta, defendunt:—quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari atque implorare debetis; ut quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terrâ marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant!'

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